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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

The Reigns of JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

EDINBURGH:

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THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

JAMES I.

CHAP. I.

Introduction.——Death and character of Queen Elizabeth.——James's first tranſactions.——State of Europe.——Roſni's negotiations.——Raleigh's conſpiracy.——Character of the puritans.——Hampton-court conference.——A parliament.——Peace with Spain.

THE crown of England was never transferred from father to ſon with greater tranquillity, than it paſſed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, the eyes of men had been employed in ſearch of her ſucceſſor; and when old age made the proſpect of her death more immediate, there appeared none but the King of Scotland, who could advance any juſt claim or pretenſion to the throne. He was the great-grandſon of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. and, upon the failure of all the male-line, his hereditary right remained unqueſtionable. If the religion of Mary Queen of Scots, and the other prejudices contracted againſt her, had formed any conſiderable obſtacle to her ſucceſſion; theſe objections, which ought always to be overlooked, except in very extraordinary emergencies, had no place with regard to her ſon. Men alſo conſidered, that, tho' the title, derived 1603.

Chap. I. 1603.

from blood, had been frequently violated ſince the Norman conqueſt, theſe licences had proceeded more from force or intrigue, than from any deliberate maxims of government. The lineal heir had ſtill in the end prevailed; and both his excluſion and reſtoration had been commonly attended with ſuch convulſions, as were ſufficient to warn all prudent men not lightly to give way to ſuch irregularities. If the will of Henry VIII., authoriſed by act of parliament, had tacitely excluded the Scottiſh line; the tyranny and caprices of that monarch had rendered his memory ſo odious, that a ſettlement of this nature, unſupported by any juſt reaſon, had no authority with the people. Queen Elizabeth too, with her dying breath, had recognized the undoubted title of her kinſman James; and the whole nation ſeemed to diſpoſe themſelves with joy and pleaſure for his reception. Tho' born and educated amidſt a foreign and a hoſtile people, men hoped, from his character of moderation and wiſdom, that he would embrace the maxims of an Engliſh monarch; and the prudent foreſaw greater advantages, reſulting from an union with Scotland, than diſadvantages from ſubmitting to a prince of that nation. The alacrity, with which the Engliſh looked towards the ſucceſſor, had appeared ſo evident to Elizabeth, that it affected her with the deepeſt melancholy; and that wiſe Princeſs, whoſe penetration and experience had given her the greateſt inſight into human affairs, had not yet ſufficiently weighed the ingratitude of courtiers, and levity of the people.

Death and character of Queen Elizabeth.

She expired on March 24. in the year 1603; after a long and a happy, becauſe a prudent, reign, of more than forty four years. Never woman poſſeſſed ſuch glory and renown. Who may be accounted the greateſt of men, has been long and ſtill is diſputed; but who merits the pre-eminence among womankind, will never be doubtful, while the name of Elizabeth is preſerved. Almoſt every virtue, which can finiſh the character of a ſovereign, entered into her compoſition; and even her ſeverity and frugality, where ſhe inclined towards the extreme, ſuited ſo peculiarly her circumſtances and ſituation, that the influence of theſe qualities ſeemed equally beneficial with that of her more ſhining virtues. Victory abroad, and tranquillity at home, had ever attended her; and ſhe left the nation in ſuch flouriſhing circumſtances, that her ſucceſſor poſſeſſed every advantage, except that of compariſon with her illuſtrious name, when he mounted the throne of England.

First tranſactions of this reign.

The King's journey from Edinburgh to London immediately afforded to the inquiſitive ſome circumſtances of compariſon, which even the natural partiality in favor of their new ſovereign, could not interpret to his advantage. As he paſſed along, all ranks of men flocked about him, from every quarter; allured by intereſt or curioſity. Great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the acclamations which reſounded from all ſides; and every one could remember how the affability

and

and popularity of their Queen displayed themselves, amidst such concourse and exultation of her subjects. But James, tho' sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixt multitude; and tho' far from disliking flattery, yet was he still fonder of tranquillity and ease. He therefore issued a proclamation, forbidding this great resort of people; under pretext of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences, which would necessarily attend it. Chap. I. 1603.

He was not, however, insensible to the great overflow of affection, which appeared in his new subjects; and being himself of an affectionate temper, he seems to have been in haste to make them some return of kindness and good offices. To this motive, probably, we are to ascribe that great profusion of titles, which was observed in the beginning of his reign; when in six weeks time, after his entrance into the kingdom, he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no less than 237 persons. If Queen Elizabeth's frugality of honors, as well as of money, had been formerly repined at, it began now to be highly valued and esteemed: And every one was sensible, that the King, by his lavish and premature conferring of favors, had failed of obliging the persons, on whom he bestowed them. Titles of all kinds became so common, that they were no longer marks of distinction; and being distributed, without choice or deliberation, to persons, unknown to the Prince, were regarded more as the proofs of his weak facility and good-nature, than of any determined friendship or esteem.

A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, in which an art was promised to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories, in retaining the names of the new Nobility.

We may presume, that the English would have thrown less blame on the King's facility in bestowing favors, had these been confined entirely to their own nation, and had not been shared out, in too unequal proportions, to his old subjects. James, who, thro' his whole reign, was more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, had carried along with him great numbers of his Scotch courtiers; whose impatience and importunity were apt, in many particulars, to impose on the easy nature of their master, and extort favors, of which, it is natural to imagine, his English subjects would very loudly complain. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Mar, the Lord Hume, Lord Kinlos, Sir George Hume, Secretary Elphinstone, were immediately added to the English privy council. Sir George Hume, whom he created Earl of Dunbar, was his declared favorite as long as that Nobleman lived; and was the wisest and most virtuous, tho' the least powerful of all those whom the King ever honored with that distinction. Hay, sometime after, was created Viscount Doncaster, and then Earl of Carlisle, and got an immense fortune from the crown; all which he spent in

Chap. I. 1603

a ſplendid and courtly manner. Ramſay obtained the title of Earl of Holderneſs; and many others, being raiſed, on a ſudden, to the higheſt elevation, encreaſed, by their inſolence, that envy, which naturally attended them, as enemies and ſtrangers.

It muſt, however, be owned, in juſtice to James, that he left almoſt all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's miniſters, and truſted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domeſtic, to his Engliſh ſubjects. Among theſe, Secretary Cecil, created ſucceſſively Lord Eſſindon, Viſcount Cranborne, and Earl of Saliſbury, was always regarded as his prime miniſter and chief counſellor. Tho' the capacity and penetration of this miniſter were ſufficiently known, his favor with the King created great ſurprize on the firſt acceſſion of that monarch. Cecil was ſon of the famous Burleigh, whoſe merits towards his ſovereign and his country were great, but whoſe name was naturally odious to James; as the declared enemy of his mother, and the chief cauſe of her tragical death, that great ſtain in the bright annals of Elizabeth. He himſelf, as well as his father, had ſtood at the head of the court-faction, which oppoſed the greatneſs of the Earl of Eſſex, and which, aſſiſted by the imprudence or rather frenzy of that favorite, at laſt brought him to the ſcaffold. The people, by whom the Earl was infinitely beloved, reſented the conduct of his enemies; but James ſtill more, who had maintained a cloſe correſpondence with Eſſex, and regarded him as a zealous partizan for the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Stuart. Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, Cecil's aſſociates, felt immediately the effects of theſe prejudices of their maſter, and were diſmiſſed from all their employments: But Cecil, who poſſeſſed all the art and cunning of a courtier, as well as many of the talents of a great ſtateſman, had found the means of making his peace with James; and, unknown both to Elizabeth and all the other miniſters, had entered into a ſecret commerce with the ſucceſſor, during the latter years of the Queen's adminiſtration.

The capacity of James and his miniſters in negotiation was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambaſſadors from almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe, in order to congratulate the King on his acceſſion to the throne, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Beſide miniſters from Venice, Denmark, the Palatine; Henry Frederic of Naſſau, aſſiſted by Barnevelt the Penſionary of Holland, repreſented the ſtates of the united provinces. Aremberg was ſent by the Archduke Albert; and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain. But he who excited moſt the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his maſter, was the Marquiſs of Roſni, afterwards Duke of Sully, prime miniſter and favorite of Henry IV. of France.

8th of June.

When

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State of Europe.

When the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria were devolved on Philip II. all Europe was ſtruck with terror; leſt the power of that family, which had been raiſed by fortune, ſhould now be carried to an immeaſurable height, by the wiſdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehenſions found in the event to be more groundleſs. Slow without prudence, ambitious without enterprize, falſe without deceiving any body, and refined without any true judgment; ſuch was the character of Philip, and ſuch the character, which, during his life-time and after his death, he impreſſed on the Spaniſh councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces, diſcontented or indolent inhabitants, were the ſpectacles, which thoſe dominions, lying in every climate of the globe, preſented to Philip III. a weak prince, and to the Duke of Lerma, a miniſter, weak and odious. But tho' military diſcipline, which ſtill remained, was what alone gave ſome appearance of life and vigor to that languiſhing body; yet ſuch was the terror, produced by former power and ambition, that the reduction of the houſe of Auſtria was the object of men's vows, thro'out all the ſtates of chriſtendom. It was not perceived, that the French empire, now united in domeſtic peace, and governed by the moſt heroic and moſt amiable prince, that adorns modern ſtory, was become, of itſelf, a ſufficient counterpoiſe to the Spaniſh greatneſs. Perhaps, that prince himſelf did not perceive it, when he propoſed, by his miniſter, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the united provinces, and the northern crowns; in order to attack the Auſtrian dominions on every ſide, and depreſs the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the Engliſh monarch was not equal to ſuch vaſt enterprizes. Peace was his favorite paſſion; and it was his peculiar felicity, that the conjunctures of the times rendered the ſame object, which was agreeable to him, in the higheſt degree advantageous to his people.

Roſni's negotiations.

The French ambaſſador, therefore, was obliged to depart from theſe extenſive aims, and to concert with James the means of providing for the ſafety of the united provinces: Nor was this object altogether without its difficulties. The King, before his acceſſion to the throne of England, had entertained very ſtrong ſcruples with regard to the revolt of the low countries; and being always open and ſincere, except when deliberately reſolved to diſſemble, he had, on many occaſions, gone ſo far as to give to the Dutch the denomination of rebels. But having converſed more fully with his Engliſh miniſters and courtiers, he found their attachment to that republic ſo ſtrong, and their opinion of common intereſt ſo eſtabliſhed, that he was obliged to ſacrifice to politics his ſenſe of juſtice; a quality, which, even when erroneous, is reſpectable and rare in a monarch. He therefore agreed with Roſni to ſupport ſecretly the ſtates-general, in concert with the King of France; leſt their weakneſs and deſpair ſhould oblige them to ſubmit

to

Chap. I. 1603.

to their old maſter. The articles of the treaty were few and ſimple. It was agreed, that the two Kings ſhould allow the Dutch to levy forces both in France and Britain; and ſhould underhand remit to the Dutch the ſum of 1400,000 livres a-year for the pay of theſe forces: That the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the King of France; but that the third of it ſhould be deducted from a debt due by him to Queen Elizabeth. And if the Spaniard attacked either of the Princes, they agreed to aſſiſt each other; Henry with a force of ten thouſand, James with that of ſix thouſand men. This treaty, one of the wiſeſt and moſt equitable concluded by James, during the whole courſe of his reign, was more the work of the Prince himſelf, than any of his miniſters.

Raleigh's conſpiracy.

AMIDST the great tranquillity, both foreign and domeſtic, with which the nation was bleſt, nothing could be more ſurpriſing than the diſcovery of a conſpiracy to ſubvert the government, and fix Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the King, and deſcended equally from Henry VII. on the throne of England. Every thing remains ſtill myſterious in this conſpiracy; and hiſtory can give us no clue to unravel it. Watſon and Clarke, two catholic prieſts, were accuſed of the plot: Lord Grey, a puritan: Lord Cobham, a thoughtleſs man, of no fixt principle: And Sir Walter Raleigh, ſuſpected to be of that philoſophical ſect, who were then extremely rare in England, and who have ſince received the appellation of *freethinkers*. Along with theſe, Mr. Broke, brother to Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, Mr. Copley, Sir Edward Parham. What cement could unite men of ſuch diſcordant principles in ſo dangerous a combination; what end they propoſed, or what means proportioned to an undertaking of this nature, has never yet been explained, and cannot eaſily be imagined. As Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham were commonly believed, after the Queen's death, to have oppoſed proclaiming the King, till conditions ſhould be made with him; they were, upon that, as well as other accounts, extremely obnoxious to the court and miniſtry; and people were apt, at firſt, to ſuſpect, that the plot was merely a contrivance of Secretary Cecil, to get rid of his old confederates, now become his moſt inveterate enemies. But the confeſſion, as well as trial of the criminals put the matter beyond all doubt. And tho' no one could find any marks of a concerted enterprize, it appeared, that men of furious and ambitious ſpirits, meeting frequently together, and believing all the world diſcontented like themſelves, had entertained very criminal projects, and had even entered, ſome of them at leaſt, into a correſpondence with Aremberg, the Flemiſh ambaſſador, in order to give diſturbance to the new ſettlement.

The two prieſts * and Broke † were executed: Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned, ‡ after they had laid their head upon the block. Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

IT

* November 29. † December 5. ‡ December 9.

Chap. I. 1603.

It appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh ſecretly offered his ſervices to the French ambaſſador; and we may thence preſume, that, meeting with a repulſe from that quarter, he had had recourſe, for the ſame unwarrantable purpoſes, to the Flemiſh miniſter. Such a conjecture we are now enabled to form; but it muſt be confeſſed, that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this tranſaction, nor indeed any circumſtance which could juſtify his condemnation. He was accuſed by Cobham alone, in a ſudden fit of paſſion, upon hearing, that Raleigh, when examined, had pointed out ſome circumſtances, by which Cobham's guilt might be known and aſcertained. This accuſation Cobham afterwards retracted; and ſoon after, retracted his retractation. Yet, upon the written evidence of this ſingle witneſs, a man of no honor nor underſtanding, and ſo contradictory in his teſtimony; not confronted with Raleigh; not ſupported by any concurring circumſtance; was that great man, contrary to all law and equity, found guilty by the jury. His name was at that time extremely unpopular in England; and every man was pleaſed to give ſentence againſt the capital enemy of Eſſex, the favorite of the people.

Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, then attorney-general, managed the cauſe for the crown, and threw out on Raleigh ſuch groſs abuſe, as may be eſteemed a great reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in ſome degree, on the manners of that age. Traitor, monſter, viper, and ſpider of hell, are the terms, which he employs againſt one of the moſt illuſtrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial for life and fortune, and who defended himſelf with ſurpriſing temper, eloquence, and courage.

1604.

The next occupation of the King was entirely according to his heart's content. He was now employed in dictating magiſterially to an aſſembly of divines concerning points of faith and diſcipline, and in receiving the applauſes of theſe holy men for his ſuperior zeal and learning. The religious diſputes betwixt the church and the puritans had induced him to call a conference at Hampton-court, under pretext of finding expedients, which might reconcile both parties.

Character of the puritans.

The firſt reformers, who made ſuch furious and ſucceſsful attacks on the Romiſh Superstition, and ſhook it to its loweſt foundations, may ſafely be pronounced to have been univerſally inflamed with the higheſt Enthusiasm. Theſe two ſpecies of religion, the ſuperſtitious and fanatical, ſtand in diametrical oppoſition to each other; and a large portion of the latter muſt neceſſarily fall to his ſhare, who is ſo couragious as to control authority, and ſo aſſuming as to obtrude his own innovations upon the world. Hence that rage of diſpute, which every where ſeized the new religioniſts; that diſdain of eccleſiaſtical ſubjection; that contempt of ceremonies, and of all the exterior pomp and ſplendor

of

Chap. I. 1604.

of worſhip. And hence too, that inflexible intrepidity, with which they braved dangers, torments, and even death itſelf; while they preached the doctrine of peace, and carried the tumults of war, thro' every part of Chriſtendom.

However obſtinate and uncomplying this ſpecies of religion, it neceſſarily received ſome alteration, according to the different ſituation of civil affairs, and the different ſpecies of government, which it met with in its progreſs.

In the electorates of Germany, in Denmark, and in Sweden, where the monarch was early converted, and, by putting himſelf at the head of the reformers, acquired authority amongſt them; as the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm was ſomewhat tempered by a ſenſe of order, epiſcopal juriſdiction, along with a few decent ceremonies, was preſerved in the new eſtabliſhment.

In Switzerland and Geneva, which were popular governments; in France, Scotland, and the low countries, where the people reformed themſelves in oppoſition to the prince; the genius of fanaticiſm diſplayed itſelf in its full extent, and affected every circumſtance of diſcipline and worſhip. A perfect equality was eſtabliſhed among the eccleſiaſtics; and their inflamed imagination, unconfined by any forms of liturgy, had full liberty to pour out itſelf, in wild, unpremeditated addreſſes to the Divinity.

They were the preachers of Switzerland, France, and the low countries, who carried the reformation into England: But as the government was there monarchical, and the magiſtrate took the lead in this grand revolution; tho' the ſpeculative doctrines were borrowed from the more fanatical churches, yet were the diſcipline and worſhip naturally mitigated with a more humane ſpirit of religion.

But after the perſecutions of Mary had chaſed abroad all the moſt obſtinate reformers, who eſcaped her fury; they had leiſure to imbibe a ſtronger tincture of the enthuſiaſtic genius; and when they returned, upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, they imported it, in its full force and virulence, into their native country.

That renowned Princeſs, whoſe good taſte gave her a ſenſe of order and decorum, and whoſe ſound judgment taught her to abhor innovations, endeavored, by a ſteddy ſeverity, to curb this obſtinate enthuſiaſm, which, from the beginning, looked with an evil aſpect, both on the church and monarchy. By an act of parliament in 1593, all perſons above the age of ſixteen, who were abſent from church a month, or who, by word or writing, declared their ſentiments againſt the eſtabliſhed religion, were to be impriſoned, till they made an open declaration of their conformity. This if they refuſed during three months, they were to abjure the realm; and if they either refuſed ſuch abjuration, or ſtaid in England beyond the time limited, they were to ſuffer as felons, without benefit of clergy. To ſuch extreme rigor was the ſeverity puſhed of Elizabeth's adminiſtration.

The

THE Queen too had eſtabliſhed the high commiſſion court, which preſerved an uniformity of worſhip thro' all the churches, and inflicted ſevere penalties on all innovators. The powers, with which this court was inveſted, were moſtly diſcretionary; tho' by law it could exact a fine of twenty pound for every month that any one was abſent from the eſtabliſhed worſhip.

BUT tho' the ſeverities of Elizabeth towards the catholics had much weakened that party, whoſe genius was averſe to the prevailing ſpirit of the nation; like ſeverities had had ſo little influence on the puritans, who were encouraged by that ſpirit, that no leſs than ſeven hundred and fifty clergymen of that party ſigned a petition to the King on his acceſſion; and many more ſeemed willing to adhere to it. They all hoped, that James, having received his education in Scotland, and having ever profeſſed a ſtrong attachment to the church eſtabliſhed there, would at leaſt abate the rigor of the laws enacted againſt puritans; if he did not ſhow them more particular grace and encouragement. But the King's diſpoſition had taken ſtrongly a contrary byaſs. The more he knew the puritanical clergy, the leſs favor he bore them. He had remarked in their Scotch brethren a violent turn towards republicaniſm, and a zealous attachment to civil liberty; principles nearly allied to that religious enthuſiaſm, with which they were actuated. He had found, that being moſtly perſons of low birth and mean education, the ſame lofty pretenſions, which attended them in their familiar addreſſes to their Maker, of whom they believed themſelves the peculiar favorites, induced them to uſe the utmoſt freedoms with their earthly ſovereign. In both capacities, of monarch and of theologian, he had experienced the little complaiſance, which they were diſpoſed to ſhow him; whilſt they controled his commands, diſputed his tenets, and to his face, before the whole people, cenſured his conduct and behavior. If he had ſubmitted to the indignity of courting their favor by flattery and diſſimulation, he treaſured up the ſtronger reſentment againſt them, and was determined to make them feel, in their turn, the weight of his authority. Tho' he had often met with reſiſtance and faction and obſtinacy in the Scotch nobility, he retained no ill will to that order; or rather ſhowed them favor and kindneſs in England, beyond what reaſon and ſound policy could well juſtify: But the aſcendant, which the preſbyterian clergy had aſſumed over him, was what his monarchical pride could never thorowly digeſt.

HE dreaded likeways the popularity, which attended this order of men in both kingdoms. As auſterity and ſelf-denial are imagined, in moſt religions, to render us acceptable to a benevolent Being, who created us ſolely for happineſs; James remarked, that the ruſtic ſeverity of theſe clergymen and of their whole ſect had given them, in the eyes of the multitude, the appearance of ſanctity and virtue.

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Strongly inclined himſelf to mirth and wine and ſports of all kinds, he apprehended their cenſure for his manner of life, free and diſengaged. And, being thus averſe, from temper as well as policy, to the ſect of puritans; he was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent its further growth in England.

BUT it was the character of James's councils, thro'out his whole reign, that, in their end, they were more wiſe and equitable, than prudent and political, in the means. Tho' juſtly ſenſible, that no part of civil adminiſtration required greater care or a nicer judgment than the conduct of religious parties, whoſe various geniuſes, affections and antipathies, have ſo mighty an influence on public affairs; he had not perceived, that in the ſame proportion as this practical knowlege of theology is requiſite, the ſpeculative refinements in it are mean, and even dangerous in a monarch. By entering zealouſly into frivolous diſputes, James gave them an air of importance and dignity, which they could not otherwiſe have acquired; and being himſelf enliſted in the quarrel, he could no longer have recourſe to contempt and ridicule, the only proper method of appeaſing it. The church of England had not yet abandoned the rigid doctrines of grace and predeſtination: The puritans had not yet totally ſeparated themſelves from the church, nor openly renounced epiſcopacy. Tho' the ſpirit of the parties was conſiderably diffe-
rent, the only apparent ſubjects of diſpute were concerning the croſs in baptiſm,
the ring in marriage, the uſe of the ſurplice, and the bowing at the name of Jeſus.

Conference at Hampton-court.

Theſe were the mighty queſtions, which were ſolemnly agitated in the conference at Hampton-court betwixt ſome biſhops and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and ſome leaders of the puritan party on the other; the King and his miniſters being preſent.

4th of January.

THE puritans were here ſo unreaſonable as to complain of a partial and unfair management of the diſpute; as if the ſearch after truth were in any degree the object of ſuch conferences, and a candid indifference, ſo rare even among private inquirers, in *philoſophical* queſtions, could ever be expected among princes and prelates, in a *theological* controverſy. The King, it muſt be confeſſed, from the beginning, ſhowed the ſtrongeſt propenſity to the eſtabliſhed church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which, tho' it has ſome foundation, is to be received with great limitations, NO BISHOP, NO KING. The biſhops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praiſes towards the royal diſputant; and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſaid, that *undoubtedly his Majeſty ſpoke by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's ſpirit*. A few alterations in the liturgy were agreed to, and both parties ſeparated with mutual diſſatisfaction.

IT had frequently been the practice of puritanical clergymen to form together certain aſſemblies, which they called *propheſyings*; where alternately, as moved by the ſpirit, they diſplayed their pious zeal in prayers and exhortations, and raiſed their

their own enthuſiaſm, as well as that of their audience, to the higheſt pitch, from that ſocial contagion, which has ſo mighty an influence on holy fervors, and from the mutual emulation, which aroſe in thoſe trials of religious eloquence. Such dangerous ſocieties had been ſuppreſſed by Elizabeth; and the miniſters in this conference moved the King for their revival. But James ſharply replied. *If you aim at a* Scottiſh *preſbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil. There* Jack *and* Tom *and* Will *and* Dick *ſhall meet and cenſure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former ſpeech.* Le Roi s'aviſera. *Stay, I pray, for one ſeven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grow puſſie and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough.* Such were the political conſiderations, which determined the King in his choice among religious parties. Chap. I. 1604.

THE next aſſembly, in which James diſplayed his learning and eloquence, was one, that ſhowed ſome more ſpirit of liberty than appeared among his biſhops and theologians. The parliament was now to aſſemble; being ſo long delayed on account of the plague, which raged in London, and to ſuch a degree, that 30,000 perſons are computed to have died of it in a year; tho' the City contained at that time only about 150,000 inhabitants. A parliament. March 19.

THE ſpeech, which the King made on opening the parliament, diſplays fully his character, and proves him to have poſſeſſed more knowlege and greater parts than prudence or any juſt ſenſe of decorum and propriety. Tho' few writings of that age ſurpaſs this ſpeech either in ſtyle or matter; it wants that majeſtic brevity and reſerve, which becomes a king in his addreſſes to the great council of the nation. It contains, however, a very remarkable ſtroke of candor, where he confeſſes his too great facility in yielding to the ſollicitations of ſuitors: A fault, which he promiſes to correct, but which adhered to him, and diſtreſſed him, during the whole courſe of his reign.

THE firſt buſineſs, in which the commons were engaged, was of the utmoſt importance to the preſervation of their privileges; and neither temper nor reſolution were wanting in their conduct of it.

IN former periods of the Engliſh government, the houſe of commons were of ſo ſmall weight in the balance of the conſtitution, that little attention had been given, either by the crown, the people, or the houſe itſelf, to the choice and continuance of the members. It had been uſual, after parliaments were prolonged beyond one ſeſſion, for the chancellor to exert a diſcretionary authority, of iſſuing new writs to ſupply the place of any members, whom he judged incapable of attending, either on account of their employment, their ſickneſs, or other impediment. This practice gave that miniſter, and conſequently the prince, an unlimited power of garbling at

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pleaſure the repreſentatives of the nation; yet ſo little jealouſy had it created, that the commons, of themſelves, without any court-influence or intrigue, and contrary to ſome former votes of their own, confirmed it in the twenty third of Elizabeth *. At that time, tho' ſome members, whoſe place had been ſupplied on account of ſickneſs, having now received their health, appeared in the houſe, and claimed their ſeat; ſuch was the authority of the chancellor, that merely out of reſpect to him, his ſentence was adhered to, and the new members were continued in their places. Here a moſt dangerous prerogative was conferred on the crown: But to ſhow the genius of that age, or rather the channels, in which power then ran, the crown put very little value on this authority; inſomuch, that two days afterwards, the chancellor, of himſelf, reſigned it back to the commons, and gave them power to judge of a particular vacancy in their houſe. And when the queſtion, concerning the chancellor's new writs, was again brought on the carpet towards the end of ſeſſion, the commons were ſo little terrified at the precedent, that, tho' they readmitted ſome old members, whoſe ſeats had been vacated, on account of ſlight indiſpoſitions, yet they confirmed the chancellor's ſentence, in inſtances where the diſtemper appeared dangerous and incurable †. Nor did they proceed any farther, in vindication of their privileges, than to vote, *that during the ſitting of parliament, there do not, at any time, any writ go out for the chooſing or returning any member, without the warrant of the houſe.* In Elizabeth's reign, we may remark, and the reigns preceding, ſeſſions of parliament uſually continued not above the twelfth part ſo long as the vacations; and during the latter, the chancellor's power, if he pleaſed to exert it, was ſtill left, by the vote, as unlimited and unreſtrained as ever.

In a ſubſequent parliament, the abſolute authority of the Queen was exerted in a manner ſtill more open; and began for the firſt time to give alarm to the commons. New writs having been iſſued by the chancellor, where there was no vacancy, and a controverſy ariſing upon that incident; the Queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them, that it was impertinent for them to deal in ſuch matters. Theſe queſtions, ſhe ſaid, belonged only to the chancellor; and ſhe had appointed him to confer with the judges, in order to ſettle all diſputes with regard to elections. The commons had the courage, a few days after, to vote, "That it was a moſt perilous precedent, where two knights of a county were "duly elected, if any new writ ſhould iſſue out for a ſecond election, without "order of the houſe itſelf; that the diſcuſſing and adjudging of this and ſuch "like differences belonged only to the houſe; and that there ſhould be no meſ-"ſage ſent to the Lord chancellor, not ſo much as to inquire what he had done in

* Journ. January, 17. 1580. † Journ. March, 18. 1580.

"in the matter, becauſe it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the power "and privilege of the houſe *." This is the moſt conſiderable, and almoſt only inſtance of parliamentary liberty, which occurs, during the reign of that arbitrary Princeſs.

OUTLAWS, whether on account of debts or crimes, had been declared by the judges †, incapable of a ſeat in the houſe, where they muſt themſelves be lawgivers: But this opinion of the judges had been frequently over-ruled. I find, however, in the caſe of Vaughan, ‡ who was queſtioned for an outlawry, that, having proved all his debts to have been contracted for ſuretiſhip, and to have been, moſt of them, honeſtly compounded, he was allowed, on account of theſe favorable circumſtances, ſtill to keep his ſeat: Which plainly ſuppoſes, that, otherwiſe, it would have been vacated, on account of the outlawry.

WHEN James ſummoned this parliament, he iſſued a proclamation; ‖ where among many general advices, which, like a kind tutor, he beſtowed on his people, he ſtrictly charges them not to chooſe any outlaw for their repreſentative. And he adds; *If any perſon take upon him the place of knight, citizen, or burgeſs, not being duly elected, according to the laws and ſtatutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every perſon ſo offending, to be fined or impriſoned for the ſame.* A proclamation here was plainly put on the ſame footing with a law, and that in ſo ſacred a point as the right of elections: Moſt alarming circumſtances, had there not been room to believe, that this meaſure, being entered into ſo early in the King's reign, proceeded more from precipitation and ignorance, than from any ſerious deſign of invading the privileges of his parliament.

SIR Francis Goodwin was choſen member for the county of Bucks; and his return, as uſual, was made into the chancery. The chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his ſeat, and iſſued writs for a new election. Sir John Fortiſcue was choſen in his place by the county: But the firſt act of the houſe was to reverſe the chancellor's ſentence, and reſtore Sir Francis to his ſeat. At the King's inſtigation, the lords deſired a conference on this ſubject; but were abſolutely refuſed by the commons, as the queſtion regarded entirely their own privileges. They agreed, however, to make a remonſtrance to the King by the mouth of their ſpeaker; where they maintained, that, tho' the returns were by form made into chancery, yet the ſole right of judging with regard to elections belonged to the houſe itſelf, not to the chancellor. James was not ſatisfied, and ordered a conference betwixt the houſe and the judges, whoſe opinion in this caſe was oppoſite to that of the commons. This conference, he ſaid, he commanded as an *abſolute*

* Sir Simon D'ewes's journal. p. 397.

† 39. H. vi. ‡ Journ. Feb. 8. 1580. ‖ Jan. 11. 1604.

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abſolute king;* an epithet, we may imagine, not very grateful to Engliſh ears, but one to which they had already been ſomewhat accuſtomed from the mouth of Elizabeth. He added, *That all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped they would not turn them againſt him*; a ſentiment, which, from her conduct, it is probable, that Princeſs had alſo entertained, tho' her prudence and love of popularity had ever reſtrained her from openly expreſſing it.

THE commons were in ſome perplexity. Their eyes were now opened, and they ſaw the conſequences of that power, which had been aſſumed by the chancellor, and to which their predeceſſors had, in ſome inſtances, blindly ſubmitted. *By this courſe*, ſaid a member, *the free election of the counties is taken away, and none ſhall be choſen but ſuch as ſhall pleaſe the king and council. Let us, therefore, with fortitude, underſtanding, and ſincerity, ſeek to maintain our privilege. This cannot be conſtrued any contempt in us, but merely a maintainance of our common rights, which our anceſtors have left us, and which it is juſt and fit for us to tranſmit to our poſterity.* Another ſaid, *This may be called a* quo warranto *to ſeize all our liberties. A chancellor*, added a third, *by this courſe may call a parliament, conſiſting of what perſons he pleaſes. Any ſuggeſtion, by any perſon, may be the cauſe of ſending a new writ. It is come to this plain queſtion, whether the chancery or parliament ought to have authority.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this watchful ſpirit of liberty, which now appeared in the commons, their deference for majeſty was ſo great, that they appointed a committee to confer with the judges before the King and council. There the queſtion of law began to appear, in James's eyes, a little more doubtful than he had hitherto imagined it; and in order to bring himſelf off with ſome honor, he propoſed, that both Goodwin and Forteſcue ſhould be ſet aſide, and a writ be iſſued, by warrant of the houſe, for a new election. The commons embraced this expedient; but in ſuch a manner, that, while they marked their regard for the King, they

* Sir Charles Cornwallis the King's ambaſſador at Madrid, when preſſed by the Duke of Lerma to enter into a league with Spain, ſaid to that miniſter; *Tho' his Majeſty was an* abſolute *king, and therefore not bound to give an account to any, of his actions; yet that ſo gracious and regardful a prince he was of the love and contentment of his own ſubjects, as I aſſured myſelf he would not think it fit to do any thing of ſo great conſequence without acquainting them with his intentions.* Winwood, Vol. 2. p. 222. Sir Walter Raleigh has this paſſage in the preface to his hiſtory of the world. *Philip* II., *by ſtrong hand and main force, attempted to make himſelf, not only an* abſolute monarch *over the Netherlands, like unto the kings and monarchs of England and France, but Turk-like to tread under his feet all their natural and fundamental laws, privileges and ancient rights.* We may infer from theſe paſſages, either that the word *abſolute* bore a different ſenſe from what it does at preſent, or that men's ideas of the Engliſh government were then different. This latter inference ſeems juſter. The word being derived from the Latin and French, bore always the ſame ſenſe as in theſe two languages. An abſolute monarchy in Charles I.'s anſwer to the nineteen propoſitions, is oppoſed to a limited: and the King of England is acknowleged not to be abſolute. So much had matters changed even before the civil war.

they ſecured, for the future, the free poſſeſſion of their ſeats, and the right, which they claimed, of judging ſolely in their own elections and returns.

A power like this, ſo eſſential to the exerciſe of all their other powers, themſelves ſo eſſential to public liberty, cannot fairly be deemed an encroachment in the commons; but muſt be regarded as an inherent privilege, happily reſcued from that doubt and ambiguity, which the negligence of ſome former parliaments had thrown upon it.

At the ſame time, the commons, in the caſe of Sir Thomas Shirley, eſtabliſhed their power of puniſhing, as well the perſons at whoſe ſuit any member was arreſted, as the officers, who either arreſt or detain him. Their aſſerting of this privilege admits of the ſame reflection.

About this period, the minds of men, thro'out all Europe, but eſpecially in England, ſeem to have undergone a general, but inſenſible revolution. Tho' letters had been revived in the preceding age, they had been little cultivated beyond the limits of the college; nor had they, till now, begun to ſpread themſelves, in any degree, among men of the world. Arts, both mechanical and liberal, were every day receiving great improvements. Navigation had extended itſelf over the whole globe. Travelling was ſecure and agreeable. And the general ſyſtem of politics, in Europe, was become more enlarged and comprehenſive.

In conſequence of this univerſal fermentation, the ideas of men expanded themſelves on all ſides; and the ſeveral conſtituent parts of the gothic governments, which ſeem to have lain a-ſleep for ſo many ages, began, every where, to operate and encroach on each other. On the continent, where the neceſſity of diſcipline had begot mercenary armies, the prince commonly eſtabliſhed an unlimited authority, and overpowered, by force or intrigue, the liberties of the people. In England, the love of freedom, which, unleſs checked, flouriſhes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new force, as well as more enlarged views, ſuitable to that cultivated underſtanding, which became, every day, more common, among men of birth and education. A familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity excited in every generous breaſt a paſſion for a limited conſtitution, and engendered an emulation of thoſe manly virtues, which the Greek and Roman authors, by ſuch animating examples, as well as pathetic expreſſions, recommend to us. The ſevere, tho' popular government of Elizabeth had confined this riſing ſpirit within very narrow bounds: But when a new and a foreign family ſucceeded to the throne, and a prince leſs dreaded and leſs beloved; ſymptoms immediately appeared of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

Happily, this Prince poſſeſſed neither ſufficient capacity to perceive the alteration, nor ſufficient art and vigor to check it in its early advances. Jealous of regal, becauſe

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becauſe conſcious of little perſonal authority, he had eſtabliſhed within his own mind a ſpeculative ſyſtem of abſolute government, which few of his ſubjects, he believed, and none but traitors and rebels, would make any ſcruple to admit. On which-ever ſide he caſt his eyes, every thing concurred to foſter his prejudices. When he compared himſelf with the other hereditary ſovereigns of Europe, he imagined, that, as he bore the ſame rank, he was intitled to equal prerogatives; not conſidering the innovations lately introduced by them, and the military force, with which their authority was ſupported. In England, that power, almoſt unlimited, which had been exerciſed for above a century, eſpecially during the late reign, he aſcribed ſolely to royal birth and title; not to the prudence and ſpirit of the monarchs, nor to the conjunctures of the times. Even the oppoſition, which he had ſtruggled with in Scotland, encouraged him ſtill farther in his favorite notions; while he there ſaw, that the ſame reſiſtance, which oppoſed regal authority, violated all law and order, and gave way, either to the ravages of a barbarous nobility, or to the more intolerable inſolence of ſeditious preachers. In his own perſon, therefore, he thought all legal power to be centered, by an hereditary and a divine right: And this opinion might have proved dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty; had not the very firmneſs of the perſuaſion, and its ſeeming evidence, induced him to truſt intirely to his right, without making the ſmalleſt proviſion either of force or politics, in order to ſupport it.

SUCH were the oppoſite diſpoſitions of parliament and prince, at the commencement of the Scottiſh line; diſpoſitions juſt beginning to exiſt and to appear in the parliament, but thorowly eſtabliſhed and openly avowed on the part of the prince.

THE ſpirit and judgment of the houſe of commons appeared, not only in defence of their own privileges, but alſo in their endeavor, tho', at this time, in vain, to free trade from thoſe ſhackles, which the high exerted prerogative, and even, in this reſpect, the ill judged tyranny of Elizabeth, had impoſed upon it.

JAMES had already, of his own accord, called in the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted by his predeceſſor, and which fettered extremely every ſpecies of domeſtic induſtry: But the excluſive companies ſtill remained; another ſpecies of monopoly, by which almoſt all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engroſſers, and all proſpect of future improvement in commerce, for ever ſold to a little temporary advantage of the ſovereign. Theſe companies, tho' arbitrarily erected, had carried their privileges ſo far, that the whole commerce of England was centered in London; and it appears, that the cuſtoms of that port amounted to 110,000 L. a-year, while thoſe of all the kingdom beſide yielded only ſeventeen thouſand. Nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about 200 citizens, who were

eaſily

eaſily enabled, by conſpiring among themſelves, to fix whatever price they pleaſed both to the exports and imports of the nation. The committee, appointed to examine this enormous grievance, the greateſt which we read of in Engliſh ſtory, inſiſt on it as a fact well known and avowed, however contrary to preſent received opinion, that ſhipping and ſeamen had ſenſibly decayed during all the preceeding reign. And tho' nothing be more common, than complaints of the decay of commerce, even during the moſt flouriſhing periods; yet is this a conſequence which might naturally reſult from ſuch arbitrary eſtabliſhments, at a time when the trade of all the other nations of Europe, except that of Scotland, enjoyed the utmoſt liberty and indulgence.

WHILE the commons were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they alſo endeavored to free the landed intereſt from the burthen of wardſhips, and to remove thoſe remains of the feudal tenures, under which the nation ſtill labored. A juſt regard was ſhown to the crown in the whole conduct of this affair; nor was the remedy, ſought for, conſidered as a matter of right, but merely of grace and favor. The profit, which the King reaped both from wards and from reſpite of homage, was eſtimated; and it was propoſed to compound for theſe prerogatives by a ſecure and independent revenue. But after ſome debates in the houſe, and ſome conferences with the lords, the affair was found to contain more difficulties than could eaſily, at that time, be ſurmounted; and it was not brought to any concluſion.

THE ſame fate attended an attempt of a like nature, to free the nation from the burthen of purveyance; an old prerogative in the crown, by which the officers of the houſhold were empowered to take, without conſent of the owners, proviſions for the King's family, and carts and horſes for the removal of his baggage, upon paying a certain ſtated price for them. This prerogative had been much abuſed by the purveyors; and the commons ſhewed ſome intention to offer the King fifty thouſand pound a-year for the abolition of it.

ANOTHER affair of the utmoſt conſequence was brought before this parliament, where the commons ſhewed a greater ſpirit of independence than any true judgment of national intereſt. The union of the two kingdoms was very zealouſly, and even impatiently urged by the King. He juſtly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the bloody animoſities of theſe hoſtile nations, and had reduced the whole iſland under one empire; enjoying tranquillity within itſelf, and ſecurity from all foreign invaſion. He hoped, that, while his ſubjects of both kingdoms reflected on paſt diſaſters, beſide regarding his perſon as infinitely precious, they would entertain the ſtrongeſt deſire of ſecuring themſelves againſt the return of like calamities, by a thorow union of laws, parliaments

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ments and privileges. He conſidered not, that this very reflection operated, as yet, in a contrary manner, on men's prejudices, and kept alive that mutual hatred betwixt the nations, which had been carried to the higheſt extremity, and required time to allay it. The more urgent the King appeared in promoting ſo uſeful a meaſure, the more backward was the Engliſh parliament in concurring with him; while they aſcribed his exceſſive zeal to that partiality, in favor of his antient ſubjects, of which, they thought, that, on other occaſions, they had reaſon to complain. Their complaiſance for the King, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty four Engliſh to meet with thirty one Scotch commiſſioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union; but without any power of making advances towards the eſtabliſhment of it.

The ſame ſpirit of independence, and perhaps not better judgment, appeared in the houſe of commons, when the queſtion of ſupply was brought before them, by ſome members, who were attached to the court. In vain was it urged, that, tho' the King received a ſupply, which had been voted to Elizabeth, and which had not been collected before her death; yet he found it burthened with a debt contracted by the Queen, equal to the full amount of it: That the peace was not yet thorowly concluded with Spain, and that Ireland was ſtill expenſive to him: That on his journey from Scotland, amid ſuch an immenſe concourſe of people, and on that of the Queen and royal family, he had expended conſiderable ſums: And that, as the courtiers had looked for greater liberalities from the Prince on his firſt acceſſion, and had impoſed on his generous nature; ſo the Prince, in his turn, would expect, at the beginning, ſome mark of duty and attachment from his people, and ſome conſideration of his neceſſities. No impreſſion was made on the houſe of commons by theſe topics; and the majority appeared fully determined to refuſe all ſupply. The burthen of the government, at that time, lay ſurpriſingly light upon the people: And that very reaſon, which to us, at this diſtance, may ſeem a motive for generoſity, was the real cauſe why the parliament were ſo remarkably frugal and reſerved. They were not, as yet, accuſtomed to open their purſes in ſo liberal a manner as their ſucceſſors, in order to ſupply the wants of their ſovereign; and the ſmalleſt demand, however requiſite, appeared in their eyes unreaſonable and exorbitant.

In order to cover a diſappointment, which might bear a bad conſtruction both at home and abroad, James ſent a meſſage to the houſe. where he told them, that he deſired no ſupply; and he was very forward in refuſing what was never offered him. Soon after, he prorogued the parliament, not without diſcovering, in his ſpeech, viſible marks of diſſatisfaction. Even ſo early in his reign, he ſaw reaſon to make public complaints of the reſtleſs and encroaching ſpirit of the puritanical party, and of the malevolence, with which they endeavored to inſpire the commons.

7th of *July*.

This

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Peace with *Spain*. 18th *Auguſt*.

THIS ſummer, the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was ſigned by the Spaniſh miniſters at London. In the conferences, preparatory to this treaty, the nations were found to have ſo few claims on each other, that, except on account of the ſupport given by England to the low country provinces, the war might appear the effect more of perſonal animoſity betwixt Philip and Elizabeth, than any contrariety of political intereſts betwixt their ſubjects. Such articles in the treaty as ſeem prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth, were never executed by the King; and as the Spaniards made no complaints on that head, it appeared, that, by mutual agreement, theſe articles were underſtood in a different ſenſe from what they ſeem naturally to bear. The Conſtable of Caſtile came into England to ratify the peace; and on the part of England, the Earl of Hartford was ſent into the low countries for the ſame purpoſe, and the Earl of Nottingham, Lord high admiral, into Spain. The train of the latter was very numerous and ſplendid; and the Spaniards, it is ſaid, were extremely ſurpriſed, when they beheld the blooming countenances and graceful appearance of the Engliſh, whom their bigotry, inflamed by the prieſts, had repreſented as ſo many monſters and infernal demons.

THO' England, by means of her naval force, was perfectly ſecure, during the latter years of the Spaniſh war; James ſhewed an extreme impatience to put an end to hoſtilities; and ſoon after his acceſſion, before any terms of peace were concerted, or even propoſed by Spain, he recalled all the letters of marque * which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth. The Archduke Albert had made ſome advances of a like nature, which invited the King to take this friendly ſtep. But what is remarkable; in James's proclamation for that purpoſe, he plainly ſuppoſes, that, as he had himſelf, while king of Scotland, always lived in amity with Spain, peace was attached to his perſon, and that merely by his acceſſion to the crown of England, without any articles of treaty or agreement, he had ended the war betwixt the kingdoms. This ignorance of the law of nations may appear ſurpriſing in a Prince, who was thirty ſix years of age, and who had reigned from his infancy; did we not conſider, that a king of Scotland, who lives in cloſe friendſhip with England, has few tranſactions to manage with foreign princes, and has little opportunity of acquiring experience. Unhappily for James, his timidity, his prejudices, his indolence, his love of amuſement, particularly of hunting, to which he was extremely addicted, ever prevented him from making any progreſs in the knowlege or practice of foreign politics, and in a little time diminiſhed that regard, which all the neighbouring nations had paid to England, during the reign of his predeceſſor.

* 23d of *June*, 1603.

CHAP. II.

Gun-powder conſpiracy.——Character of the catholics.——A parliament.——Truce betwixt Spain and the united provinces.——A parliament.——Death of the French King.——Arminianiſm.——State of Ireland.——

Chap. II. 1604.

WE come now to relate an event among the moſt memorable, which hiſtory has conveyed to poſterity, and containing at once a ſingular proof both of the ſtrength and weakneſs of the human mind; its wideſt departure from morals, and its moſt ſteady attachment to religious prejudices. 'Tis the *Gun-powder-treaſon* of which I ſpeak; a fact as certain as it appears incredible.

Gun-powder conſpiracy.

THE Roman catholics had expected great favor and indulgence on the acceſſion of James, both as he was deſcended from Mary, who had ſacrificed her life to their cauſe, and as he had himſelf, in his early youth, ſhewed ſome partiality towards them; which nothing, they believed, but intereſt and neceſſity had ſince reſtrained. 'Tis pretended, that he had even entered into poſitive engagements to tolerate their religion, as ſoon as he ſhould mount the throne of England; whether their credulity had interpreted in this ſenſe ſome obliging expreſſions of the King, or that he had employed ſuch an artifice, in order to render them favorable to his title. Very ſoon, they diſcovered their miſtake; and were at once ſurpriſed and enraged to find James, on all occaſions, expreſs his intention of executing ſtrictly the laws enacted againſt them, and of perſevering in all the rigorous meaſures of Elizabeth. Cateſby, a gentleman of good parts and of an antient family, firſt thought of a moſt extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a deſcendant of the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland. In one of their converſations with regard to the diſtreſt condition of the catholics, Piercy having broke into a ſally of paſſion, and mentioned the aſſaſſinating the King; Cateſby took the opportunity of revealing to him a nobler and more extenſive plan of treaſon, which not only included a ſure execution of vengeance, but afforded ſome hopes of reſtoring the catholic religion in England. In vain, ſaid he, would you put an end to the King's life: He has children, who would ſucceed both to his crown and to his maxims of government. In vain would you extinguiſh the whole royal family: The nobility, the gentry, the parliament are all infected with the ſame hereſy, and could raiſe to the throne another prince and another family, who, beſide their hatred to our religion, would be animated with revenge for the tragical

tragical death of their predeceſſors. To ſerve any good purpoſe, we muſt deſtroy, at one blow, the King, the royal family, the lords, the commons; and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are all aſſembled on the firſt day of every ſeſſion; and afford us the opportunity of glorious and uſeful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requiſite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the hall, in which they meet, and chooſing the very moment when the King harangues both houſes, conſign over to deſtruction theſe determined foes to all piety and religion. Mean while, we ourſelves ſtanding aloof, ſafe and unſuſpected, ſhall triumph in being the inſtruments of divine wrath, and ſhall behold with pleaſure thoſe ſacrilegious walls, in which were paſt the edicts for proſcribing our church and butchering her children, toſt into a thouſand fragments; while their impious inhabitants, meditating perhaps ſtill new perſecutions againſt us, paſs from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their offences.

PIERCY was charmed with this project of Cateſby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the reſt to Thomas Winter whom they ſent over to Flanders, in queſt of Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal and courage they were all thorowly acquainted. When ever they inliſted a new conſpirator, in order to bind him to ſecrecy, along with an oath, they always employed the ſacrament, the moſt ſacred rite of their religion. And 'tis remarkable, that no one of theſe pious devotees ever entertained the leaſt compunction with regard to the cruel maſſacre, which they projected, of whatever was great and eminent in the nation. Some of them only were ſtartled by the reflection, that of neceſſity many catholics muſt be preſent; as ſpectators, as attendants on the King, as having ſeats in the houſe of peers: But Teſmond, a jeſuit, and Garnet, ſuperior of that order in England, removed theſe weak ſcruples, and ſhowed them how the intereſts of religion required, that the innocent ſhould here be ſacrificed along with the guilty.

ALL this paſſed in the ſpring and ſummer of the year 1604; when the conſpirators alſo hired a houſe in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to aſſemble. Towards the end of that year they began their operations. That they might be leſs interrupted, and give leſs ſuſpicion to the neighbourhood, they carried in ſtore of proviſions along with them, and never deſiſted from their labour. Obſtinate to their purpoſe, and confirmed by paſſion, by principle, and by mutual exhortation, they little valued life in compariſon of a diſappointment; and having provided arms, along with the inſtruments of their work, they reſolved there to periſh in caſe of a diſcovery.

Objects

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Objects of pity as well as of horror, barbarous and pious, traiterous and faithful, they fancied themſelves favorites of heaven while enemies to mankind, and drowned all ſenſe of crime in their pretenſions to ſuperior excellence and merit. Their perſeverance advanced the work; and they ſoon pierced the wall, tho' three yards in thickneſs; but on approaching the other ſide, they were ſomewhat ſtartled with hearing a noiſe, which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found, that it came from the vault below the houſe of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were ſelling off, the vault would be let to the higheſt bidder. The opportunity was immediately ſeized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty ſix barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open; and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

CONFIDENT of ſucceſs, they now began to look forward, and to plan the remaining part of their project. The King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales were all expected to be preſent at the opening of the parliament. The Duke, by reaſon of his tender age, would be abſent; and it was reſolved, that Piercy ſhould ſeize him, or aſſaſſinate him. The Princeſs Elizabeth, a child likeways, was kept at Lord Harrington's houſe in Warwickſhire; and Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, Grant, being let into the conſpiracy, engaged to aſſemble their friends, under pretext of a hunting-match, and ſeizing that Princeſs immediately to proclaim her Queen. So tranſported were they with rage againſt their adverſaries, and charmed with the proſpect of revenge, that they forgot all care of their own ſafety; and truſting to the general confuſion, which muſt reſult from ſo unexpected a blow, they foreſaw not, that the fury of the people, now unreſtrained by any authority, muſt have turned againſt them, and would probably have ſatiated itſelf, by an univerſal maſſacre of the catholics.

THE day, ſo long wiſhed for, now approached, on which the parliament was appointed to aſſemble. The dreadful ſecret, tho' communicated to above twenty perſons, had been religiouſly kept, during the ſpace of near a year and a half. No remorſe, no pity, no fear of puniſhment, no hope of reward, had, as yet, induced any one conſpirator, either to abandon the enterprize, or make a diſcovery of it. The holy fury had extinguiſhed in their breaſt every other motive; and it was an indiſcretion at laſt, proceeding chiefly from theſe very bigotted prejudices and partialities, which ſaved the nation.

TEN days before the meeting of the parliament, Lord Monteagle, a catholic, ſon to Lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his ſervant

ſervant by an unknown hand. *My Lord, Out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation. Therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. And think not ſlightly of this advertiſement; but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For, tho' there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they will receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This council is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it, to whoſe holy protection I commend you.*

MONTEAGLE knew not what to make of this letter; and tho' inclined to think it a fooliſh attempt to frighten and ridicule him, he judged it ſafeſt to carry it to Lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. Tho' Saliſbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, he thought proper to communicate it to the King, who came to town a few days after. To the King, it appeared not ſo light a matter; and from the ſerious earneſt ſtyle of the letter, he conjectured, that it implied ſomething very dangerous and important. A *terrible blow* and yet *the authors concealed*, a danger ſo *ſudden* and yet ſo *great*, theſe circumſtances ſeemed all to denote ſome contrivance by gun-powder; and it was thought adviſable to inſpect all the vaults below the houſes of parliament. This care belonged to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord chamberlain; who purpoſely delayed the ſearch, till the day before the meeting of the parliament. He remarked thoſe great piles of wood and faggots, which lay in the vault under the upper houſe; and he caſt his eye upon Fawkes, who ſtood in a dark corner, and paſſed himſelf for Piercy's ſervant. That daring and determined courage, which ſo much diſtinguiſhed this conſpirator, even among thoſe heroes in villany, was fully painted in his countenance, and was not paſſed unnoticed by the Lord chamberlain. Such a quantity of fuel too, for the uſe of one who lived ſo little in town as Piercy, appeared a little extraordinary; and upon comparing all circumſtances, it was reſolved, that a more thorow inſpection ſhould be made. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of peace, was ſent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault, finding Fawkes, who had juſt finiſhed all his preparations, he immediately ſeized him, and turning over the faggots, diſcovered the powder. The matches and every thing proper for ſetting fire to the train were taken in Fawkes's pocket, who finding his guilt now apparent, and ſeeing no refuge but in boldneſs and deſpair, expreſſed the utmoſt regret, that he had loſt the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of ſweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council, he diſplayed the ſame intrepid firmneſs, mixt even with ſcorn and diſdain; refuſing to diſcover his accomplices, and ſhowing no concern

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cern but for the failure of the enterprize. This obſtinacy laſted for two or three days: But being confined to the tower, left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being juſt ſhown to him; his courage, fatigued with ſo long an effort, and unſupported by hope or ſociety, at laſt ſuccumbed; and he made a full diſcovery of all the conſpirators.

CATESBY, Piercy, and the other criminals, who were in London; tho' they had heard of the alarm taken at the letter ſent to Monteagle, tho' they had heard of the Lord chamberlain's ſearch; yet were reſolved to perſiſt to the utmoſt, and never abandoned their hopes of ſucceſs. * But at laſt, hearing that Fawkes was arreſted, they hurried away to Warwickſhire; where Sir Everard Digby, making account that ſucceſs had attended his confederates, was already in arms, in order to ſeize the Princeſs Elizabeth. She had eſcaped into Coventry; and they were obliged to put themſelves on their defence againſt the country, who were raiſed from all quarters, and armed, by the ſherriffs. The conſpirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of eighty perſons; and being ſurrounded on every ſide, could no longer entertain hopes, either of eſcaping or prevailing. Having therefore confeſſed themſelves, and received abſolution, they boldly prepared for death, and reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible to the aſſailants. But even this miſerable conſolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and diſabled them for defence. The people ruſhed in upon them. Piercy and Cateſby were killed with one ſhot. Digby, Rookwood, Winter, and others, being taken priſoners, were tried, confeſſed their guilt, and died, as well as Garnet, by the hands of the executioner.

NEITHER had the deſperate fortune of the conſpirators urged them to this enterprize, nor had the former profligacy of their lives prepared them for ſo great a crime. Before that audacious attempt, their conduct ſeems, in general, to be liable to no reproach. Cateſby's character had entitled him to ſuch regard, that Rookwood and Digby were ſeduced by their implicite truſt in his judgment; and they declared, that, from the motive alone of friendſhip to him, they were ready, on any occaſion, to have ſacrificed their lives. Digby himſelf was as highly eſteemed and beloved

* Some hiſtorians have imagined, that the King had ſecret intelligence of the conſpiracy, and that the letter to Monteagle was wrote by his direction, in order to obtain the fame of penetration in diſcovering the plot. But the known facts refute this ſuppoſition. That letter, being commonly talked of, might naturally have given an alarm to the conſpirators, and made them contrive their eſcape. The viſit of the Lord chamberlain ought to have had the ſame effect. In ſhort, it appears, that no body was arreſted or enquired after, for ſome days, till Fawkes diſcovered their names. We may infer, however, from a letter in Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. that Saliſbury's ſagacity led the King in his conjectures, and that the miniſter, like an artful courtier, gave his maſter the praiſe of the whole diſcovery.

beloved as any man in England; and he had been particularly honored with the good opinion of Queen Elizabeth. 'Twas bigotted zeal alone, the moſt abſurd of prejudices maſqued with reaſon, the moſt criminal of paſſions covered with the appearance of duty, which ſeduced them into meaſures, that were fatal to themſelves, and had ſo nearly proved fatal to their country. Chap. II. 1605.

THE Lords Mordaunt and Sturton, two catholics, were fined, the former 10,000 pound, the latter 4000, by the ſtar-chamber; becauſe their abſence from parliament had begot a ſuſpicion of their being made acquainted with the conſpiracy. The Earl of Northumberland was fined 30, 000 pound, and detained ſeveral years priſoner in the tower; becauſe, among other grounds of ſuſpicion, he had admitted Piercy into the number of gentlemen penſioners, without his taking the requiſite oaths. Theſe ſentences may be eſteemed ſomewhat arbitrary: But ſuch was the nature of all proceedings in the ſtar-chamber.

THE King, in his ſpeech to the parliament, obſerved, that, tho' religion had engaged the conſpirators into ſo criminal an attempt, yet ought we not to involve all the Roman catholics in the ſame guilt, or ſuppoſe them equally diſpoſed to commit ſuch enormous barbarities. Many holy men, he ſaid, and our anceſtors among the reſt, had been ſeduced to concur with that church in her ſcholaſtic doctrines; who yet had never admitted her ſeditious principles, concerning the Pope's power of dethroning kings, or ſanctifying aſſaſſination. The wrath of heaven is denounced againſt crimes, but innocent error may obtain its favor; and nothing can be more hateful than the uncharitableneſs of puritans, who condemn alike to eternal torments, even the moſt inoffenſive proſelytes to popery. For his part, he added, that conſpiracy, however atrocious, ſhould never alter, in the leaſt, his plan of government: While with one hand he puniſhed guilt; with the other, he would ſtill ſupport and protect innocence. After this ſpeech, he prorogued the parliament, till the 22d of January.

THE moderation, and, I may ſay, magnanimity, of the King, immediately after ſo narrow an eſcape from a moſt deteſtable conſpiracy, was no way agreeable to his ſubjects. Their rage againſt popery, even before this provocation, had riſen to a great pitch; and it had perhaps been more prudent in James, by a little diſſimulation, to have conformed himſelf to it. Here it may not be improper, in a few words, to give ſome account of the Roman catholic ſuperſtition, its genius and ſpirit. Hiſtory addreſſes itſelf to a more diſtant poſterity than will ever be reached by any local or temporary theology; and the characters of ſects may be ſtudied, when their controverſies ſhall be totally forgotten.

BEFORE the reformation, all men of ſenſe and virtue wiſhed impatiently for ſome event, which might repreſs the exorbitant power of the clergy all over Europe, and Character of the catholics.

Chap. II. 1605.

put an end to the unbounded uſurpations and pretenſions of the Roman pontiff: But when the doctrine of Luther was promulgated, they were ſomewhat alarmed at the ſharpneſs of the remedy; and it was eaſily foreſeen, from the offenſive zeal of the reformers, and defenſive of the church, that all chriſtendom muſt be thrown into combuſtion. In the preceeding ſtate of ignorance and tranquillity, into which mankind were lulled, the attachment to ſuperſtition, tho' without reſerve, was not extreme; and, like the antient pagan idolatry, the popular religion conſiſted more of exterior practices and obſervances, than of any principles, which either took poſſeſſion of the heart, or influenced the conduct. It might have been hoped, that learning and knowlege, as of old in Greece, ſtealing in gradually, would have opened the eyes of men, and corrected ſuch of the eccleſiaſtical abuſes as were the groſſeſt and moſt burthenſome. It had been obſerved, that, upon the revival of letters, very generous and enlarged ſentiments of religion prevailed thro'out all Italy; and that, during the reign of Leo, the court of Rome itſelf, in imitation of their illuſtrious prince, had not been wanting in a juſt ſenſe of freedom. But when the enraged and fanatical reformers took arms againſt the papal hierarchy, and threatened to rend from the church at once all her riches and authority; no wonder ſhe was animated with equal zeal and ardor, in defence of ſuch antient and invaluable poſſeſſions. At the ſame time, that ſhe employed the ſtake and gibbet againſt her avowed enemies, ſhe extended her jealouſy even towards learning and philoſophy, whom, in her ſupine ſecurity, ſhe had formerly overlooked, as harmleſs and inoffenſive. Hence, the ſevere check, which knowlege received in Italy: Hence, its total extinction in Spain: And hence, the ſlow progreſs, which it made, in France, Germany, and England. From the admiration of antient literature, from the inquiry after new diſcoveries, the minds of the ſtudious were every where turned to polemical ſcience; and, in all ſchools and academies, the furious controverſies of theology took place of the calm diſquiſitions of learning.

MEAN while, the rage of diſpute and the violence of oppoſition rivetted men more ſtrongly in all their various deluſions, and infected every intercourſe of ſociety with their malignant influence. The Roman pontiff, not armed with temporal force, ſufficient for his defence, was obliged to point a-new all his ſpiritual artillery, and to propagate the doctrine of rebellion and even of aſſaſſination, in order to ſubdue or terrify his enemies. Prieſts, jealous and provoked, timorous and uncontroled, directed all the councils of that ſect, and gave riſe to ſuch events as ſeem aſtoniſhing amid the mildneſs and humanity of modern manners. The maſſacre of Paris, that of Ireland, the murder of the two Henrys of France, the gun-powder conſpiracy in England, are memorable, tho' temporary inſtances of the bigotry of that ſuperſtition. And the dreadful tribunal of the inquiſition, that utmoſt inſtance

of

of human depravity, is a durable monument to inſtruct us what a pitch iniquity and cruelty may riſe to, when covered with the ſacred mantle of religion. Chap. II. 1605.

THO' the proſpect of ſharing the plunder of the church had engaged ſome princes to embrace the reformation, it may be affirmed, that the Romiſh ſyſtem remained ſtill the favorite religion of ſovereigns. The blind ſubmiſſion, which is inculcated by all ſuperſtition, particularly by that of the catholics; the abſolute reſignation of all private judgment, reaſon, and inquiry; theſe are diſpoſitions very advantageous to civil as well as eccleſiaſtical authority; and the liberty of the ſubject is more likely to ſuffer from ſuch principles than the prerogatives of the chief magiſtrate. The ſplendor too and pomp of worſhip, which that religion carefully ſupports, are agreeable to the taſte of magnificence, that prevails in courts, and form a ſpecies of devotion, which, while it flatters the pampered ſenſes, gives little perplexity to the indolent underſtandings, of the great. That delicious country, where the Roman pontiff reſides, was the ſource of all modern art and refinement, and diffuſed on its ſuperſtition an air of politeneſs, which diſtinguiſhes it from the groſs ruſticity of the other ſects. And tho' policy made it aſſume, in ſome of its monaſtic orders, that auſtere mien, which is acceptable to the vulgar; all authority ſtill reſided in its prelates and ſpiritual princes, whoſe temper, more cultivated and humanized, inclined them to every decent pleaſure and indulgence. Like all other ſpecies of ſuperſtition, it rouſes the vain fears of unhappy mortals; but it knows alſo the ſecret of allaying theſe fears, and by exterior rites, ceremonies, and abaſements, tho' ſometimes at the expence of morals, it reconciles the penitent to his offended deity.

EMPLOYING all theſe various arts, along with a reſtleſs enterprize, the catholic religion has acquired the favor of many monarchs, who had received their education from its rival ſect; and Sweden, as well as England, has felt the effect of its dangerous inſinuations. James's theological learning, confirmed by diſputation, had happily fixed his judgment in a different ſyſtem; yet was his heart a little byaſſed by the allurements of Rome, and he had been extremely pleaſed, if the making ſome advances could have effected an union with that antient mother-church. He ſtrove to abate the acrimony of his own ſubjects againſt the religion of their fathers: He became himſelf the object of their diffidence and averſion. Whatever meaſures he embraced; in Scotland to introduce prelacy, in England to inforce the authority of the preſent church, and ſupport its rites and ceremonies; were interpreted as ſo many ſteps towards popery, and were repreſented by the fanatical puritans as ſymptoms of idolatry and ſuperſtition. Ignorant of the conſequences, or unwilling to ſacrifice to politics his inclination, which he called his conſcience, he perſevered in the ſame meaſures, and gave truſt and preferment, almoſt indiffe-

Chap. II. 1605. rently, to his catholic and proteſtant ſubjects. And finding his perſon, as well as his title, leſs obnoxious to the church of Rome, than thoſe of Elizabeth, he gradually abated the rigor of thoſe laws, which had been enacted againſt that church, and which were ſo acceptable to his bigotted ſubjects. But the effects of theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides became not very ſenſible, till towards the concluſion of his reign.

At this time, James ſeems to have poſſeſſed, in ſome degree, the affections even of his Engliſh ſubjects, and in a pretty high degree, their eſteem and regard. Hitherto their complaints were chiefly levelled againſt his too great conſtancy in his early friendſhips; a quality, which, had it been attended with more oeconomy, the wiſe would have excuſed, and the candid would even, perhaps, have applauded. His parts, which were not deſpicable, and his learning, which was great, being highly extolled by his courtiers and gownmen, and not yet tried in the management of any delicate affairs, for which he was unfit, bred a very high idea of him in the world; nor was it always thro' flattery or inſincerity, that he received the title of the ſecond Solomon. A report, which was ſuddenly ſpred about this time, of his being aſſaſſinated, viſibly ſtruck a great conſternation into all orders of men.

A parliament. The commons too abated, this ſeſſion, ſomewhat of their exceſſive frugality; and granted him an aid of three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths, which, Sir Francis Bacon ſaid in the houſe, might amount to about four hundred thouſand pound. And for once the King and parliament parted in friendſhip and good humor. The hatred, which the catholics ſeemed to bear him, gave him, at this time, an additional value in the eyes of his people.

20th of May. 1606.

This aid was payable in four years; and the King's profuſion, joined to the neceſſary charges of the government, had already very much anticipated it, and diſpoſed him to diſſipate, in a very little time, among his friends and courtiers, all the remainder. To engage him farther into expence, his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, payed him a viſit this ſummer; and the whole court was employed in feaſting and revelry, in maſques and interludes. Great erudition and profound morality, with little taſte or pleaſantry, prevail in all theſe entertainments: Myſtery, allegory, and alluſion reign thro'out. Italy was then the model for wit and ingenuity among the European nations. France herſelf, who afterwards ſet ſo much better patterns of elegance and pleaſure, was at that time contented to copy ſervilely the labored and romantic inventions of her ſouthern neighbor.

The chief affair, which was tranſacted next ſeſſion, was the projected union

November 18. of the two kingdoms. Nothing could exceed the King's paſſion and zeal for this noble enterprize, but the parliament's prejudice and reluctance againſt it.

There

There remain two excellent ſpeeches in favor of the union, that of the King, and that of Sir Francis Bacon. Thoſe, who affect in every thing ſuch an extreme contempt for James, will be ſurpriſed to find, that his diſcourſe, both for good reaſoning and eloquent compoſition, approaches very near that of a man, who was undoubtedly, at that time, one of the greateſt geniuſes of Europe. A few trivial indiſcretions and indecorums may be ſaid to characterize the harangue of the monarch, and mark it for his own. And in general, ſo open and avowed a declaration in favor of a meaſure, where he had taken no care, by any precaution or intrigue, to enſure ſucceſs, may ſafely be pronounced a very great indiſcretion. But the art of managing parliaments, by private intereſt or cabal, being found hitherto of little uſe or neceſſity, was not, as yet, become a part of Engliſh politics. In the common courſe of affairs, government could be conducted without their aſſiſtance; and when their concurrence became requiſite to the meaſures of the crown, it was, generally ſpeaking, except in times of great faction and diſcontent, obtained without much difficulty.

The King's influence ſeems to have rendered the Scotch parliament very cordial in all the ſteps, which they took towards the union. Tho' the advantages, which Scotland might hope from that meaſure, were more conſiderable; yet were the objections too, with regard to that kingdom, more ſtriking and obvious. The benefit, which muſt have reſulted to England, both by acceſſion of ſtrength and ſecurity, was not deſpicable; and as the Engliſh were, by far, the greater nation, and poſſeſſed the ſeat of government, the objections, either from honor or jealouſy, could not reaſonably have any place among them. The parliament indeed ſeem to have been ſwayed merely by the vulgar motive of national antipathy. And they perſiſted ſo obſtinately in their prejudices, that all the efforts for a thorow union and incorporation, ended only in the abolition of the hoſtile laws, formerly enacted betwixt the kingdoms.

Some precipitant ſteps, which the King, a little after his firſt acceſſion, had taken, in order to promote his favorite project, had been here obſerved to do more injury than ſervice. From his own authority, he had aſſumed the title of King of Great Britain; and had quartered the arms of Scotland, along with thoſe of England, in all coins, flags, and enſigns. And he had engaged the judges to make a declaration, that all thoſe, who, after the union of the crowns, ſhould be born in either kingdom, were, for that reaſon alone, naturalized in both. This was a nice queſtion, and, according to the ideas of thoſe times, ſuſceptible of ſubtile reaſoning on both ſides. The King was the ſame: The parliaments were different. To render the people therefore the

ſame

Chap. II. 1606.

ſame, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the ſovereign authority reſides chiefly in the prince, and that theſe popular aſſemblies are rather ordained to aſſiſt with money and advice, than indued with any controling or active powers in the government. *It is evident*, ſays Bacon in his pleadings on this ſubject, *that all other commonwealths, monarchies only excepted, do ſubſiſt by a law precedent. For where authority is divided amongſt many officers, and they not perpetual, but annual or temporary, and not to receive their authority but by election, and certain perſons to have voices only in that election, and the like; theſe are buſy and curious frames, which of neceſſity do preſuppoſe a law precedent, written or unwritten, to guide and direct them: But in monarchies, eſpecially hereditary, that is, when ſeveral families or lineages of people do ſubmit themſelves to one line, imperial or royal; the ſubmiſſion is more natural and ſimple; which afterwards, by law ſubſequent, is perfected and made more formal; but that is grounded upon nature.* It would ſeem from this reaſoning, that the idea of an *hereditary, limited* monarchy, tho implicitely ſuppoſed in many public tranſactions, had never, as yet, been expreſsly formed, by any Engliſh lawyer or politician.

EXCEPT the obſtinacy of the parliament with regard to the union, and an attempt on the King's eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, moſt of their other meaſures, during this ſeſſion, were ſufficiently reſpectful and obliging; tho' they ſtill diſcover a vigilant ſpirit, and a careful attention towards public good and national liberty. The votes too of the commons ſhow, that that houſe contained a mixture of puritans, who had acquired great authority among them, and who, along with religious prejudices, were continually ſuggeſting ideas, more ſuitable to a popular than a monarchical form of government. The natural appetite for rule, made the commons lend a willing ear to every doctrine, which tended to augment their power and influence.

1607. 16. of June.

A petition was moved in the houſe for a more rigorous execution of the laws againſt popiſh recuſants, and an abatement towards proteſtant nonconformiſts. Both theſe points were equally unacceptable to the King; and he ſent orders to the houſe to proceed no farther in that matter. The houſe were inclined, at firſt, to conſider theſe orders as a breach of privilege: But they ſoon acquieſced, when told, that this meaſure of the King was ſupported by many precedents, particularly during the reign of Elizabeth. Had the houſe been always diſpoſed to make the precedents of that reign the rule of their conduct, they needed never have had any difference with any of their monarchs.

5. of June.

THE complaints of Spaniſh depredations were very loud among the Engliſh merchants. The lower houſe ſent a meſſage to the lords, deſiring a conference with

with them, in order to their preſenting a joint petition to the King on that ſubject. The lords took ſome time to deliberate on this meſſage; becauſe, they ſaid, the matter was *weighty* and *rare*. It probably occurred to them, at firſt, that the parliament's interpoſing in affairs of ſtate would appear unuſual and extraordinary. And to ſhow, that in this ſentiment they were not guided by faction or court-influence; after they had deliberated, they agreed to the conference. When all buſineſs was finiſhed, the King prorogued the parliament. Chap. II. 1607.

ABOUT this time, there was an inſurrection of the country people in Northamptonſhire, headed by one Reynolds, a man of low condition. They went about deſtroying incloſures; but carefully avoided the committing any other outrage. This inſurrection was eaſily ſuppreſſed, and, tho' great lenity was uſed, yet were ſome of the ringleaders puniſhed. The chief cauſe of that trivial commotion ſeems to have been, in itſelf, far from trivial. 'Twas, at that time and ſome time before, the common practice in England to diſuſe tillage, and throw the land into incloſures for the ſake of paſture. By this means, the kingdom was depopulated, or at leaſt, prevented from increaſing ſo much in people, as might have been expected from the daily increaſe of induſtry and commerce. In this reſpect, the common rule, that riches beget populouſneſs, admits of ſome allowance or abatement. In proportion as the common people in England became more opulent, they increaſed the luxury of their diet, and were not contented, like their fathers, to make bread their chief nouriſhment. The fields, thrown into paſture, came to require leſs cultivation, and employed fewer hands. Peaſants too, by their increaſe in riches, were enabled to undertake more extenſive projects of huſbandry, which rendered the farm-houſes much thinner thro'out the country. Theſe large farms it was found eaſier to manage in paſture than in tillage, which tended ſtill further to depopulate the nation. 'Tis probable, however, that, at this time, the cities gained what was loſt by the country. 4. of July.

NEXT year preſents us nothing memorable: But in the ſpring of the ſubſequent, after a long negotiation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that war, which, for near half a century, had been carried on with ſuch fury, betwixt Spain and the ſtates of the united provinces. Never conteſt ſeemed, at firſt, more unequal: Never conteſt was finiſhed with more honor to the weaker party. On the ſide of Spain were ranged numbers, riches, authority, diſcipline: On the ſide of the revolted provinces were found the attachment to liberty and the enthuſiaſm of religion. William, Prince of Orange, by his prudence, gave ſtability to the fury of the people, and taught them, firſt behind their walls, then in the open field, to oppoſe the unrelenting tyranny of Spain. By firm and redoubled blows, they 1608. 1609. Truce betwixt *Spain* and the united provinces.

Chap. II. 1609. they ſhook the ill-jointed fabric of that enormous monarchy. Thro' the unknown ſeas of both the Indies, they ſought their formidable foe, and returned with riches, as well as honor, to their native country. The unhappy Eaſt, ignorant of other government but deſpotiſm, was aſtoniſhed to ſee men obey the ſilent and inviſible authority of laws; and regarded, as an inexplicable prodigy, the noble principle of freedom, by which theſe ſtrangers were animated. Even Europe, which, in Greek and Roman ſtory, had ſeen the ſpirit of liberty ſurmount every human oppoſition; now, in this ſingular country, gained from the ocean, behold with wonder the elements themſelves ſubmit to its prevailing power. By her naval enterprizes the republic maintained her armies; and joining peaceful induſtry to military valor, ſhe was enabled, by her own force, to ſupport herſelf, and gradually rely leſs on thoſe neighboring princes, who, from jealouſy to Spain, were at firſt prompted to encourage her revolt. Long had the pride of that monarchy prevailed over her intereſt, and prevented her from hearkening to any terms of accommodation with her rebellious ſubjects. But finding all intercourſe cut off betwixt her provinces by the maritime force of the ſtates, ſhe at laſt agreed to treat with them as a free people, and ſolemnly to renounce all claim and pretenſion to their ſovereignty.

March 30. THIS chief point being once gained, the treaty was eaſily brought to a concluſion, under the joint mediation and guarantee of France and England. All exterior appearances of honor and regard were payed equally to both crowns: But very different were the ſentiments, which the ſtates, as well as all Europe, entertained of the princes, who wore them. Frugality and vigor, the chief circumſtances, which procure regard among foreign nations, ſhone as conſpicuouſly in Henry as they were defective in James. To a contempt of the Engliſh monarch, the French ſeems to have added a conſiderable degree of jealouſy and averſion, which were ſentiments altogether without foundation. James was perfectly juſt and fair in all tranſactions with his allies; but it appears from the memoirs of thoſe times, that each ſide eſteemed him partial towards their adverſary, and fancied, that he had entered into ſecret meaſures againſt them. So little equity have men in their judgments of their own affairs; and ſo dangerous is that entire neutrality affected by the King of England!

1610. THE little concern, which James took in foreign affairs, renders the domeſtic occurences, particularly thoſe of parliament, the moſt intereſting of his reign. A February 9. new ſeſſion was called this ſpring; the King full of hopes of receiving ſupply; the A parliament. commons, of circumſcribing his exorbitant prerogative. The Earl of Saliſbury, now created treaſurer on the death of the Earl of Dorſet, laid open the King's neceſſities, firſt

first to the house of lords, then to a committee of the commons. He insisted on the unavoidable expences, in supporting the navy, and in suppressing a late insurrection in Ireland: He mentioned three numerous courts, which the King was obliged to maintain, for himself, for the Queen, and for the Prince of Wales: He observed, that Queen Elizabeth, tho' a single woman, had received very large supplies, in the years preceding her death, which alone were expensive to her: And he asserted, that, during her reign, she had very much dissipated the crown-lands; an expedient, which, tho' it supplied her present necessities, without laying burthens on her people, multiplied extremely the necessities of her successor. From all these causes he thought it no-ways strange, that the King's income should fall short so great a sum as eighty one thousand pound of his stated and regular expence; without mentioning contingencies, which ought always to be esteemed a fourth of the yearly charges. And as the crown was now necessarily burthened with a great and urgent debt, he thence inferred the absolute necessity of an immediate and large supply from the people. To all these reasons, which James likeways urged in a speech addressed to both houses, the commons remained inexorable. But not to shock the King with an absolute refusal, they granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth; which would scarce amount to a hundred thousand pound. And James received the mortification of discovering, in vain, all his wants, and of begging aid of subjects, who had no reasonable indulgence nor consideration for him.

Chap. II. 1610.

March 21.

Among the many causes of disgust and quarrel, which now, daily and unavoidably, multiplied betwixt Prince and parliament, this article of money is to be regarded as none of the least considerable. After the discovery and conquest of the West-Indies, gold and silver became every day more plentiful in England, as well as in the rest of Europe; and the price of all commodities and provisions rose to a pitch beyond what had ever been known, since the declension of the Roman empire. As the revenue of the crown rose not in proportion, * the Prince was insensibly reduced to poverty amid the general riches of his subjects, and required additional funds, in order to support the same magnificence and force, which had been maintained by former monarchs. But while money thus flowed into England, we may observe, that, at the same time, and probably from that very cause, art and industry of all kinds received a mighty increase; and elegance in every enjoyment of life became better known, and more cultivated among all ranks of people. The King's servants, both civil and military, his courtiers, his ministers, demanded more ample supplies from the impoverished Prince, and were not contented with the same simplicity of living, which had satisfied their ancestors.

* Beside the great dissipation of the crown-lands, the fee-farm-rents never increased, and the other lands were let at long leases and at a great undervalue, little or nothing above the old rent.

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ceſtors. The Prince himſelf began to regard an increaſe of pomp and ſplendor as requiſite to ſupport the dignity of his character, and to preſerve the ſame ſuperiority above his ſubjects, which his predeceſſors had enjoyed. Some equality too, and proportion to the other ſovereigns of Europe, it was natural for him to deſire; and as they had univerſally enlarged their revenue and multiplied their taxes, the King of England eſteemed it reaſonable, that his ſubjects, who were generally richer than theirs, ſhould bear with patience ſome additional burthens and impoſitions.

UNHAPPILY for the King, thoſe very riches, along with the increaſing knowlege of the age, bred oppoſite ſentiments in his ſubjects; and engendering a ſpirit of freedom and independence, diſpoſed them to pay little regard, either to the entreaties or menaces of their ſovereign. While the barons poſſeſſed their former immenſe property and extenſive juriſdictions, they were apt, on every diſguſt, to endanger the monarch, and throw the whole government into confuſion: But this very confuſion often, in its turn, proved favorable to the monarch, and made the nation again ſubmit to him, in order to re-eſtabliſh juſtice and tranquillity. After that both the ſtatute of alienations, and the increaſe of commerce had thrown the ballance of property into the hands of the commons, the ſituation of affairs and the diſpoſitions of men became ſuſceptible of a more regular plan of liberty; and the laws were not ſupported ſingly by the authority of the ſovereign. And tho' in that interval, after the decline of the peers, and before the people had yet experienced their force, the princes aſſumed an exorbitant power, and had almoſt annihilated the conſtitution under the weight of their prerogative; ſo ſoon as the commons recovered from their lethargy, they ſeem to have been aſtoniſhed at the danger, and were reſolved to ſecure liberty by firmer barriers, than their anceſtors had hitherto provided for it.

HAD James poſſeſſed a very rigid frugality, he might have warded off this criſis ſomewhat longer; and waiting patiently for a favorable opportunity to increaſe and fix his revenue, might have ſecured the extenſive authority, which was tranſmitted to him. On the other hand, had the commons been inclined to act with more generoſity and kindneſs towards their Prince, they might probably have turned his neceſſities to good account and have bribed him to depart peaceably from the moſt dangerous articles of his prerogative. But he was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of popularity; they ſowered by religious prejudices, and tenacious of their money: And, in this ſituation, it is no wonder, that, during this whole reign, we ſcarce find an interval of mutual confidence and friendſhip betwixt prince and parliament.

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THE King, by his prerogative alone, had, ſome years before, altered all the cuſtoms, and eſtabliſhed new impoſitions on almoſt every kind of merchandize. The precedents for ſo dangerous an exerciſe of power were neither very recent nor very numerous. One in the reign of Mary, another in the beginning of Elizabeth, were the lateſt that could be found. But, as the impoſitions of theſe two Queens had been all along ſubmitted to, and ſtill continued to be levied; they ſeemed to throw a kind of doubt and ambiguity on this queſtion, which was of ſo great moment to the conſtitution. 'Tis obſervable too, on the one hand, that the kings of England had, in many inſtances, aſſumed as their prerogative the ſole direction of foreign commerce; and, that commerce being antiently managed altogether by ſtrangers, theſe were the more readily abandoned to the royal will and authority. And, on the other hand, it is obvious, that the duties of tonnage and poundage had uſually been levied by authority of parliament, and, tho' regularly continued, had yet been received as a free gift from the people. On this occaſion, the commons remonſtrated to the King againſt a meaſure, which was certainly the moſt exceptionable of any embraced by him during his whole reign. They obſerved, *That the reaſons of that practice might be extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the antient liberty of the kingdom, and the ſubjects' right of property in their lands and goods.* Tho' expreſsly forbid by the King to touch his prerogative, they paſſed a bill aboliſhing theſe impoſitions; which was rejected by the houſe of lords.

IN another addreſs to the King, they objected to the practice of borrowing upon privy ſeals, and deſired, that the ſubjects ſhould not be forced to lend money to his Majeſty, nor give a reaſon for their refuſal. Some murmurs likeways were thrown out in the houſe againſt the monopoly of the licence of wines. It muſt be confeſſed, that forced loans and monopolies were eſtabliſhed on many and recent precedents; tho' diametrically oppoſite to all the principles of a free government *.

* WE find the King's anſwer in Winwood's Memorials. "To the third and fourth (namely that "it might be lawful to arreſt the King's ſervants without leave, and that no man ſhould be inforced "to lend money, nor to give a reaſon why he would not) his Majeſty ſent us an anſwer, that becauſe "we brought precedents of antiquity to ſtrengthen thoſe demands, he allowed not of any prece-"dents drawn from the time of uſurping or decaying princes or people too bold and wanton; that "he deſired not to govern in that commonwealth, where ſubjects ſhould be aſſured of all things and "hope for nothing. It was one thing, *ſubmittere principatum legibus*; and another thing, *ſubmittere prin-"cipatum ſubditis.* That he would not leave to poſterity ſuch a mark of weakneſs upon his reign, "and therefore his concluſion was, *non placet petitio, non placet exemplum:* Yet with this mitigation, "that in matters of loans he would refuſe no reaſonable excuſe, nor ſhould my Lord chamberlain "deny the arreſting of any of his Majeſty's ſervants, if juſt cauſe was ſhown." Winwood, vol. 3. p. 193. 2d edit. The parliament, however, acknowleged at this time with thankfulneſs to the King, that he allowed diſputes and inquiries about his prerogative, much beyond what had been indulged by any of his predeceſſors. This very ſeſſion, he expreſsly gave them leave to produce all their grievances, without exception.

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THE houſe likeways diſcovered ſome diſcontent againſt the King's proclamations. James told them, *That tho' he well knew, by the conſtitution and policy of the kingdom, that proclamations were not of equal force with laws; yet he thought it a duty incumbent on him, and a power inſeparably annexed to the crown, to reſtrain and prevent ſuch miſchiefs and inconveniences as he ſaw growing on the ſtate, againſt which no certain law was extant, and which might tend to the great detriment of the ſubject, if there ſhould be no remedy provided till the meeting of a parliament. And this prerogative*, he adds, *our progenitors have, as well in antient as later times, uſed and enjoyed.* The intervals betwixt ſeſſions, we may obſerve, were frequently ſo long as to render it requiſite for a prince to interpoſe by his prerogative; and it was an eſtabliſhed maxim among the lawyers, that all the proclamations of a king were abrogated by his death. But what the authority could be, which bound the ſubjects, and yet was inferior to the authority of laws, ſeems inexplicable by any maxims of reaſon or politics: And in this inſtance, as in many others, it is eaſy to ſee, how unintelligible the Engliſh conſtitution was, before the parliament was able, by continued acquiſitions or encroachments, to eſtabliſh it on fixt principles of liberty.

UPON the ſettlement of the reformation, that extenſive branch of power, which regards eccleſiaſtical matters, being then without an owner, ſeemed to belong to the firſt occupier; and Henry failed not immediately to ſeize it, and to exert it even to the utmoſt degree of tyranny. The poſſeſſion of it was continued with Edward; and recovered by Elizabeth; and that ambitious Princeſs was ſo remarkably jealous of this flower of her crown, that ſhe ſeverely reprimanded the parliament, if they ever preſumed to intermeddle in theſe matters, tho' but to appoint a faſt or regulate the obſervance of ſunday; and they were ſo over-awed by her authority, as to ſubmit, and to aſk pardon on theſe occaſions. But James's parliaments were much leſs obſequious. They ventured to lift up their eyes, and to conſider this prerogative. They there ſaw a very large province of government, poſſeſſed by the King alone, without being communicated to the parliament. They were ſenſible, that this province admitted not of any exact boundary or circumſcription. They had felt, that the Roman pontiff, in former ages, under pretext of religion, was gradually making advances to uſurp the whole civil power. They dreaded ſtill more dangerous conſequences from the pretenſions of their own ſovereign, who reſided among them, and who, in many other reſpects, poſſeſſed ſuch unlimited authority. They therefore eſteemed it abſolutely requiſite to bereave him of this branch of prerogative; and accordingly, in the preceding ſeſſion, they paſſed a bill againſt the eſtabliſhment of any eccleſiaſtical canons without conſent of parliament. But the houſe of lords, as is uſual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected the bill.

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In this ſeſſion, the commons contented themſelves with remonſtrating againſt the proceedings of the *high commiſſion court*. This court had been eſtabliſhed by Elizabeth, and conſiſted partly of lay-members, partly of eccleſiaſtical; all of them nominated by the crown. Their juriſdiction extended to all eccleſiaſtical affairs, and their ſentences were altogether diſcretionary, or, what the commons called, arbitrary. The *ſtar-chamber*, which conſiſted of the judges and privy council, exerted like authority in civil matters. It required no great penetration to ſee the extreme danger to liberty, ariſing from diſcretionary powers in a regal government. But James, as was natural, rejected the application of the commons. He was probably ſenſible, that, beſide the great diminution of his authority, many inconveniencies muſt neceſſarily reſult from the aboliſhing all power of this nature in every magiſtrate; and that the laws, were they ever ſo carefully framed and digeſted, could not poſſibly provide againſt all contingencies; much leſs, where they had not, as yet, attained a ſufficient degree of accuracy and refinement.

But the buſineſs, which chiefly occupied the commons, during this ſeſſion, was the abolition of wardſhips and purveyance; prerogatives, which had been more or leſs touched on, every ſeſſion, during the whole reign of James. In this affair, the commons employed the proper means, which might intitle them to ſucceſs: They offered the King a ſettled revenue as an equivalent for the powers, which he ſhould part with; and the King was willing to hearken to terms. After much diſpute, he offered to give up theſe prerogatives for 200,000 pound a-year, which they agreed to confer on him: And nothing remained, towards cloſing the bargain, but that the commons ſhould determine the funds, from which this ſum ſhould be levied. The ſeſſion was too far advanced to bring ſo difficult a matter to a full concluſion; and tho' they met again, towards the end of the year, and reſumed the queſtion, they were never able to terminate an affair, which they ſeemed ſo intent upon. The journals of that ſeſſion are loſt; and as the hiſtorians of that age are very negligent in relating parliamentary affairs, of whoſe importance they were not ſufficiently appriſed, we know not exactly the reaſon of this failure. It only appears, that the King was extremely diſſatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and ſoon afterwards diſſolved it. This was his firſt parliament, and it ſat near ſeven years.

In the midſt of all theſe attacks, ſome more, ſome leſs violent, on royal prerogative, the King diſplayed, as openly as ever, all his exalted notions of monarchy and the authority of princes. Even in a ſpeech, where he begged for ſupply, and where he ſhould naturally have uſed every art to ingratiate himſelf with the parliament, he expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms; "I conclude, then, the point, touching

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" ing the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that, as to diſpute, *what* " *God may do*, is blaſphemy, but, *what God wills*, that divines may lawfully and do " ordinarily diſpute and diſcuſs; ſo is it ſedition in ſubjects to diſpute, what a " king may do in the height of his power. But juſt kings will ever be willing " to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curſe of God. I will " not be content, that my power be diſputed upon; but I ſhall ever be willing to " make the reaſon appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to *my* " laws". Notwithſtanding the great extent of prerogative in that age, theſe expreſſions muſt certainly have given offence. But we may obſerve, that, as the King's deſpotiſm was more ſpeculative than practical, ſo the independency of the commons was, at this time, the contrary; and, tho' ſtrongly ſupported by their preſent ſituation as well as diſpoſition, was too new and recent to be as yet founded on ſyſtematical principles and opinions. (*)

3d of May. Death of the French King.

THIS year was diſtinguiſhed by a very memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern in England; the murder of the French monarch by the poniard of the fanatical Ravaillac. That experience, that reputation, which this heroic

* IT may not be unworthy obſervation, that James in a Book called *The true law of free monarchies*, which he publiſhed a little before his acceſſion to the crown of England, affirmed, " That a " good king, altho' he be above the law, will ſubject and frame his actions thereto, for exam- " ple's ſake to his ſubjects, and of his own free-will, but not as ſubject or bound thereto". In another paſſage, " According to the fundamental law already alleged, we daily ſee, that in the " parliament (which is nothing elſe but the head-court of the king and his vaſſals) the laws are " but craved by his ſubjects, and only made by him at their rogation, and with their advice. For " albeit the king *make daily* ſtatutes and ordinances, enjoining ſuch pains thereto as he thinks meet, " without any advice of parliament or eſtates; yet it lies in the power of no parliament to make a- " ny kind of law or ſtatute, without his ſcepter be to it, for giving it the force of a law". It is not to be ſuppoſed, that, at ſuch a critical juncture, James had ſo little ſenſe as, directly, in ſo material a point, to have openly ſhocked what were the univerſally eſtabliſhed principles of that age: On the contrary, we are told by hiſtorians, that nothing tended more to facilitate his acceſſion, than the good opinion entertained of him by the Engliſh, on account of his learned and judicious writings. The queſtion, however, with regard to the royal power was, at this time, become a very dangerous point; and without employing ambiguous, inſignificant terms, which determined nothing, it was impoſſible to pleaſe both King and parliament. Dr. Cowell who had magnified the prerogative in words too intelligible, fell, this ſeſſion, under the indignation of the commons. The King himſelf, after all his magnificent boaſts, was obliged to make his eſcape thro' a diſtinction, which he framed betwixt a king *in abſtracto* and a king *in concreto*: An abſtract king, he ſaid, had all power; but a concrete king was bound to obſerve the laws of the country, which he governed. But, how bound? By conſcience only? Or might his ſubjects reſiſt him and defend their privileges? This he thought not fit to explain. And ſo difficult is it to explain that point, that, to this day, whatever liberties may be uſed by private inquirers, the laws have thought proper to maintain a total ſilence with regard to it.

heroic prince had been acquiring for ſo many years; thoſe treaſures, which he had amaſſed; thoſe armies, which he had inliſted and diſciplined; were on the point of being employed in ſome mighty enterprize, which would probably have changed the face of Europe; when a period was put to his glory by a pious madman, who ſacrificed at once his own life and that of the prince to his deteſtable prejudices. Were the deſigns, aſcribed to Henry by the compilers of Sully's Memoirs, leſs chimerical, they might be admitted, on account of the teſtimony, by which that narration is ſupported: But ſuch vaſt projects, had they been real, he muſt have rowled and digeſted in his mind for many years; and 'tis obſervable, that about a twelve-month before, he had been very inſtrumental in making peace betwixt Spain and the united provinces; meaſures, by which he deprived himſelf of the aſſiſtance of his firmeſt ally, and the beſt able to ſecond his enterprizes. 'Tis more probable, that the war, which, at the time of his death, he intended to commence againſt Spain, was the ſudden reſult of ambition, revenge, or love, in a powerful and military prince, who had long wiſhed for an opportunity of attacking his enemy, and who was at laſt rouſed by a ſudden motive or provocation. With his death, the glory of the French monarchy ſuffered an eclipſe for ſome years; and that kingdom falling under an adminiſtration weak and bigotted, factious and diſorderly, the Auſtrian greatneſs began anew to look formidable to Europe. Chap. II. 1610.

In England, the antipathy to the catholics revived a little upon this tragical event; and ſome of the laws, which had been formerly enacted for no other purpoſe than to keep theſe religioniſts in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigor and ſeverity.

Tho' James's timidity and indolence fixed him, during moſt of his reign, in a very prudent inattention to foreign affairs, there happened, this year, an event in Europe of ſuch mighty conſequence as to rouze him from his lethargy, and ſummon up all his zeal and enterprize. A profeſſor of divinity, called Vorſtius, the diſciple of Arminius, was called from a German to a Dutch univerſity; and as he differed from his Britannic Majeſty in ſome nice queſtions concerning the intimate eſſence and ſecret decrees of God, he was conſidered as a dangerous rival in ſcholaſtic fame, and was, at laſt, obliged to ſuccumb under the legions of that royal doctor, whoſe ſyllogiſms he might have refuted or eluded. If vigor was wanting in other incidents of James's reign, here he behaved even with haughtineſs and inſolence; and the ſtates were obliged, after ſeveral remonſtrances, to deprive Vorſtius of his chair, and to baniſh him their dominions. The King carried no farther his perſecutions againſt that profeſſor; tho' he had very charitably 1611. Arminianiſm.

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hinted to the ſtates, *That, as to the burning Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm, he left them to their own chriſtian wiſdom; but ſurely never heretic better deſerved the flames.* It is to be remarked, that, at this period, all over Europe, except in Holland alone, the practice of burning heretics ſtill prevailed, even in proteſtant countries; and inſtances were not wanting in England, during the reign of James. The Dutch themſelves were, at laſt, by ſtate-intrigue, and the tyranny of Prince Maurice, forced from their rational and humane maxims; and the perſecuting bigots, a little after this time, ſignalized their power by the death of the virtuous Barnevelt, and the impriſonment of the virtuous and learned Grotius. The ſcholaſtic controverſies about free-will, and grace, and predeſtination, begot theſe violent convulſions.

As far as any coherence can be traced among the ſyſtems of modern theology, we may obſerve, that the doctrine of abſolute decrees has ever been intimately connected with the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit; as it affords the higheſt ſubject of joy, triumph, and ſecurity, to the ſuppoſed elect, and exalts them, by infinite degrees, above the reſt of mankind. All the firſt reformers adopted theſe principles; and the Janſeniſts too, a fanatical ſect in France, not to mention the Mahometans in Aſia, have ever embraced them. As the Lutheran eſtabliſhments were ſubjected to epiſcopal juriſdiction, their fanatical genius gradually decayed, and men had leiſure to perceive the abſurdity of ſuppoſing God to puniſh, by infinite torments, what he himſelf, from all eternity, had unchangeably decreed. The King, tho' at this time, his Calviniſtic education had rivetted him faſt in the doctrine of abſolute decrees, yet, being a zealous partizan of epiſcopacy, was inſenſibly ingaged, towards the end of his reign, to favor the milder theology of Arminius. Even in ſo great a doctor, the genius of the religion prevailed over its ſpeculative tenets; and along with him, the whole clergy gradually dropped the more rigid principles of abſolute reprobation and unconditional decrees. Some noiſe was, at firſt, made about theſe innovations; but being drowned in the fury of faction and civil wars, which ſucceeded, the ſcholaſtic arguments made an inſignificant figure amid thoſe violent diſputes about civil and eccleſiaſtical power, with which the nation was agitated. And upon the reſtoration, the church, tho' ſhe ſtill retained her old ſubſcriptions and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her ſpeculative doctrines, and to have embraced tenets more ſuitable to the genius of her diſcipline and worſhip, without its being poſſible to aſſign the preciſe period, in which the alteration was produced.

It may be worth obſerving, that, about this time, James, from his great deſire to promote controverſial divinity, erected a college at Chelſea for the entertainment of twenty perſons, who ſhould be entirely employed in refuting the papiſts

piſts and puritans. All the efforts of the great Bacon could not procure an eſtabliſhment for the cultivation of natural philoſophy: Even to this day, no ſociety has been inſtituted for the poliſhing and fixing our language. The only encouragement, which the ſovereign in England has ever given to any thing, that has the pretext of ſcience, was this ſhort-lived eſtabliſhment of James; an inſtitution quite ſuperfluous, conſidering the unhappy propenſion, which, at that time, ſo univerſally poſſeſſed the nation to polemical divinity. Chap. II. 1611.

To conſider James in a more advantageous light, we muſt take a ſurvey of him as the legiſlator of Ireland; and moſt of the inſtitutions, which he had framed for the civilizing that kingdom, being finiſhed about this period, it may not here be improper to give ſome account of them. He frequently boaſts of the management of Ireland as his maſterpiece; and, it will appear, upon inquiry, that his vanity, in this particular, was not altogether without foundation. 1612. State of Ireland.

Tho' the dominion of the Engliſh over that fine iſland, had been eſtabliſhed above four centuries, it may ſafely be affirmed, that their authority, till the latter end of Elizabeth, had been little more than nominal. The Iriſh princes and nobles, divided among themſelves, readily payed the exterior marks of obeiſance to a power, which they were not able to reſiſt; but, as no durable force was ever upheld to retain them to their duty, they relapſed ſtill into their former ſtate of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the Engliſh authority was yet ſufficient to check the growth of any enterprizing genius among the natives: And, tho' it could beſtow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the riſe of any ſuch form, from the internal combination or ſubjection of the Iriſh.

Moſt of the Engliſh inſtitutions too, by which that iſland was governed, were to the laſt degree abſurd, and ſuch as no ſtate before had ever thought of, for the preſerving dominion over its conquered provinces.

The Engliſh nation, all on fire for the project of ſubduing France, a project, whoſe ſucceſs was the moſt improbable, and would to them have proved the moſt pernicious; neglected all other enterprizes, to which their ſituation ſo ſtrongly invited them, and which would have brought them, in time, an acceſſion of riches, grandeur, and ſecurity. The ſmall army which they maintained in Ireland, they never ſupplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied from the iſland, which poſſeſſed none, they gave their ſoldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and inſolence inflamed the hatred, which prevailed betwixt the conquerors and the conquered: Want of ſecurity among the Iriſh, introducing

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troducing deſpair, nouriſhed ſtill farther the ſloth, ſo natural to that uncultivated people.

But the Engliſh carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Inſtead of inviting the Iriſh to adopt the more civilized cuſtoms of their conquerors, they even refuſed, tho' earneſtly ſolicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of juſtice, the natives could find ſecurity no where but in force; and flying the neighborhood of cities, which they could not approach with ſafety, they ſheltered themſelves in their marſhes and forreſts from the inſolence of their inhuman maſters. Being treated like wild beaſts, they became ſuch; and, joining the ardor of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more untractable and dangerous.

As the Engliſh princes eſteemed the conqueſt of the diſperſed Iriſh to be more the object of time and patience than the ſource of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, inliſting ſoldiers at their own charge, conquered provinces of that iſland, which they converted to their own profit. Separate juriſdictions and principalities were eſtabliſhed by theſe lordly conquerors: The power of peace and war aſſumed: Military law exerciſed over the Iriſh, whom they ſubdued, and, by degrees, over the Engliſh, by whoſe aſſiſtance they conquered: And, after their dominion had once taken root, eſteeming the Engliſh inſtitutions leſs favorable to barbarous empire, they degenerated into mere Iriſh, and abandoned the garb, language, manners and laws of their native country.

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependant ſtate, remained ſtill in that abject condition, into which the northern and weſtern parts of Europe were ſunk, before they received civility and ſlavery from the refined policy and irreſiſtible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the ſixteenth century, when every chriſtian nation was cultivating with ardor every civil art of life, that iſland, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile ſoil, acceſſible in its ſituation, poſſeſſed of innumerable harbors, was ſtill, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, covered with inhabitants, whoſe cuſtoms and manners approached nearer thoſe of ſavages than of barbarians.

As the brutality and ignorance of the Iriſh was extreme, they were ſunk below the reach of that curioſity and love of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been ſeized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious diſputes, with which they were ſtill ſo violently agitated. The antient ſuperſtition, the practices and obſervances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, ſtill maintained an unſhaken em-

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pire over them; and the example alone of the Engliſh was ſufficient to render the reformation odious to the prejudized and diſcontented Iriſh. The old oppoſition of manners, laws, and intereſt, was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the ſubduing and civilizing that country ſeemed to become every day more difficult and impracticable.

But, from the extremity of the diſeaſe, aroſe the remedy. The Iriſh, ſtimulated by their prieſts, and ſolicited by Spain, had openly taken arms againſt the Engliſh government; and, as they received ſupplies of men and money from Philip II. their revolt threatened the moſt dangerous conſequences. The prudent vigor of Elizabeth was rouſed: A diſciplined army of 20,000 men was ſent over; and, for ſeveral years, regularly payed and recruited: The warlike enterprizes were conducted with method and conſtancy: The ſpirit of the Iriſh intirely ſubdued: The Spaniards expelled: And the laſt act of that memorable reign was the pacification of the iſland, and its final ſubjection to the Engliſh empire.

The more difficult taſk ſtill remained, to civilize the barbarous inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and induſtry, and to render their ſubjection durable and uſeful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a ſteddy, regular, and well concerted plan; and, in the ſpace of nine years, according to Sir John Davis, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom, than had been made in the 440 years, which had elapſed ſince the conqueſt was attempted.

It was firſt requiſite to aboliſh the Iriſh cuſtoms, which ſupplied the place of laws, and which were calculated to keep that people for ever in a ſtate of barbariſm and diſorder.

By the *Brehon* law or cuſtom, no crime, however enormous, was puniſhed with death, but by a fine or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itſelf was attoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value, affixed to him, which, if any one was willing to pay, he needed not fear the aſſaſſinating his enemy. This rate was called his *eric*. When Sir William Fitzwilliams, being Lord deputy, told Maquire, that he was to ſend a ſheriff into Fermanna, which, a little before, had been made a county, and ſubjected to the Engliſh law; *Your ſheriff*, ſaid Maquire, *ſhall be welcome to me: But, let me know, before-hand, his* eric, *or the price of his head; that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county.* As for oppreſſion, extortion, and other treſpaſſes, ſo little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redreſs from ſuch offences could ever be obtained.

The cuſtoms of *Gavelkinde* and *Taniſtry* were attended with the ſame abſurdity in the diſtribution of property. Upon the death of any perſon, his land, by the

Chap. II. 1612. cuſtom of Gavelkinde, was divided among all the males of the ſept or family, both baſtard and legitimate: And, after partition made, if any of the ſept died, his portion was not ſhared out among his ſons; but the cheiftain, at his diſcretion, made a new partition of all the lands, belonging to that ſept, and gave every one his ſhare. As no man, by reaſon of this cuſtom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land; to build, to plant, to incloſe, to cultivate, to improve, would have been ſo much loſt labor.

THE cheiftains and the Taniſts, who were the apparent ſucceſſors of the former; tho' drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were eſtabliſhed by election, or more properly ſpeaking, by force and violence. Their authority was very abſolute, and, notwithſtanding that certain lands were aſſigned to the office, its chief profit reſulted from exactions, dues, aſſeſſments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleaſure. Hence aroſe that common bye-word among the Iriſh, *That they dwelt weſtward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the Barrow:* Meaning the country, where the Engliſh inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compaſs of twenty miles, lying in the neighborhood of Dublin.

AFTER aboliſhing theſe Iriſh cuſtoms, and ſubſtituting Engliſh law in their place; James, having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular adminiſtration, military as well as civil.

A ſufficient army was maintained, its diſcipline inſpected, and its pay tranſmitted from England, in order to keep the ſoldiers from preying upon the country, as had been uſual in former reigns. When Odoghartie raiſed an inſurrection, a reinforcement was ſent over, and the flames of that rebellion were immediately extinguiſhed.

ALL minds being firſt quieted by an univerſal indemnity, circuits were eſtabliſhed, juſtice adminiſtred, oppreſſion baniſhed, and crimes and diſorders of every kind ſeverely puniſhed. As the Iriſh had been univerſally ingaged in the rebellion againſt Elizabeth, a reſignation of all the rights, which had been formerly granted them to ſeparate juriſdictions, was rigorouſly exacted; and no authority, but that of the King and the law, was permitted thro'out the kingdom.

A reſignation of all private eſtates was even required; and, when they were reſtored, the proprietors received them under ſuch conditions as might prevent, for the future, all tyranny and oppreſſion of the common people. The value of the dues, which the nobles uſually claimed from their vaſſals, was eſtimated at a fixed ſum, and all further arbitrary exactions prohibited under ſevere penalties.

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THE whole province of Ulſter having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was eſtabliſhed in London, for planting new colonies in that fertile country: The property was divided into moderate ſhares, the largeſt not exceeding 2000 acres: Tenants were brought over from England and Scotland: The Iriſh were removed from the hills and faſtneſſes, and ſettled in the open country: Huſbandry and the arts were taught them: A fixed habitation ſecured: Plunder and robbery puniſhed: And, by theſe means, Ulſter, from being the moſt wild and diſorderly province of all Ireland, ſoon became the beſt cultivated and moſt civilized.

SUCH were the arts, by which James introduced humanity and juſtice among a people, who had ever been buried in the moſt profound barbariſm. Noble cares! much ſuperior to the vain and criminal glory of conqueſts; but requiring ages of perſeverance and attention to perfect what had been ſo happily begun.

A laudable act of juſtice was, about this time, executed in England upon Lord Sanquhir, a Scotch nobleman of illuſtrious birth, who had been guilty of a baſe aſſaſſination upon Turner, a fencing-maſter. The Engliſh nation, who were generally diſſatisfied with the Scotch, were enraged at this crime, equally mean and atrocious; but James appeaſed them, by preferring the ſeverity of law to the interceſſion of the friends and family of the criminal.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Death of Prince Henry.——Marriage of the Princeſs Elizabeth with the Palatine.——Riſe of Somerſet.—— His marriage.——Overbury poiſoned.—— Fall of Somerſet.—— Riſe of Buckingham——Cautionary towns delivered.——Affairs of Scotland.

1612. November 6. Death of Prince Henry.

THIS year the ſudden death of Henry, Prince of Wales, diffuſed an univerſal grief thro'out the nation. Tho' youth and royal birth, both of them ſtrong allurements, prepoſſeſs men mightily in favor of the early age of all princes; 'tis with peculiar fondneſs, that hiſtorians mention Henry: And, in every reſpect, his merit ſeems to have been very extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and he poſſeſſed already more dignity in his behavior, and commanded more reſpect, than his father with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had ſeduced him into any irregular pleaſures: Buſineſs and ambition ſeem to have been his ſole paſſion. His inclinations, as well as exerciſes, were intirely martial. The French ambaſſador, coming to take leave of him, and aſk his commands for France, found him at the exerciſe of the pike; *Tell your King*, ſaid he, *in what occupation you left me ingaged.** He had conceived great affection and eſteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleigh. It was his ſaying, *Sure no king but my father would keep ſuch a bird in a cage.* He ſeems, indeed, to have nouriſhed too violent a contempt for the King, on account of his pedantry and puſillanimity; and by that means, ſtruck in with the reſtleſs and martial ſpirit of the Engliſh nation. Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people. The unhappy prepoſſeſſion, which men commonly entertain in favor of ambition, courage, enterprize, and other warlike virtues, ingages generous natures, who always love fame, into ſuch purſuits, as deſtroy their own peace, and that of the reſt of mankind.

VIOLENT reports were propagated, as if Henry had been carried off by poiſon; but the phyſicians, on opening his body, found no ſymptoms to confirm ſuch an opinion.

* The French monarch had given particular orders to his miniſters to cultivate the Prince's friendſhip; who muſt ſoon, ſaid he, have chief authority in England, where the king and queen are held in ſo little eſtimation. See *Dep. de la Boderie.*

opinion. The bold and criminal malignity of men's tongues and pens ſpared not even the King on that occaſion. But that Prince's character ſeems to have failed rather in the extreme of facility and humanity, than in that of cruelty and violence. His indulgence to Henry was great, and perhaps imprudent, by giving him a very large and independent ſettlement, even in ſo early youth. Chap. III. 1612.

THE marriage of the Princeſs, Elizabeth, with Frederic, the Elector Palatine, was conſummated ſome time after the death of the Prince, and ſerved to diſſipate the grief, which aroſe on that melancholy event. But this marriage, tho' celebrated with great joy and feſtivity, proved, itſelf, a very unfortunate event to the King, as well as to his ſon-in-law, and had ill conſequences on the reputation and fortune of both. The Elector, truſting to ſo great an alliance, ingaged in enterprizes beyond his ſtrength: And the King, not ſupporting him in his diſtreſs, loſt entirely, in the end of his life, what remained of the affections and eſteem of his own ſubjects. 1613. February 14. Marriage of the Princeſs Elizabeth with the Palatine.

EXCEPT during ſeſſions of parliament, the hiſtory of this reign may more properly be called the hiſtory of the court than that of the nation. A moſt intereſting object had, for ſome years, ingaged the attention of the court: It was a favorite, and one beloved by James with ſo profuſe and unlimited an affection, as left no room for any rival or competitor. About the end of the year 1609, Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London, after having paſſed ſome time on his travels. All his natural accompliſhments conſiſted in good looks: All his acquired abilities, in an eaſy air and mien. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman Lord Hay; and that Nobleman no ſooner caſt his eye upon him, than he diſcovered talents, ſufficient to entitle him immediately to the abſolute government of three kingdoms. Apprized of the King's paſſion for youth, and beauty, and exterior appearance, he ſtudied how matters might be ſo adjuſted, as that this new object ſhould make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon him. Without mentioning him at court, he aſſigned him the office, at a match of tilting, of preſenting to the King his buckler and device; and hoped that he would attract the attention of that monarch. Fortune proved favorable to his deſign, by an incident, which bore, 'at firſt, a contrary aſpect. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horſe flung him, and broke his leg in the King's preſence. James approached him with pity and concern: Love and affection aroſe on the ſight of his beauty and tender years; and the Prince ordered him immediately to be lodged in the palace, and to be carefully attended. He himſelf, after the tilting, paid him a viſit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. The ignorance Riſe of Somerſet.

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Chap. III. 1613. and ſimplicity of the boy finiſhed the conqueſt, begun by his exterior graces and accompliſhments. Other princes have been fond of chuſing their favorite from the lower ranks among their ſubjects, and have repoſed themſelves on him with the more unreſerved confidence and affection, that the object has been beholden to their bounty for every honor and acquiſition: James was deſirous, that his favorite ſhould alſo derive from him all his ſenſe, experience, and knowlege. Highly conceited of his own wiſdom, he pleaſed himſelf with the fancy, that this raw youth, by his leſſons and inſtructions, would, in a little time, be equal to his ſageſt miniſters, and be initiated into all the profound myſteries of government, on which he ſet ſo high a value. And as this kind of creation was more perfectly his own work than any other, he ſeems to have indulged an unlimited fondneſs for his minion, beyond even that which he bore to his own children. He ſoon knighted him, created him Viſcount Rocheſter, gave him the garter, brought him into the privy council, and, tho' at firſt without aſſigning him any particular office, beſtowed on him the ſupreme direction of all his buſineſs and political concerns. Suitable to this rapid advancement in confidence and honor, were the riches heaped upon the needy favorite; and while Saliſbury and all the wiſeſt miniſters could ſcarce find expedients ſufficient to keep in motion the o'erburthened machine of government, James, with unſparing hand, loaded with treaſures this inſignificant and uſeleſs pageant.

It is ſaid, that the King found his pupil ſo ill educated, as to be ignorant even of the loweſt rudiments of the Latin tongue; and that the monarch, laying aſide the ſceptre, took the birch into his royal hand, and inſtructed him in the principles of grammar. During the intervals of this noble occupation, affairs of ſtate would be introduced; and the ſtripling, by the aſcendant which he had acquired, was now enabled to repay in political, what he had received in grammatical inſtruction. Such ſcenes, and ſuch incidents, are the more ridiculous, tho' the leſs odious, that the paſſion of James ſeems not to have contained in it any thing criminal or flagitious. Hiſtory charges herſelf willingly with a relation of the great crimes, or the great virtues of mankind; but ſhe appears to fall from her dignity, when neceſſitated to dwell on ſuch frivolous events and ignoble perſonages.

The favorite was not, at firſt, ſo intoxicated with advancement, as not to be ſenſible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourſe to the aſſiſtance and advice of a friend; and he was more fortunate in his choice, than is uſual with ſuch pampered minions. In Sir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and ſincere counſellor, who, building all hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favorite, endeavored to inſtill into him the principles of prudence and diſcretion.

discretion. By officiously serving every body, Carre was taught to abate the envy, which might attend his sudden elevation: By marking a preference for the English, he learned to escape the prejudices, which prevailed against his country. And as long as he was contented to be ruled by Overbury's friendly counsels, he enjoyed, what is rare, the highest favor of the Prince, without being hated by the public. Chap. III. 1613.

To compleat the measure of courtly happiness, nought was wanting but a kind mistress; and, where high fortune concurred with all the graces of youth and beauty, this circumstance could not be difficult to attain. But it was here that the favorite met with that rock, on which all his fortunes were wrecked, and which plunged him for ever into an abyss of infamy, guilt, and misery.

No sooner had James mounted the throne of England, than he remembered his friendship for the unfortunate families of Howard and Devereux, who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Mary and to his own. Having restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk, he sought the farther pleasure of uniting these families by the marriage of Essex with Lady Frances Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk. She was only thirteen, he fourteen years of age; and it was thought proper, till both should attain the age of puberty, that he should go abroad, and pass some time in his travels. He returned into England after four years absence, and was pleased to find the Countess in the full lustre of beauty, and possessed of the love and admiration of the whole court. But, when the Earl approached, and claimed the privileges of a husband, he met with nothing but symptoms of aversion and disgust, and a flat refusal of any farther familiarities. He applied to her parents, who constrained her to attend him into the country, and to partake of his bed: But nothing could overcome her rigid sullenness and obstinacy; and she still rose from his side, without having shared the nuptial pleasures. Disgusted with re-iterated denials, he at last gave over the pursuit, and separating himself from her, thenceforth abandoned her conduct to her own will and discretion.

Such coldness and aversion in Lady Essex arose not without an attachment to another object. The favorite had opened his addresses, and had been too successful in making impression on the tender heart of the young Countess. She imagined, that, as long as she refused the embraces of Essex, she never could be deemed his wife, and that a separation and divorce might still open the way for a new marriage with her beloved Rochester. Tho' their passion was so violent, and their opportunities of entercourse so frequent, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, they still lamented their unhappy fate, while the

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union betwixt them was not intire and indiſſoluble. And the lover, as well as his miſtreſs, was impatient, till their mutual ardor ſhould be crowned with marriage.

So momentuous an affair could not be concluded without conſulting Overbury, with whom Rocheſter was accuſtomed to ſhare all his ſecrets. As long as that faithful friend had conſidered his patron's attachment to the Counteſs of Eſſex merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favored its progreſs; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and paſſionate letters, which he dictated, that Rocheſter had met with ſuch ſucceſs in his addreſſes. Like an experienced courtier, he thought, that a conqueſt of this nature would throw a luſtre on the youthful favorite, and would tend ſtill further to endear him to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and liſtened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm, when Rocheſter mentioned his deſign of marrying the Counteſs; and he uſed every method to diſſuade his friend from ſo fooliſh an attempt. He repreſented, how invidious, how difficult an enterprize, to procure her a divorce from her huſband: How dangerous, how ſhameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the firſt rank, had not ſcrupled to proſtitute her character, and to beſtow favors on the object of a capricious and momentary paſſion. And, in the zeal of friendſhip, he went ſo far as to threaten the favorite, that he would ſeparate himſelf for ever from him, if he could ſo far forget his honor and his intereſt as to proſecute the intended marriage.

ROCHESTER had the weakneſs to reveal this converſation to the Counteſs of Eſſex; and, when her rage and fury broke out againſt Overbury, he had alſo the weakneſs to enter into her projects of revenge, and to vow vengeance againſt his friend, for the utmoſt inſtance, which he could receive, of his faithful friendſhip. Some contrivance was requiſite for the execution of their purpoſe. Rocheſter addreſſed himſelf to the King; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begot in him a degree of arrogance and preſumption, which was extremely diſagreeable, he procured a commiſſion for his embaſſy to Ruſſia; which he repreſented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honorable. When conſulted by Overbury, he earneſtly diſſuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himſelf the taſk of ſatisfying the King, if he ſhould be any way diſpleaſed at the refuſal. To the King again, he aggravated the inſolence of Overbury's con-

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duct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the tower, which James intended as a ſlight puniſhment for his diſobedience. The lieutenant of the tower was a creature of Rocheſter, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpoſe: He confined Overbury ſo ſtrictly, that the unhappy priſoner was debarred from the

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ſight even of his neareſt relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near ſix months, which he lived in priſon. Chap. III. 1613.

THIS obſtacle being removed, the lovers purſued their purpoſe; and the King himſelf, forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendſhip for the family of Eſſex, entered zealouſly into the project of procuring the Counteſs a divorce from her huſband. Eſſex too embraced the opportunity of ſeparating himſelf from a bad woman, by whom he was hated; and he was willing to favor their ſucceſs by any honorable expedient. The pretext for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confeſſed, that, with regard to the Counteſs, he was conſcious of ſuch an infirmity, tho' he was not ſenſible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too, it is ſaid, a young virgin was ſubſtituted under a maſk, to undergo the legal inſpection by a jury of matrons. After ſuch a trial, ſeconded by court-influence, and ſupported by the ridiculous opinion of faſcination or witchcraft, the ſentence of divorce was iſſued betwixt the Earl of Eſſex and his Counteſs. And, to crown the ſcandalous ſcene, the King, anxious leſt the lady ſhould loſe any rank by her new marriage, beſtowed on his beloved minion the title of Earl of Somerſet.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs, the Counteſs of Somerſet was not ſatisfied, till ſhe ſhould further ſatiate her revenge on Overbury; and ſhe engaged her huſband, as well as her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, in the atrocious deſign of taking him off ſecretly by poiſon. Fruitleſs attempts were re-iterated by weak poiſons; but, at laſt, they gave him one ſo ſudden and violent, that the ſymptoms were apparent to every one, who approached him. His interment was hurried on with the greateſt precipitation; and, tho' a ſtrong ſuſpicion immediately prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light, till ſome years afterwards. Overbury poiſoned.

THE fatal cataſtrophe of Overbury increaſed or begot the ſuſpicion, that the Prince of Wales had been carried off by poiſon, given him by Somerſet. Men conſidered not, that the contrary inference was much juſter. If Somerſet was ſo great a novice in this deteſtable art, that, in above five months time, a man, who was his priſoner, and attended by none but his emiſſaries, could not be diſpatched but in ſo bungling a manner; how could it be imagined, that a young prince, living in his own court, ſurrounded by his own friends and domeſtics, could be expoſed to Somerſet's attempts, and be taken off by ſo ſubtile a poiſon, if ſuch a one exiſt, as would elude the ſkill of the moſt experienced phyſicians?

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union betwixt them was not intire and indiſſoluble. And the lover, as well as his miſtreſs, was impatient, till their mutual ardor ſhould be crowned with marriage.

So momentuous an affair could not be concluded without conſulting Overbury, with whom Rocheſter was accuſtomed to ſhare all his ſecrets. As long as that faithful friend had conſidered his patron's attachment to the Counteſs of Eſſex merely as an affair of gallantry, he had favored its progreſs; and it was partly owing to the ingenious and paſſionate letters, which he dictated, that Rocheſter had met with ſuch ſucceſs in his addreſſes. Like an experienced courtier, he thought, that a conqueſt of this nature would throw a luſtre on the youthful favorite, and would tend ſtill further to endear him to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and liſtened with attention to every tale of gallantry. But great was Overbury's alarm, when Rocheſter mentioned his deſign of marrying the Counteſs; and he uſed every method to diſſuade his friend from ſo fooliſh an attempt. He repreſented, how invidious, how difficult an enterprize, to procure her a divorce from her huſband: How dangerous, how ſhameful, to take into his own bed a profligate woman, who, being married to a young nobleman of the firſt rank, had not ſcrupled to proſtitute her character, and to beſtow favors on the object of a capricious and momentary paſſion. And, in the zeal of friendſhip, he went ſo far as to threaten the favorite, that he would ſeparate himſelf for ever from him, if he could ſo far forget his honor and his intereſt as to proſecute the intended marriage.

ROCHESTER had the weakneſs to reveal this converſation to the Counteſs of Eſſex; and, when her rage and fury broke out againſt Overbury, he had alſo the weakneſs to enter into her projects of revenge, and to vow vengeance againſt his friend, for the utmoſt inſtance, which he could receive, of his faithful friendſhip. Some contrivance was requiſite for the execution of their purpoſe. Rocheſter addreſſed himſelf to the King; and after complaining, that his own indulgence to Overbury had begot in him a degree of arrogance and preſumption, which was extremely diſagreeable, he procured a commiſſion for his embaſſy to Ruſſia; which he repreſented as a retreat for his friend, both profitable and honorable. When conſulted by Overbury, he earneſtly diſſuaded him from accepting this offer, and took on himſelf the taſk of ſatisfying the King, if he ſhould be any way diſpleaſed at the refuſal. To the King again, he aggravated the inſolence of Overbury's con-

21ſt of April.

duct, and obtained a warrant for committing him to the tower, which James intended as a ſlight puniſhment for his diſobedience. The lieutenant of the tower was a creature of Rocheſter, and had lately been put into the office for this very purpoſe: He confined Overbury ſo ſtrictly, that the unhappy priſoner was debarred from the

ſight

ſight even of his neareſt relations; and no communication of any kind was allowed with him, during near ſix months, which he lived in priſon. Chap. III. 1613.

THIS obſtacle being removed, the lovers purſued their purpoſe; and the King himſelf, forgetting the dignity of his character, and his friendſhip for the family of Eſſex, entered zealouſly into the project of procuring the Counteſs a divorce from her huſband. Eſſex too embraced the opportunity of ſeparating himſelf from a bad woman, by whom he was hated; and he was willing to favor their ſucceſs by any honorable expedient. The pretext for a divorce was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and he confeſſed, that, with regard to the Counteſs, he was conſcious of ſuch an infirmity, tho' he was not ſenſible of it with regard to any other woman. In her place too, it is ſaid, a young virgin was ſubſtituted under a maſk, to undergo the legal inſpection by a jury of matrons. After ſuch a trial, ſeconded by court-influence, and ſupported by the ridiculous opinion of faſcination or witchcraft, the ſentence of divorce was iſſued betwixt the Earl of Eſſex and his Counteſs. And, to crown the ſcandalous ſcene, the King, anxious leſt the lady ſhould loſe any rank by her new marriage, beſtowed on his beloved minion the title of Earl of Somerſet.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs, the Counteſs of Somerſet was not ſatisfied, till ſhe ſhould further ſatiate her revenge on Overbury; and ſhe engaged her huſband, as well as her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, in the atrocious deſign of taking him off ſecretly by poiſon. Fruitleſs attempts were re-iterated by weak poiſons; but, at laſt, they gave him one ſo ſudden and violent, that the ſymptoms were apparent to every one, who approached him. His interment was hurried on with the greateſt precipitation; and, tho' a ſtrong ſuſpicion immediately prevailed in the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light, till ſome years afterwards. Overbury poiſoned.

THE fatal cataſtrophe of Overbury increaſed or begot the ſuſpicion, that the Prince of Wales had been carried off by poiſon, given him by Somerſet. Men conſidered not, that the contrary inference was much juſter. If Somerſet was ſo great a novice in this deteſtable art, that, in above five months time, a man, who was his priſoner, and attended by none but his emiſſaries, could not be diſpatched but in ſo bungling a manner; how could it be imagined, that a young prince, living in his own court, ſurrounded by his own friends and domeſtics, could be expoſed to Somerſet's attempts, and be taken off by ſo ſubtile a poiſon, if ſuch a one exiſt, as would elude the ſkill of the moſt experienced phyſicians?

Chap. III. 1613.

THE ableſt miniſter whom James ever poſſeſſed, the Earl of Saliſbury, was dead *: Suffolk, a man of ſlender capacity, had ſucceeded him in his office: And it was now his taſk to ſupply, from an exhauſted treaſury, the profuſion of James and his young favorite. The title of baronet, invented by Saliſbury, was ſold; and two hundred patents of that ſpecies of knighthood, were diſpoſed of for ſo many thouſand pounds: Each rank of nobility had alſo its price affixed to it: Privy ſeals were circulated to the value of 200,000 pound: Benevolences were exacted, or free gifts, to the extent of 52,000 pound: And ſome monopolies, of no great value, were erected. But all theſe expedients proved inſufficient to ſupply the King's neceſſities. However ſmall the hopes of ſucceſs, a new parliament muſt be ſummoned, and this dangerous expedient, for ſuch it was now become, once more be put to the trial.

1614. 5th of April. A parliament.

WHEN the commors were aſſembled, they diſcovered an extraordinary alarm, on account of the rumor, which was ſpred abroad concerning *undertakers*. It was reported, that ſeveral perſons, attached to the King, had entered into a confederacy; and having laid a regular plan for the new elections, had diſtributed their intereſt all over England, and had undertaken to ſecure a majority for the court. So ignorant were the commons, that they knew not this incident to be the firſt infallible ſymptom of any regular or eſtabliſhed liberty. Had they been contented to follow the maxims of their predeceſſors, who, as the Earl of Saliſbury ſaid to the laſt parliament, never, but thrice in ſix hundred years, refuſed a ſupply; they needed not dread, that the crown ſhould ever intereſt itſelf in their elections. Formerly, the Kings even inſiſted, that none of their houſhold ſhould ever be elected members; and, tho' the charter was afterwards declared void, Henry VI. from his great favor to the city of York, conferred a peculiar privilege on its citizens, that they ſhould be exempted from this trouble. † 'Tis well known, that, in antient times, a ſeat in the houſe being conſidered as a burthen, attended neither with honor nor profit; it was requiſite for the counties and burroughs to pay fees to their repreſentatives. About this time, a ſeat began to be regarded as an honor, and the country-gentlemen contended for it; tho' the practice of levying wages for the parliament-men was not altogether diſcontinued. It was not till long afterwards, when liberty was thorowly eſtabliſhed, and popular aſſemblies entered into every branch of public buſineſs, that the members began to join profit to honor, and the crown found it neceſſary to diſtribute among them all the conſiderable offices of the kingdom.

So

* 14th of May 1612. † Coke's inſtitutes, part 4. chap. 1. of charters of exemption.

So little skill or so small means had the courtiers, in James's reign, for managing elections, that this house of commons showed the same or a stronger spirit of liberty than the foregoing; and instead of entering upon the business of supply, as urged by the King and the ministers, they immediately resumed the subject which had been broached last parliament, and disputed his Majesty's power of laying on new customs and impositions, by the mere authority of his prerogative. 'Tis remarkable, that, in their debates on this subject, the courtiers frequently pleaded, as a precedent, the example of all the other hereditary monarchs in Europe, and mentioned particularly the kings of France and Spain; nor was this reasoning received by the house, either with surprize or indignation. The members of the opposite party, either contented themselves with denying the justness of the inference, or they disputed the truth of the observation. And a patriot-member in particular, Sir Roger Owen, even in arguing against the impositions, very frankly allowed, that the king of England was endued with as ample power and prerogative as any prince in Christendom. The nations on the continent, we may observe, enjoyed still, in that age, some remains of liberty. Chap. III. 1614. 18th of April.

The commons applied to the lords for a conference with regard to impositions. A speech of the bishop of Lincoln, reflecting on the lower house, begot some altercation; and the King seized the opportunity of dissolving immediately, with great indignation, a parliament, which had shown so firm a resolution of retrenching his prerogative, without communicating, in return, the smallest supply to his necessities. He carried his resentment so far as even to throw into prison some of the members, who had been the most forward in their opposition to his measures. In vain, did he plead in excuse for this violence, the example of Elizabeth and other princes of the line of Tudor. The people and the parliament, without abandoning for ever all their liberties and privileges, could acquiesce in none of these precedents, however frequent. And were the authority of such precedents admitted, the utmost, that could be inferred, is, that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inexplicable monster, whose jarring and discordant parts must soon destroy each other, and from the dissolution of the old, engender some new form of civil government, more uniform and consistent. 6th of June.

In the public and avowed conduct of the King and the house of commons, thro'out this whole reign, there appears sufficient cause of quarrel and disgust; yet we are not to imagine, that this was the sole foundation of that jealousy, which prevailed betwixt them. During debates in the house, it often happened, that a particular member, more ardent and zealous than the rest, would display the

Chap. III. 1614. the moſt violent ſentiments of liberty, which the commons contented themſelves to hear with ſilence and ſeeming approbation; and the King, informed of theſe harangues, concluded the whole houſe to be infected with the ſame principles, and to be engaged in a combination againſt his prerogative. The King, on the other hand, tho' he valued himſelf extremely on his king-craft, and was not altogether incapable of diſſimulation, ſeems to have been very little endued with the gift of ſecrecy; but openly, at his table, in all companies, inculcated thoſe monarchical tenets, with which he was ſo much infatuated. Before a numerous audience, he had expreſſed himſelf with great diſparagement of the common law of England, and had given the preference, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the civil law: And for this indiſcretion he found himſelf obliged to apologize, in a ſpeech to the former parliament. As a ſpecimen of his uſual liberty of talk, we may mention a ſtory, tho' it paſſed ſome time afterwards, which we meet with in the life of Waller, and which that poet uſed frequently to repeat. When Waller was young, he had the curioſity to go to court; and he ſtood in the circle, and ſaw James dine; where, among other company, there ſat at table two biſhops, Neile and Andrews. The King propoſed aloud this queſtion, Whether he might not take his ſubjects money, when he needed it, without all this formality of parliament. Neile replied, *God forbid you ſhould not: For you are the breath of our noſtrils.* Andrews declined anſwering, and ſaid, he was not ſkilled in parliamentary caſes: But upon the King's urging him, and ſaying he would admit of no evaſion, the biſhop replied very pleaſantly; *Why then, I think your Majeſty may very lawfully take my brother Neile's money: For he offers it.*

1615. Somerſet's fall. THE favorite had hitherto eſcaped the inquiry of juſtice; but he had not eſcaped that ſilent voice, which can make itſelf be heard amid all the hurry and flattery of a court, and aſtoniſhes the criminal with a juſt repreſentation of his moſt ſecret enormities. Conſcious of the murder of his friend, Somerſet received ſmall conſolation from the enjoyments of love, or the utmoſt kindneſs and indulgence of his ſovereign. The graces of his youth gradually diſappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obſcured, his politeneſs and obliging behavior were changed into ſullenneſs and ſilence. And the King, whoſe affections had been engaged by theſe ſuperficial accompliſhments, began to eſtrange himſelf from a man, who no longer contributed to his amuſement.

THE ſagacious courtiers diſcovered the firſt ſymptoms of this alienation: Somerſet's enemies ſeized the opportunity, and offered a new minion to the King. George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handſome

handſome perſon, genteel air, and faſhionable apparel. At a comedy, he was purpoſely placed full in James's eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and, in the ſame inſtant, the affections of that monarch. Aſhamed of his ſudden attachment, he endeavored, but in vain, to conceal the partiality which he felt for the handſome ſtranger; and he employed all his profound politics to fix him in his ſervice, without ſeeming to deſire it. He declared his reſolution not to confer any office on him, unleſs entreated by the Queen; and he pretended, that it ſhould only be in complaiſance to her choice, he would agree to admit him near his perſon. The Queen was immediately applied to; but ſhe, well knowing the extremes to which the King carried theſe attachments, refuſed, at firſt, to lend her countenance to this new paſſion. It was not till entreated by Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a decent prelate, and one much prejudized againſt Somerſet, that ſhe would condeſcend to oblige her huſband, by aſking this favor of him. And the King, thinking now that all appearances were fully ſaved, no longer conſtrained his affection, but immediately beſtowed the office of cup-bearer on young Villiers. Chap. III. 1615.

THE whole court were thrown into parties betwixt the two minions; while ſome endeavored to advance the riſing fortunes of Villiers, and others eſteemed it ſafer to adhere to the eſtabliſhed credit of Somerſet. The King himſelf, divided betwixt inclination and decorum, increaſed the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; and the ſtern jealouſy of the old favorite, who refuſed every advance of friendſhip from his rival, engendered perpetual quarrels betwixt their ſeveral partizans. But the diſcovery of Somerſet's guilt in the murder of Overbury, at laſt decided the controverſy, and expoſed him to the ruin and infamy which he ſo well merited.

AN apothecary's prentice, who had been employed in making up the poiſons, having retired to Fluſhing, began to talk very freely of the whole ſecret; and the affair at laſt came to the ears of Trumbal, the King's envoy in the low countrys. By his means, Sir Ralph Winwood, ſecretary of ſtate, was informed; and he carried the intelligence immediately to James. The King, alarmed and aſtoniſhed to find ſuch enormous guilt in a man whom he had admitted into his boſom, ſent for Sir Edward Coke, Lord chief juſtice, and earneſtly recommended to him the moſt rigorous and unbyaſſed ſcrutiny. This injunction was executed with great induſtry and ſeverity: The whole labyrinth of guilt carefully unravelled: The leſſer criminals, Sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the tower, Franklin, Weſton, Mrs. Turner, were firſt tried and condemned: Somerſet and his Counteſs were afterwards found guilty: Northampton's death, a little before, had ſaved him from a like fate.

Chap. III. 1615.

IT may not be unworthy of remark, that Coke, in the trial of Mrs. Turner, told her, that ſhe was guilty of the ſeven deadly ſins: She was a whore, a bawd, a ſorcerer, a witch, a papiſt, a felon, and a murderer. And what may more ſurprize us, Bacon, then attorney-general, took care to obſerve, that poiſoning was a popiſh trick. Such were the bigotted prejudices which prevailed in this age. Stowe tells us, that, when the King came to Newcaſtle, on his firſt entry into England, he gave liberty to all the priſoners, except thoſe confined for treaſon, murder, and papiſtry. When one conſiders theſe circumſtances, the gunpowder-conſpiracy appears the leſs ſurprizing.

ALL the accomplices in Overbury's murder received the puniſhment due to their crime: But the King beſtowed a pardon on the principals, Somerſet and the Counteſs. It muſt be confeſſed, that James's fortitude had been highly laudable, had he perſiſted in his firſt intention of conſigning over to ſevere juſtice all the criminals: But let us ſtill beware of blaming him too harſhly, if, on the approach of the fatal hour, he ſcrupled to deliver into the hands of the executioner, perſons whom he had once favored with his moſt tender affections. To ſoften the rigor of their fate, after ſome years impriſonment, he reſtored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a penſion, with which they retired, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and obſcurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the moſt deadly hatred; and they paſſed many years together in the ſame houſe, without any entercourſe or correſpondence.

SEVERAL hiſtorians, in relating theſe events, have inſiſted much on the diſſimulation of James's behavior, when he delivered Somerſet into the hands of the chief juſtice; on the inſolent menaces of that criminal; on his peremptory refuſal to ſtand a trial; and on the extreme anxiety of the King during the whole progreſs of this affair. Allowing all theſe circumſtances to be true, of which ſome are ſuſpicious, if not palpably falſe, the great remains of tenderneſs, which James ſtill felt for Somerſet, may, perhaps, be ſufficient to account for them. That favorite was high-ſpirited; and reſolute rather to periſh than live under the infamy to which he was expoſed. James was ſenſible that the pardoning ſo great a criminal, which was of itſelf invidious, would become ſtill more unpopular, if his obſtinate and ſtubborn behavior on his trial ſhould augment the public hatred againſt him. At leaſt, the unreſerved confidence, in which he had indulged his favorite for ſeveral years, might render Somerſet maſter of ſo many ſecrets, that it is impoſſible, without farther light, to aſſign the particular cauſe of that ſuperiority, which, 'tis ſaid, he appeared ſo much to aſſume.

Riſe of Buckingham.

THE fall of Somerſet and his baniſhment from court opened the way for Villiers to mount up at once to the full height of favor, of honors, and of riches. Had

Had James's paſſion been governed by common rules of prudence, the office of cup-bearer would have attached Villiers to his perſon, and might well have contented one of his age and family; nor would any one, who was not cynically auſtere, have much cenſured the ſingularity of the King's taſte in amuſement. But ſuch advancement was far inferior to the fortune which he intended for his favorite. In the courſe of a few years, he created him Viſcount Villiers, Earl, Marquiſs, and Duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, maſter of the king's bench office, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and Lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of Counteſs of Buckingham: His brother was created Viſcount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all puſhed up into credit and authority. And thus the fond Prince, while he meant to play the tutor to his favorite, and to train him up in the rules of prudence and politics, took an infallible method, by loading him with premature and exorbitant honors, to render him, for ever, raſh, precipitant, and inſolent. Chap. III. 1615.

A young minion to gratify with pleaſure, a neceſſitous family to ſupply with riches, were enterprizes too great for the empty exchequer of James. In order to obtain a little money, the cautionary towns muſt be delivered up to the Dutch; a meaſure which has been ſeverely blamed by almoſt all hiſtorians; and I may venture to affirm, that, tho' it muſt be owned ſomewhat impolitic, it has been cenſured much beyond its real weight and importance. 1616.

When Queen Elizabeth opened her treaſures for the ſupport of the infant republic; beſide the view of ſecuring herſelf againſt the exorbitant power and ambition of Spain, ſhe ſtill reſerved the proſpect of re-imburſement; and ſhe got conſigned into her hands the three important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, the Brille, and Rammekins, as pledges for the money which was due to her. Indulgent to the neceſſitous condition of the ſtates, ſhe agreed that the debt ſhould bear no intereſt, and ſhe ſtipulated, that, if ever England made peace with Spain, ſhe ſhould pay the troops which garriſoned thoſe fortreſſes.* It appears from Jeanin's letters, that the ſtates had expected a very conſiderable abatement of the debt, even at a time when James's exchequer was in tolerable order, from the only conſiderable ſupply which his parliament had ever granted him: Much more were they encouraged in this hope by his preſent neceſſitous condition. In this negotiation they employed Caron, their miniſter, who offered the King a little above the third of the money, which was due to him, and which amounted in the whole to about L. 700,000. It occurred to James, that the pay of the garriſons Cautionary towns delivered.

* Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 341.

Chap. III. 1616.

riſons was ſo burthenſome on his ſlender revenue, that very large arrears were owing them, and they were ready to mutiny for want of ſubſiſtence; that, ſince the King's acceſſion, above L. 300,000 had been expended for their ſupport, and there appeared no end of theſe charges; that by the ſtricteſt computation the third of the ſum, paid him preſently, was much preferable to the whole payable ten years after; that the ſtates, truſting to his pacific maxims, as well as to the cloſe union of intereſt and affection with his people, were no-ways anxious for the recovery of theſe places, and might allow them to lye long in his hands, if full payment was inſiſted on; that this union was really ſo intimate, that no reaſonable meaſures for mutual ſupport would be wanting from the Dutch, even tho' freed from the dependance of theſe garriſons; and that the exchequer of the republic was at preſent very low, inſomuch that they found difficulty, now that the aids of France were withdrawn, to maintain themſelves in that poſture of defence, which was requiſite during the truce with Spain. Theſe reaſons, along with his urgent wants, induced the King to accept of Caron's offer; and he evacuated

6th of June.

the cautionary towns, which held the ſtates in total ſubjection, and which an ambitious and enterpriſing prince would have regarded as his moſt invaluable poſſeſſions. This is the date of the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth. Ever ſince, they have ſupported themſelves with dignity and independance in all the tranſactions of Europe; and, tho' their trading companies have been guilty of ſome violences, yet the republic has remained cloſely united with England, whenever that kingdom has acted in conformity to its own true intereſts. Happy it was for both ſtates that the republican parliament and Charles II. when they embraced extravagant ſyſtems of politics, had not poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns; by which they would have been enabled to cruſh that illuſtrious commonwealth, and deprive the nation for ever of its beſt and firmeſt ally.

1617.

WHEN the crown of England devolved on James, it might have been foreſeen by the Scotch nation, that the independance of their kingdom, the object, for which their anceſtors had ſhed ſuch an ocean of blood, would now be utterly loſt; and that, if both ſtates perſevered in maintaining ſeparate laws and parliaments, the weaker would feel more ſenſibly the ſubjection, than if it had been totally ſubdued by force of arms. But theſe views did not generally occur. The glory of having given a ſovereign to their powerful enemy, the advantages of preſent peace and tranquillity, the riches acquired from the munificence of their maſter; theſe conſiderations ſecured their dutiful obedience to a Prince, who daily gave ſuch ſenſible proofs of his friendſhip and partiality towards them. Never had the authority of any king, who reſided among them, been ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as was that of James, even when abſent; and as the adminiſtra-

Affairs of Scotland.

tion

tion had been hitherto conducted with great order and tranquillity, there had happened no occurrence to draw thither our attention. But this ſummer, the King was reſolved to pay a viſit to his native country, in order to renew his antient friendſhips and connexions, and to introduce that change of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and government, on which his mind was extremely bent. Chap. III. 1617. May.

THE kingdom of Scotland, as at preſent, ſo at that time, was poſſeſſed by two kinds of inhabitants, very different in their language, manners, cuſtoms, habit, and whole train of life. The lowlands were peopled by a race of men, who, if we may judge by their tongue, a more certain proof than any imperfect and fabulous annals, muſt neceſſarily have been of Saxon origin; a tribe of that numerous nation, who, from the northern parts of Germany, over-ran, like a torrent, the better and more habitable parts of this iſland. The hills were poſſeſſed by the antient inhabitants, of Celtic extraction, who were able, in that inacceſſible country, to ſecure themſelves againſt the fury of their deſtructive invaders, and to ſave a relict of that once mighty people. Both theſe races of men, however different in other reſpects, lived, at that time, in a manner ſomewhat diſorderly; governed by antient cuſtoms more than by laws, and attached to their own families more than to their prince or country. The highlanders, like the Iriſh, a branch of the ſame nation, were, all of them, divided into families, which the former called clans and the latter ſepts; and there was no perſon ſo low and vulgar in the tribe, who did not claim a common parentage with the richeſt and moſt powerful. But as the property of land in the highlands was fixed, and the greater part of every inheritance went to the eldeſt; the dignity of cheiftain became hereditary, and an order or ſubordination was, by that means, preſerved among the people, which, however barbarous, was ſuperior to the ſavage condition into which the Iriſh were fallen. In the lowlands, the men of property preſerved an attachment to their cheiftain or to the head of their family: The meaner tenants were ſuppoſed to be an inferior breed, and their obedience was ſecured to their maſters by the uſual connexions of intereſt and dependance. The weak authority of the laws thro'out every part of Scotland, made all the inhabitants ſeek for ſecurity by a cloſe adherence to their own tribe, which alone was able to protect them: And this devoted attachment looſening the ties to their country, ſerved ſtill farther to weaken the authority of the laws.

THESE cauſes, as might naturally be imagined, operated with the greateſt influence amidſt thoſe barbarous mountains; and at this day, their inhabitants, notwithſtanding all the improvements introduced into other parts of the iſland, diſtinguiſh themſelves by an obſtinate adherence to their antient manners. The feudal law however was ſtill preſerved in great vigor, thro'out the whole

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kingdom, particularly in the low countries: Separate juriſdictions were maintained: Hereditary offices preſerved: And an execution of juſtice took place, feeble, diſorderly, partial, and tumultuous.

AMIDST the contentions of ſuch powerful vaſſals, who may be conſidered as petty princes rather than eminent nobles, the authority of the king, which was the ſame with that of the laws, was very uncertain and precarious. Like the Roman pontiff in the ages of ſuperſtition, the Scottiſh monarch, tho' poſſeſſed of extenſive claims, enjoyed but little power; and when provoked by the rebellion of any potent baron, his uſual reſource was to animate ſome hoſtile clans againſt him, and to arm them with legal authority. Theſe, enriched and aggrandized by the confiſcations of the rebel cheiftain and his dependants, ſoon became formidable to their benefactor, and obliged him to have recourſe to the ſame deſtructive politics for their extirpation. But notwithſtanding this impotence of ſovereign power, notwithſtanding theſe inveterate animoſities among the ſeveral tribes; the Engliſh were ſeldom able to make great advantage of the inteſtine diviſions among the Scotch, and never could eſtabliſh their dominion over them. Being the only enemy with whom the northern kingdom ever was engaged, the national antipathy among the Scots, not diverted into any other channel, roſe to an extreme height, and, in all caſes of neceſſity, united the whole ſtate, in oppoſition to ſo dangerous a foe. And being obliged, for their own ſupport, to preſerve an intimate correſpondence with France, they thence received a degree of civility and knowlege, and imitated, at ſome diſtance, the other European nations, in all the principles of chivalry and gallantry, honor and military valor, which prevailed during thoſe uncultivated ages.

As the dawn of arts appeared thro'out Europe in the ſixteenth century, it might have been hoped, that, when they ſhould reach Scotland in their farther progreſs, they would, as uſual, put an end to that feudal anarchy, which there prevailed, and would introduce order and obedience amongſt its uncivilized inhabitants. But before that happy period, another accident happened, which leſſened the authority of the nobles, and ballanced their influence over the people. The proteſtant fanaticiſm, more rapid in its progreſs, ſoon pierced into that remote country; and, being at firſt ſtrongly oppoſed by the ſupreme power, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical, it roſe to a degree of fury, and with the moſt deſtructive violence bore down all oppoſition. As it is not the genius of enthuſiaſtic religions to endow their clergy with extenſive power or ample revenues, the plunder of the Romiſh church was ſhared out among the laity, and the eccleſiaſtical authority of biſhops was, in a manner, annihilated. And tho' the new preachers acquired a mighty influence over the people, it was not merely by their

their prieſtly rank or office, but by the ſeeming auſterity of their lives, and the eloquence of their zealous lectures. They did not, properly ſpeaking, lead the multitude: They only ran before them, in all their fanatical extravagancies.

But however great the loſs, which the nobility ſuſtained from theſe innovations, the crown was no gainer. Determined enemies to monarchy, by principle as well as inclination, the religious orators placed a vanity in affronting their prince, and would acknowlege no ſovereign but Chriſt, whoſe throne, being eſtabliſhed in heaven, impoſed little reſtraint upon them. Amid theſe dangerous ſhelves, which lay on every hand, the cautious and moderate character of James had ſteered a very prudent courſe. Oppoſing art to art and diſſimulation to diſſimulation, he had preſerved an unuſual tranquillity among his ſubjects, and, at the ſame time, had ſupported, as much as poſſible, his own authority. Many indignities he had borne with patience or with a very moderate reſentment, while he remained in his native kingdom: But when he reached a ſtate of greater ſplendor and independance, by mounting the throne of England, he was not altogether inſenſible of this great increaſe of authority; and he ſoon altered his maxims with regard to the adminiſtration of Scotland. Having experienced the mighty influence, which religion has over the minds of men, he was reſolved, if poſſible, to acquire the direction of that principle, and to eſtabliſh, in Scotland, the maxims, diſcipline, and worſhip of the Engliſh church, with which, as a prince, he had ſo great reaſon to be ſatisfied.

But 'tis an obſervation, ſuggeſted by all hiſtory, and by none more than by that of James, and his ſucceſſor, that the religious ſpirit contains in it ſomething ſupernatural and unaccountable; and that, in its operations upon ſociety, effects correſpond leſs to their known cauſes than is found in any other circumſtance of government. A reflection, which may, at once, afford a ſource of blame againſt ſuch ſovereigns as lightly innovate in ſo dangerous an article, and of apology for ſuch, as being engaged in an enterprize of that nature, are diſappointed of the expected event, and fail in their undertakings.

The three points, which the King propoſed to finiſh by his journey to Scotland, were, the enlarging epiſcopal authority, the eſtabliſhing a few ceremonies in public worſhip, and the fixing a ſuperiority of the civil above the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

When the Scotch nation were firſt ſeized with that fury of reformation, which was ſo pernicious during the time, and which has ſince proved ſo ſalutary in the conſequences; the fanatical preachers, aſſuming to themſelves a character, little inferior to the prophetic or apoſtolical, diſdained all ſubjection to the ſpiritual rulers of the church, by whom their dangerous innovations were puniſhed and oppoſed.

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oppoſed. The revenues of the dignified clergy, no longer conſidered as ſacred, were either appropriated by the preſent poſſeſſors, or ſeized by the more powerful barons; and what remained, after mighty dilapidations, was, by act of parliament, annexed to the crown. The prelates, however, and abbots maintained their temporal juriſdictions and their ſeats in parliament; and, tho' laymen were ſometimes graced with eccleſiaſtical titles, the church, notwithſtanding its frequent proteſtations to the contrary, was ſtill ſuppoſed to be repreſented by thoſe ſpiritual lords, in the ſtates of the kingdom. After many ſtruggles, the King, even before his acceſſion to the throne of England, had acquired influence ſufficient over the Scotch clergy, to extort from them an acknowlegement of the parliamentary juriſdiction of biſhops; tho' attended with many precautions, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the ſpiritual encroachments of that order *. When king of England, he engaged them, tho' ſtill with great reluctance on their part, to advance a ſtep farther, and to receive the biſhops as perpetual preſidents or moderators in their eccleſiaſtical ſynods; re-iterating their proteſtations againſt all ſpiritual juriſdiction of the prelates, and all controling power over the preſbyters †. And by ſuch gradual innovations, the King flattered himſelf, that he would gently introduce the epiſcopal authority: But as his final ſcope was fully ſeen from the beginning, every new advance was a freſh occaſion of diſcontent, and aggravated, inſtead of ſoftening, the abhorrence, entertained againſt the prelacy.

WHAT rendered the King's aim more apparent, were the endeavors, which, at the ſame time, he uſed to introduce into Scotland ſome of the ceremonies of the church of England: The reſt, it was eaſily foreſeen, would ſoon follow. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by oppoſition, had ſo poſſeſſed the mind of the Scotch reformers, that all rites and ornaments, and even order of worſhip, were diſdainfully rejected as uſeleſs burthens; retarding the imagination in its rapturous extaſies, and ſtinting the operations of that divine ſpirit, by which they ſuppoſed themſelves to be animated. A mode of worſhip was eſtabliſhed, the moſt naked and moſt ſimple imaginable; one that borrowed nothing from the ſenſes; but repoſed itſelf intirely on the contemplation of that divine eſſence, which diſcovers itſelf to the underſtanding only. This ſpecies of devotion, ſo ſuitable to the ſupreme Being, but ſo little ſuitable to human frailty, was obſerved to occaſion the moſt enormous ravages in the breaſt, and to ſubvert every rational principle of conduct and behavior. The mind, ſtraining for theſe extraordinary raptures, reaching them by ſhort glances, ſuccumbing again under its own

* 1598. † 1606.

own weakneſs, rejecting all exterior aid of pomp and ceremony, was ſo occupied in this inward life, that it fled from every intercourſe of ſociety, and from every ſweet or chearful amuſement, which could ſoften or humanize the character. It was obvious to all diſcerning eyes, and had not eſcaped the King's, that, by the prevalence of fanaticiſm, a gloomy and ſullen diſpoſition eſtabliſhed itſelf among the people; a ſpirit, obſtinate and dangerous; independent and diſorderly; animated equally with a contempt of authority, and a hatred to every other mode of religion, particularly to the catholic. In order to mellow theſe humors, James endeavored to infuſe a ſmall tincture of ſuperſtition into the national worſhip, and to introduce ſuch rites and ceremonies as might, in ſome degree, occupy the mind, and pleaſe the ſenſes, without departing too far from that ſimplicity, by which the reformation was diſtinguiſhed. The finer arts too, tho' ſtill rude in theſe northern kingdoms, were employed to adorn the churches; and the King's chappel, in which an organ was erected, and ſome pictures and ſtatues diſplayed, was propoſed as a model to the reſt of the nation. But muſic was grating to the prejudized ears of the Scotch clergy; ſculpture and painting appeared inſtruments of idolatry; the ſurplice was a rag of popery; and each motion or geſture, preſcribed by the liturgy, was a ſtep towards that ſpiritual Babylon, ſo much the object of their horror and averſion. Every thing was deemed impious, but their own myſtical comments on the ſcriptures, which they idolized, and whoſe eaſtern prophetic ſtyle they employed in every common occurrence of life.

It will be ſufficient to give an account of one or two of the ceremonies, which the King was ſo intent to eſtabliſh. Such inſtitutions, for a time, are eſteemed, either too divine to have proceeded from any other being than the ſupreme Creator of the univerſe, or too diabolical to have been derived from other than an infernal demon. But no ſooner is the mode or the controverſy paſt, than they are univerſally diſcovered to be ſo frivolous as ſcarce to be mentioned with dignity or even decency, amidſt the ordinary courſe of human tranſactions. On theſe occaſions, hiſtory is ſometimes conſtrained to depart a little from her native and accuſtomed gravity.

As epiſcopal ordination was ſtill wanting to the Scotch biſhops, who derived their character merely from votes of parliaments and aſſemblies; James had called up three of them to England*. By canonical ceremonies and by impoſition of hands, they received from the Engliſh biſhops that unknown, and therefore the more revered virtue, which, thro' innumerable prelates, had been ſuppoſed to be tranſmitted, without interruption, from the firſt diſciples and apoſtles.

* 1610.

Chap. III. 1617.

poſtles. And theſe three biſhops were eſteemed ſufficient to preſerve alive that virtue, to tranſport it into Scotland, and to transfer it, by their touch, to their brethren and ſucceſſors in that kingdom.

GREAT controverſies aroſe, even after every other diſpute ſeemed to be adjuſted, betwixt the King and the miniſters, about the manner of receiving the ſacrament. The King ſtill inſiſted, that the communicants ſhould reſt on their knees; and he regarded that poſture as the moſt reſpectful, becauſe the moſt uneaſy: The miniſters ſtrenuouſly maintained the privilege of repoſing on their ſeats, during the performance of that ſacred rite, and would by no means ſubmit to the poſture preſcribed to them.

MUCH difference likeways, and violent diſpute took place, whether the ſacramental bread ſhould be cut into morſels before it was preſented to the communicants, or whether they might themſelves break it with their fingers. The King inſiſted vehemently on the former practice; the church adhered obſtinately to the latter.

THE other uſages, recommended by James, regarded private communion, private baptiſm, confirmation of children, and the obſervance of Chriſtmas and other feſtivals. Theſe ceremonies, all except that of ordination, were afterwards known under the name of the articles of Perth, from the place where they were ratified by the aſſembly.

A conformity of diſcipline and worſhip betwixt the churches of England and Scotland, which was James's aim, he never could hope to eſtabliſh, but by firſt procuring an acknowlegement of his own authority in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and nothing could be more contrary to the practice as well as principles of the preſbyterian clergy. The eccleſiaſtical courts poſſeſſed the power of fulminating excommunication; and that dreadful ſentence, beſide the eternal and infinite puniſhments, to which it conſigned the delinquent, was attended with immediate conſequences of the moſt important nature. The perſon excommunicated was ſhunned by every one as profane and impious; and his whole eſtate, during his life-time, and all his moveables, for ever, were forfeited to the crown. Nor were the preparatory ſteps, requiſite before inflicting this ſentence, formal or regular, in proportion to the weight of it. Without accuſer, without ſummons, without trial, any eccleſiaſtical court, however inferior, could, in a ſummary manner, pronounce a ſentence of excommunication, for any cauſe, and againſt any perſon, even tho' he lived not within the bounds of their juriſdiction. And, by this means, the whole tyranny of the inquiſition, tho' without its order, was introduced into the kingdom.

BUT the clergy contented not themſelves with the unlimited juriſdiction, which they exerciſed in eccleſiaſtical matters: They aſſumed a cenſorial power over every part of adminiſtration; and, in all their ſermons, and even prayers, mingling politics

politics with religion, they inculcated the moſt ſeditious and moſt turbulent principles. Black, miniſter of St. Andrews, went ſo far *, in a ſermon, as to pronounce all kings the devil's children; he gave the Queen of England the appellation of atheiſt; he ſaid, that the treachery of the King's heart was now fully diſcovered; and in his prayers for the Queen he uſed theſe words; *We muſt pray for her for the faſhion's ſake; but we have no cauſe: She will never do us any good.* When ſummoned before the privy council, he refuſed to anſwer to a civil court for any part of his ſermons, even tho' the crime, of which he was accuſed, was of a civil nature. The church adopted his cauſe. They raiſed a ſedition in Edinburgh †. The King, during ſome time, was in the hands of the enraged populace; and it was not without courage, as well as dexterity, that he was able to extricate himſelf. A few days afterwards, a miniſter, preaching in the principal church of that capital, ſaid, that the King was poſſeſſed with a devil; and, that one devil being expelled, ſeven worſe had entered in his place. To which he added, that the ſubjects might lawfully riſe, and take the ſword out of his hand. Not, even during the darkeſt night of papal ſuperſtition, are there found ſuch inſtances of prieſtly encroachments, as the annals of Scotland preſent to us during that period. Chap. III. 1617.

By theſe extravagant ſtretches of power, and by the patient conduct of James, the church began to loſe ground, even before the King's acceſſion to the throne of England: But no ſooner had that event taken place, than he made the Scotch clergy ſenſible, that he was ſovereign of a great kingdom, which he governed with great authority. Tho' formerly he would have eſteemed himſelf happy to have made a fair partition with them of the civil and eccleſiaſtical authority, he was now reſolved to exert a ſupreme juriſdiction in church as well as ſtate, and to put an end to their ſeditious practices. An aſſembly had been ſummoned at Aberdeen ‡; but, on account of his journey to London, he prorogued it to the year following. Some of the clergy, diſavowing his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, met at the time firſt appointed, notwithſtanding his prohibition. He threw them into priſon. Such of them as ſubmitted, and acknowleged their error, he pardoned. The reſt he brought to their trial. They were condemned for high treaſon. He gave them their lives; but baniſhed them the kingdom. Six of them ſuffered this penalty.

The general aſſembly was afterwards induced ‖ to acknowlege the King's authority in ſummoning eccleſiaſtical courts, and to ſubmit to the juriſdiction and viſitation of the biſhops. Even their favorite ſentence of excommunication was declared invalid, unleſs confirmed by the ordinary. The King recommended to

* 1596. † 17th Dec. 1596. ‡ July 1604. ‖ 6th of June 1610.

Chap. III. 1617.

the preſbyteries the members, whom they ſhould elect to this aſſembly; and every thing was conducted in it with little appearance of choice and liberty.

By his own prerogative too, which he greatly ſtretched on this occaſion, the King erected a court of high commiſſion *, in imitation of that eſtabliſhed in England. The biſhops and a few of the clergy, who had been ſummoned together, willingly acknowleged this court; and it proceeded immediately upon buſineſs, as if its authority had been grounded on the full conſent of the whole legiſlature.

But James reſerved the final blow for the time when he ſhould himſelf pay a

13th of June.

viſit to Scotland. To the parliament, which was then ſummoned, it was propoſed to enact, that, "whatever his Majeſty ſhould determine in the external govern-"ment of the church, with the conſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and a com-"petent number of the miniſtry, ſhould have the force of a law." What number ſhould be eſteemed competent was not determined: And their nomination was left intirely to the King: So that his eccleſiaſtical authority, had this act paſſed, would have been eſtabliſhed in its full extent. Some of the clergy proteſted. They apprehended, they ſaid, that the purity of their church, by means of the new authority, would be polluted with the whole rites and liturgy of the church of England. James, dreading clamor and oppoſition, dropped the act, which had already paſſed the lords of articles; and aſſerted, that the inherent prerogative of the crown contained more power than was recognized by this bill. Some-

10th of July.

time after, he called a meeting, at St. Andrews, of the biſhops and thirty ſix of the moſt eminent clergy. He there declared his reſolution of exerting his prerogative, and of eſtabliſhing, by his own authority, the few ceremonies which he had recommended to them. They entreated him rather to call a general aſſembly, and to procure their conſent. The King aſking, *What aſſurance he might have of the aſſembly's conſent*; they anſwered, That they ſaw no reaſon to the contrary, and knew that the aſſembly would yield to any reaſonable demand of his Majeſty. *But if it fall out otherways*, ſaid the King, *and my demand be refuſed; my difficulty ſhall be the greater: And when I ſhall uſe my authority in eſtabliſhing the ceremonies, they will call me tyrant and perſecutor.* All crying out, that none could be ſo mad; *Yet experience*, ſaid the King, *tells me, that it may readily happen. Therefore, unleſs I be made ſure, I will not give way to an aſſembly.* Galloway, one of the miniſters, ſaying, that the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews would anſwer for them, the Archbiſhop refuſed: For that he had been deceived by them, and had ſufficiently experienced their breach of promiſe. Then ſaid Galloway, *If your Majeſty will truſt me, I will anſwer for them.* The King conſented; and an aſſembly was ſummoned on the 25th of November next.

Yet

* 15th of Feb. 1610.

YET this assembly, which met after his departure from Scotland, eluded all the King's applications; and it was not till the subsequent year, that he was able to procure a vote for receiving his ceremonies. And thro' every step of this affair, in the parliament as well as in all the general assemblies, the nation betrayed the utmost reluctance to all these innovations; and nothing but the King's importunity and authority had extorted a seeming consent, which was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people. Even the few, over whom religious prejudices were not prevalent, thought the national honor sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship, practised in England. And every prudent man agreed in condemning the measures of the King, who, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant ceremonies, had betrayed, tho' in an opposite manner, equal narrowness of mind, with the persons, whom he treated with such contempt. It was judged, that, had not these dangerous humors been irritated by opposition; had they been allowed peaceably to evaporate; they might at last have subsided within the limits of law and civil authority. And as all fanatical religions naturally circumscribe, to very narrow bounds, the numbers and riches of the ecclesiastics; no sooner is their first fire spent, than they lose all credit over the people, and leave them under the natural and beneficent influence of their legal and moral obligations. Chap. III. 1617.

AT the same time, that James shocked, in so violent a manner, the religious principles of his Scotch subjects, he acted in opposition to the bigotry of his English. He had observed, in his progress thro' England, that a judaical observance of the sunday, chiefly by means of the puritans, was gaining, every day, ground thro'out the kingdom, and that the people, under pretext of religion, were, contrary to former practice, debarred from such sports and recreations, as contributed both to their health and their amusement. Festivals, which in all other nations and ages, are partly dedicated to public worship, partly to mirth and society, were here totally appropriated to the offices of religion, and served to nourish those sullen and gloomy contemplations, to which the people were, of themselves, so unfortunately subject. The King falsely concluded, that it would be easy to infuse chearfulness into this dark spirit of devotion. He issued a proclamation to allow and incourage, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises; and by his authority, he endeavored to give sanction to a practice, which his prejudized subjects regarded as the utmost profaneness and impiety.

CHAP. IV.

Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition.——His execution.——Insurrections in Bohemia.——Loss of the Palatinate.——Negotiations with Spain.——A parliament.——Parties.——Fall of Bacon.——Rupture betwixt King and parliament.——Protestation of the commons.

1618. Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition.

AT the time when Sir Walter Raleigh was first confined to the tower, his violent and haughty temper had rendered him the most unpopular man in England, and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium, under which he labored. During the thirteen years imprisonment, which he suffered, the sentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say, injustice of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprizing spirit, which languished in the rigors of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amidst naval and military enterprizes, had surpassed in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his history of the world. To increase these favorable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of his liberty, he spred the report of a golden mine, which he had discovered in Guiana, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to inrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The King, when informed of these mighty promises, gave little credit to them; both because he believed, that no such mine, as that described, was any where in nature, and because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortunes, whose business it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to re-instate himself in credit and authority. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, he released him from the tower; and when his vaunts of the golden mine had engaged multitudes to associate with him, the King gave him permission to try the adventure, and, at their desire, conferred on him authority over his fellow-adventurers. Tho' strongly sollicited, he still refused to grant him a pardon, which seemed a natural consequence, when he was intrusted with power and command. But James declared

declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's designs; and he intended, he said, to reserve the former sentence, as a check upon his future behavior. Chap. IV. 1618.

RALEIGH well knew, that it was far from the King's purpose to invade any of the Spanish settlements: He therefore firmly denied, that Spain had planted any colonies on that part of the coast, where his mine lay. When the ambassador of that nation, the famous Gondomar, alarmed at his preparations, carried complaints to the King; Raleigh still protested the innocence of his intentions: And James assured Gondomar, that he durst not form any hostile attempt, and that he should pay with his head for so audacious an enterprize. But the minister wisely concluding, that twelve armed vessels were not fitted out without some purpose of invasion, conveyed the intelligence to the court of Madrid, who immediately gave orders for arming and fortifying all their settlements, particularly those along the coast of Guiana.

WHEN the courage and avarice of the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were resolved to shew themselves superior to the barbarous heathens, whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel: They applied to Alexander VI. who then filled the papal chair; and he generously bestowed on the Spaniards the whole western, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern part of the globe. The more scrupulous protestants, who acknowleged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of *their* title; and if a pyrate or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick or stone on the shore, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themselves intitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the antient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner, that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a just claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and tho' he had, immediately after, left the coast, he yet pretended, that the English title remained certain and indefeazable. But it had happened in the mean time, that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowleging this claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oronooko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

To this place, Raleigh directly bent his course; and remaining, himself, at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son, and of captain Keymis, a person intirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young

Raleigh

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Raleigh, to incourage his men, called out, *That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other*; and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a ſhot, of which he immediately expired. This diſmayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack, got poſſeſſion of the town, which they afterwards ſet on fire; and found not in it any thing of conſiderable value.

RALEIGH pretended not, that he had himſelf ſeen the mine, which he had engaged ſo many people to go in queſt of: It was Keymis, he ſaid, who had formerly diſcovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promiſed ſuch immenſe treaſures. Yet Keymis, who owned, that he was within two hours march of the place, refuſed, under the moſt abſurd pretexts, to take any effectual ſtep towards the finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his ſon's death, and the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize. Senſible to reproach, and dreading puniſhment for his behavior, in deſpair Keymis retired into his cabbin, and put an end to his own life.

THE other adventurers now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any ſuch mine as he pretended to go in ſearch of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and having encouraged his company by the ſpoil of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invaſion of the other Spaniſh ſettlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by ſuch daring enterprizes; and that he truſted to the money he ſhould acquire, for making his peace with England; or if that view failed him, that he propoſed to retire into ſome other country, where his riches would ſecure his retreat.

THE ſmall acquiſitions, gained by the ſpoil of St. Thomas, diſcouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into theſe views; tho' there were many circumſtances in the treaty betwixt the two nations, which invited them to engage in ſuch a pyratical war with the Spaniards.

WHEN England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjuſting all queſtions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to paſs over that article in total ſilence. The Spaniards, having, all along, publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt the intercourſe of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this ſilence in their own favor, and conſidered it as a tacit acquieſcence of England in the eſtabliſhed laws of Spain. The Engliſh, on the contrary, pretended, that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the King of Spain's dominions, it was ſtill as lawful for them to trade with his ſettlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In conſequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England ſailed to the Spaniſh Indies, and met with ſevere puniſhment, when caught; as they, on the other hand, often ſtole,

and

and, when ſuperior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and reſiſted, nay ſometimes plundered, the Spaniſh governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great height on both ſides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion; becauſe of the difficulty, which was found, of remedying them, upon any fixed principles.

But as there appeared a great difference betwixt private adventurers in ſingle ſhips, and a fleet acting under a royal commiſſion; Raleigh's companions thought it ſafeſt to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to anſwer for his conduct and behavior. 'Tis pretended, that he employed many artifices, firſt to engage them to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements, and failing of that, to make his eſcape into France: But all theſe proving unſucceſsful, he was delivered into the King's hands, and ſtrictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy council. The council found no difficulty in pronouncing, that the former ſuſpicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well grounded, that he had abuſed the King in the repreſentations which he had made of his projected adventure; that he had acted in an offenſive and hoſtile manner againſt his Majeſty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and deſtroyed a town belonging to the King of Spain. He might have been tried either by common law for this violence, or by martial law for breach of orders: But it was an eſtabliſhed principle among thoſe of the long robe, that, as he lay under an actual attainder for high treaſon, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. To ſatisfy, therefore, the court of Spain, who raiſed the loudeſt complaints againſt him, the King made uſe of that power which he had purpoſely reſerved in his own hand, and ſigned the warrant for his execution upon the former ſentence.*

Sir

* Some of the facts, in this narration, which ſeem to condemn Raleigh, are taken from the King's declaration, which being publiſhed by authority, when the facts were recent, being extracted from examinations before the privy council, and ſubſcribed by ſix counſellors, among whom was Abbot Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate no way complaiſant to the court, muſt be allowed to have great weight. Yet the moſt material facts are confirmed either by the nature and reaſon of the thing, or by Sir Walter's own apology and his letters. The King's vindication is in the Harleyan miſcellany, Vol. 3. No. 2.

1. There ſeems to be an improbability, that the Spaniards, who knew nothing of Raleigh's pretended mine, ſhould have built a town, in ſo wide a coaſt within three miles of it. The chances are extremely againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition: And it is more natural to think, that the view of plundering the town led him thither, than that of working a mine. 2. No ſuch mine is there found to this day. 3. Raleigh in fact found no mine, and in fact he plundered and burned a Spaniſh town. Is it not more probable, therefore, that the latter was his intention? How can the ſecrets of his breaſt be rendered ſo viſible as to counterpoiſe certain facts? 4. He confeſſes, in his letter to Lord Carew, that

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SIR Walter Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: And tho' he had formerly made use of many mean artifices, such as feigning madness, sickness, and a variety of diseases, in order to protract his examination, and procure his escape; he now resolved to act his part with bravery and resolution. *'Tis a sharp remedy*, he said, *but a sure one for all ills*; when he felt the edge of the ax, by which he was to be beheaded. His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent;

that, tho' he knew it, yet he concealed from the King the settlement of the Spaniards, on that coast. Does not this fact alone render him sufficiently criminal? 5. His commission impowers him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants. Was it not the most criminal breach of orders to disembark on a coast possessed by Spaniards? 6. His orders to Keymis, when he sent him up the river, are contained in his own apology, and from them it appears, that he knew (what was unavoidable) that the Spaniards would resist, and would oppose the English landing and possession. His intentions, therefore, were hostile from the beginning 7. Without provocation, and even when at a distance, he gave Keymis orders to dislodge the Spaniards from their own town. Could any enterprize be more hostile? And, considering the Spaniards as allies to the nation, could any enterprize be more criminal? Was he not the aggressor, even tho' it should be true that the Spaniards fired upon his men at landing? 'Tis said he killed three or four hundred of them. Is that so slight a matter? 8. In his letter to the King, and in his apology, he grounds his defence on former hostilities exercised by the Spaniards against other companies of Englishmen. These are accounted for by the ambiguity of the treaty betwixt the nations. And 'tis plain, that tho' these might be reasons for the King's declaring war against that nation, they could never entitle Raleigh to declare war, and, without any commission, or contrary to his commission, to invade the Spanish settlements. He pretends indeed that peace was never made with Spain in the Indies: A most absurd notion! 9. If the claim to the property of that country as first discoverer, was good, in opposition to present settlements, as Raleigh pretends; why was it not laid before the King with all its circumstances, and submitted to his judgment? 10. Raleigh's force is acknowleged by himself to have been insufficient to support him in possession against the power of which Spain was master on that coast; yet it was sufficient, as he owns, to take by surprize and plunder twenty towns. It was not therefore his design to settle, but to plunder. By these confessions, which I have here brought together, he plainly betrays himself. 11. Why did he not stay and work his mine, as at first he projected? He apprehended that the Spaniards would be upon him with a greater force. But before he left England, he knew, that this must be the case, if he invaded any part of the Spanish colonies. His intention therefore never was to settle, but only to plunder. 12. He acknowleges, that he knew neither of the depth nor quantity of the mine, but only that there was some ore there. Would he have ventured all his fortune and credit on so precarious a foundation. 13. Would the other adventurers, if made acquainted with this, have risqued every thing to attend him? Ought a fleet to have been equipped for an experiment? Was there not plainly an imposture in the management of this affair? 14. He says to Keymis, in his orders, Bring but a basket or two of ore, and it will satisfy the King, that my project was not imaginary. This was easily done from the Spanish mines; and he seems to have been chiefly displeased at Keymis for not attempting it. Such a view was a premeditated apology to cover his cheat. 15. The King in his declaration imputes it to Raleigh, that as soon as he was at sea, he immediately fell into

eloquent; and he endeavored to revenge himſelf, and to load his enemies with the public hatred, by ſtrong aſſeverations of facts, which, to ſay the leaſt, may be eſteemed very doubtful. With the utmoſt indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow. And in his death, there appeared the ſame great, but ill-regulated mind, which, during his life, had diſplayed itſelf in all his conduct and behavior.

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October 29. Raleigh's execution.

into ſuch uncertain and doubtful talk of his mine, and ſaid, that it would be ſufficient if he brought home a baſketfull of ore. From the circumſtance laſt mentioned, it appears, that this imputation was not without reaſon. 16. There are many other circumſtances of great weight in the King's declaration, that Raleigh, when he fell down to Plymouth, took no pioneers along with him, which he always declared to be his intention; that he was no-way provided of inſtruments for working a mine, but had a ſufficient ſtock of warlike ſtores; that young Raleigh, in attacking the Spaniards, employed the words, which, in the narration, I have put into his mouth; that the mine was moveable, and ſhifted as he ſaw convenient: Not to mention many other public facts which prove him to be highly criminal againſt his companions as well as his country. 17. Raleigh's account of his firſt voyage to Guiana proves him to have been a man capable of the moſt extravagant credulity or moſt impudent impoſture: So ridiculous are the ſtories which he tells of the Inca's chimerical empire in the midſt of Guiana; the rich city of el Dorndo, or Manao, two day's journey in length, and ſhining with gold and ſilver; the old Peruvian prophecies in favor of the Engliſh, who, he ſays, were expreſly named as the deliverers of that country, long before any European had ever touched there; the Amazons or republic of women; and in general, the vaſt and incredible riches, which he ſaw on that continent, where no body has yet found any treaſures. This whole narration is a proof, that he was extremely defective either in ſolid underſtanding, or morals, or both. No man's character indeed ſeems ever to have been carried to ſuch extremes as Raleigh's, by the oppoſite paſſions of envy and pity. In the former part of his life, when he was active and lived in the world, and was probably beſt known, he was the object of univerſal horror and deteſtation thro'out England; in the latter part, when ſhut up in priſon, he became, much more unreaſonably, the object of great love and admiration.

As to the circumſtance of the narration, that Raleigh's pardon was refuſed him, that his former ſentence was purpoſely kept in force againſt him, and that he went out under theſe expreſs conditions, they may be ſupported by the following authorities, 1. The King's word and that of ſix privy counſellors, who affirm it for fact. 2. The nature of the thing. If no ſuſpicion had been entertained of his intentions, a pardon would never have been refuſed to a man to whom authority was entruſted. 3. The words of the commiſſion itſelf, where he is ſimply ſtiled Sir Walter Raleigh, and not *faithful and well-beloved*, according to the uſual and never failing ſtile on ſuch occaſions. 4. In all the letters, which he wrote home to Sir Ralph Winwood and to his wife, he always conſiders himſelf as a perſon unpardoned, and liable to the law. He ſeems indeed, immediately upon the failure of his enterprize, to have become deſperate, and to have expected the fate which he met with.

'Tis pretended, that the King gave intelligence to the Spaniards of Raleigh's project; as if he had needed to lay a plot for the deſtroying a man, whoſe life had been fourteen years, and ſtill was, in his power. The Spaniards wanted no other intelligence to be on their guard but the known and public fact of Raleigh's armament. And there was no reaſon why the King ſhould conceal from them the project of a ſettlement, which Raleigh pretended, and the King believed to be entirely innocent.

The

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No meaſure of James's reign was attended with more public diſſatisfaction than the puniſhment of Sir Walter Raleigh. To execute a ſentence, which was originally ſo hard, which had been ſo long ſuſpended, and which ſeemed to have been tacitely pardoned by conferring on him a new truſt and commiſſion, was eſteemed an inſtance of the utmoſt cruelty and injuſtice. To ſacrifice, to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation, who had a high reputation for valor and military experience, was deemed the greateſt meanneſs and indiſcretion. And the great connections, which the King was now entering into with Spain, being univerſally diſtaſteful, rendered this inſtance of his complaiſance ſtill more odious and unpopular.

JAMES had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himſelf, and which had been adopted by none of his predeceſſors, that any alliance, below that of a king, was unworthy a prince of Wales; and he never would allow other than a daughter of France or Spain, to be mentioned as a match for his ſon. This inſtance of pride, which really implied meanneſs, as if he could receive honor from any alliance, was ſo well known, that Spain had founded on it the hopes of governing, in the moſt important tranſactions, this monarch, ſo little celebrated for politics or prudence. During the life of Henry, the King of Spain had dropped ſome hints of beſtowing on that Prince his eldeſt daughter, whom he afterwards diſpoſed of to the young King of France, Lewis XIII. At that time, the view of the Spaniard was to engage James into a neutrality with regard to the ſucceſſion of Cleves, which was diſputed betwixt the proteſtant and popiſh line: But the bait did not then take; and James, in conſequence of his alliance with

The King's chief blame ſeems to have been in his negligence, in allowing Raleigh to depart without a more exact ſcrutiny: But for this he apologizes, by ſaying, that ſureties were required for the good behavior of Raleigh and all his aſſociates in the enterprize; but that they gave in bonds for one another: A cheat which was not perceived till they had failed, and which increaſed the ſuſpicion of bad intentions.

Perhaps the King ought alſo to have granted Raleigh a pardon for his old treaſon, and to have tried him anew for his new offences. His puniſhment in that caſe would not only have been juſt, but conducted in a juſt and unexceptionable manner. But we are told that a ridiculous opinion at that time prevailed in the nation, (and it is plainly ſuppoſed by Sir Walter in his apology) that, by the treaty, war was allowed with the Spaniards in the Indies, tho' peace was made in Europe: And while that notion took place, no jury would have found Raleigh guilty. So that had not the King puniſhed him upon his old ſentence, the Spaniards would have had a moſt juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the King ſufficient to have produced a war, at leaſt to have deſtroyed all cordiality, betwixt the nations.

This explication I thought neceſſary in order to clear up the ſtory of Raleigh; which, tho' very obvious, is generally miſtaken, in ſo groſs a manner, that I know not its parallel in the whole Engliſh hiſtory.

with the Dutch, and Henry IV. of France, marched * 4000 men, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, who joined theſe two powers, and put the Marquis of Brandenburgh and the Palatine of Newbourg, in poſſeſſion of that dutchy. Chap. IV. 1618.

GONDOMAR was, at this time, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England; a man, whoſe flattery was the more artful, becauſe covered with the appearance of frankneſs and ſincerity; whoſe politics were the more dangerous, becauſe diſguiſed under the maſque of mirth and pleaſantry. He now made offer of the ſecond daughter of Spain to Prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irreſiſtible to the neceſſitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immenſe fortune, which ſhould attend the Princeſs. The court of Spain, tho' determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted, and, amid every diſappointment, ſtill redoubled his hopes of ſucceſs. The tranſactions in Germany, ſo important to the Auſtrian greatneſs, became, every day, a new motive for this duplicity of conduct.

IN that great revolution of manners, which happened during the ſixteenth and the ſeventeenth centuries, the only nations, who had the honorable, tho' often melancholy advantage, of making an effort for their expiring privileges, were ſuch as, along with the principles of civil liberty, were animated with a zeal for religious parties and opinions. Beſide the irreſiſtible force of mercenary armies, the European princes poſſeſſed this advantage, that they were deſcended from the antient royal families; that they continued the ſame names of magiſtrates, the ſame appearance of civil government; and reſtraining themſelves by all the forms of legal adminiſtration, could inſenſibly impoſe the yoke on their unguarded ſubjects. Even the German nations, who formerly broke the Roman chains, and reſtored liberty to mankind, now loſt their own liberty, and ſaw with grief the abſolute authority of their princes firmly eſtabliſhed amongſt them. In their circumſtances, nothing but a pious fanaticiſm, which diſregards all motives of human prudence, could have made them entertain hopes of preſerving any longer thoſe privileges, which their anceſtors, thro' ſo many ages, had tranſmitted to them. Inſurrections in Bohemia.

As the houſe of Auſtria, thro'out all their extenſive dominions, had ever made religion the pretext of their uſurpations, they now met with reſiſtance from a like principle; and the catholic ſuperſtition, as uſual, had ranged itſelf on the ſide of monarchy; the proteſtant enthuſiaſm, on that of liberty. The ſtates of Bohemia, having taken arms againſt the Emperor Mathias, continued their revolt againſt his ſucceſſor Ferdinand, and claimed the obſervance of all the edicts enacted in favor

* 1610.

Chap. IV. 1618. of the new religion, along with the reſtoration of their antient laws and conſtitution. The ſurrounding principalities, Sileſia, Moravia, Luſatia, Auſtria, even the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and thro'out all theſe populous and martial provinces, the ſpirit of diſcord and civil war had univerſally diffuſed itſelf.

1619. FERDINAND II. who poſſeſſed more vigor and ability, tho' not more lenity and moderation, than are uſual with the Auſtrian princes, ſtrongly armed himſelf for the recovery of his authority; and beſide the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, who profeſſed the antient religion, he engaged on his ſide a powerful alliance of the neighboring potentates. All the catholic princes of the empire had embraced his defence; even Saxony, the moſt powerful of the proteſtant: Poland had declared itſelf in his favor; and, above all, the Spaniſh monarch, eſteeming his own intereſt intimately connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful ſuccors from Italy, from the low countries; and he opened his Indian treaſures for the ſupport of Ferdinand and of the catholic religion.

THE ſtates of Bohemia, alarmed with theſe mighty preparations, began alſo to ſollicit foreign aſſiſtance; and, along with that ſupport, which they obtained from the evangelical union in Germany, they endeavored to eſtabliſh connexions with greater princes. They caſt their eyes on Frederic, Elector Palatine. They conſidered, that, beſide the power of his own ſtate, which was great, he was ſon-in-law to the King of England, and nephew to Prince Maurice, whoſe authority was become almoſt abſolute in the united provinces. They hoped, that theſe princes, moved by the connections of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would intereſt themſelves in all the fortunes of Frederic, and would promote his greatneſs. They therefore made him a tender of their crown, which they conſidered as elective; and the young Palatine, ſtimulated by ambition, without conſulting either with James or Maurice, whoſe repugnance he foreſaw, immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, in ſupport of his new ſubjects.

THE news of theſe events no ſooner reached England than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarce was the ardor greater, with which all the ſtates of Europe, in former ages, flew to reſcue the holy land from the dominion of infidels. The nation, at that time, were ſincerely attached to the blood of their monarch, and conſidered their connection with the Palatine, who had married a daughter of England, as very cloſe and intimate. And, when they heard of catholics carrying on wars and perſecutions againſt proteſtants, they thought their own intereſt moſt deeply concerned, and regarded their neutrality

trality as a baſe deſertion of the cauſe of God, and of his holy religion. In ſuch a quarrel, they would gladly have marched to the oppoſite extremity of Europe, have plunged themſelves into a chaos of German politics, and have expended all the blood and treaſure of the nation, by maintaining a conteſt with the whole houſe of Auſtria, at the very time, and in the very place, where it was the moſt potent, and almoſt irreſiſtible. Chap. IV. 1619.

But James, beſide that he had too little enterprize for ſuch vaſt undertakings, was reſtrained by another motive, which had a mighty influence upon him. He refuſed to patronize the revolt of ſubjects againſt their ſovereign. From the very firſt he denied to his ſon-in-law, the title of the King of Bohemia: He forbad him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation: And tho' he owned, that he had noway, examined the pretenſions, privileges, and conſtitution of the revolted ſtates; ſo exalted was his idea of the rights of kings, that he concluded ſubjects muſt ever be in the wrong, when they ſtood in oppoſition to thoſe, who had acquired or aſſumed that majeſtic title. Thus, even in meaſures, founded on true politics, James intermixed ſo many narrow prejudices, as loſt him all his authority, and expoſed him to the imputation of weakneſs and of error.

Mean while, affairs every where haſtened to a criſis. Ferdinand levied a mighty force under the command of the Duke of Bavaria and the Count of Bucquoy; and advanced upon his enemy in Bohemia. In the low countries, Spinola colected a veteran army of thirty thouſand men. When Edmonds, the King's reſident at Bruſſels, made remonſtrances to the Archduke Albert, he was anſwered, that the orders for this armament had been tranſmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the ſecret intentions of it. Spinola again told the miniſter, that his orders were ſtill ſealed; and that, if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full ſatisfaction. It was more eaſy to ſee his intention, than to prevent its ſucceſs. Almoſt at one time, it was known in England, that Frederic, being defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola had fallen upon the Palatinate, and, meeting with no reſiſtance, except from ſome princes of the union, and from an Engliſh regiment of 2,400 men, commanded by the brave Sir Horace Vere, had, in a little time, made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of that principality. 1620. Loſs of the Palatinate.

High were now the murmurs and complaints againſt the King's neutrality and unactive diſpoſition. The happineſs and tranquillity of their own country became diſtaſteful to the Engliſh, when they reflected on the oppreſſions and diſtreſſes of their proteſtant brethren in Germany. They conſidered not, that their interpoſal in

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in the wars of the continent, tho' agreeable to religious zeal, could not, at that time, be juſtified by any ſound maxims of politics; that, however exorbitant the Auſtrian greatneſs, the danger was ſtill too diſtant to give any juſt alarms to England; that mighty reſiſtance would yet be made by ſo many potent and warlike nations in Germany, 'ere they would yield their neck to the yoke; that France, now engaged by bigotry to contract a double alliance with the Auſtrian family, muſt neceſſarily be ſoon rouzed from her lethargy, and oppoſe the progreſs of ſo hated a rival; that in the farther advance of conqueſts, even the intereſt of the two branches of that ambitious family muſt interfere, and engender mutual jealouſy and oppoſition; that a land-war, carried on at ſuch a diſtance, would waſte the blood and treaſure of the Engliſh nation, without any hopes of ſucceſs; that a ſea-war, indeed, might be both ſafe and ſucceſsful againſt Spain, but would not affect the enemy in ſuch vital parts as to make them ſtop their carreer of ſucceſs in Germany, and abandon all their acquiſitions; and that the proſpect of recovering the Palatinate being at preſent deſperate, the affair was reduced to this ſimple queſtion, whether peace and commerce with Spain, or the uncertain hopes of plunder and of conqueſts in the Indies were preferable; a queſtion, which, at the beginning of the King's reign, had already been decided, and perhaps with reaſon, in favor of the former advantages.

Negotiations with Spain.

JAMES might have defended his pacific meaſures by ſuch plauſible arguments: But theſe ſeem not to have been altogether the motives, which ſwayed him. He had entertained the Utopian notion, that, as his own juſtice and moderation had ſhone out ſo conſpicuouſly thro' all theſe tranſactions, the whole houſe of Auſtria, tho' not awed by the power of England, would willingly, from mere reſpect to his virtue, ſubmit themſelves to ſo equitable an arbitration. He flattered himſelf with hopes, that, after he had formed an intimate connection with the Spaniſh monarch, by means of his ſon's marriage, the reſtitution of the Palatinate might be procured, from the motive alone of friendſhip and perſonal regard. He perceived not, that his unactive virtue, the more it was extolled, the greater ridicule was it expoſed to. He was not ſenſible, that the Spaniſh match was itſelf attended with ſuch difficulties, that all his art of negotiation would ſcarce be able to ſurmount them; much leſs, that that match could in good politics be depended on, as the means of procuring ſuch extraordinary advantages. His unwarlike diſpoſition, increaſed by age, rivetted him ſtill faſter in his errors, and determined him to ſeek the reſtoration of his ſon-in-law, by remonſtrances and entreaties, by arguments and embaſſies, rather than by blood and violence. And the ſame defect of courage, which held him in awe of foreign nations, made him likeways afraid of ſhocking the prejudices of his own ſubjects, and kept him from openly avowing

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the meaſures, which he was determined to purſue. Or perhaps, he hoped to turn theſe prejudices to account; and, by their means, engage his people to furniſh him with ſupplies, of which their exceſſive frugality had hitherto made them ſo ſparing and reſerved. Chap. IV. 1620.

HE firſt tried the expedient of a benevolence or free-gift from individuals, pretending the urgency of the caſe, which would not allow leiſure for any other meaſure: But the jealouſy of liberty was now rouzed, and the nation regarded theſe pretended benevolences, as real violences, contrary to law and pernicious to freedom, however authorized by obſolete precedents. A parliament was found to be the only reſource, which could furniſh any large ſupplies; and writs were accordingly iſſued for ſummoning that great council of the nation. A parliament.

THIS parliament is remarkable for being the epoch, in which were firſt regularly formed, tho' without acquiring theſe denominations, the parties of COURT and COUNTRY; parties, which have ever ſince continued, and which, while they often threaten the total diſſolution of the government, are the real cauſes of its permanent life and vigor. In the antient Gothic conſtitution, of which the Engliſh partook with other European nations, there was a mixture, not of authority and liberty, which we have ſince enjoyed in this iſland, and which now ſubſiſt uniformly together; but of authority and anarchy, which perpetually ſhocked with each other, and which took place alternately, according as circumſtances were more or leſs favorable to either of them. A parliament, compoſed of barbarians, ſummoned from their fields and forreſts, uninſtructed by ſtudy, converſation, or travel; ignorant of their own laws and hiſtory, and unacquainted with the ſituation of all foreign nations; a parliament called precariouſly by the king, and diſſolved at his pleaſure; ſitting a few days, debating a few points prepared for them, and whoſe members were impatient to return to their own caſtles, where alone they were great, and to the chace, which was their favorite amuſement: Such a parliament was very little fitted to enter into a diſcuſſion of all the queſtions of government, and to ſhare, in a regular manner, the legal adminiſtration. The name, the authority of the king alone appeared, in the common courſe of government; in extraordinary emergencies, he aſſumed, with ſtill better reaſon, the ſole direction; the imperfect and unformed laws left, in every thing, a latitude of interpretation; and when the ends, purſued by the monarch, were, in general, agreeable to his ſubjects, little ſcruple or jealouſy was entertained, with regard to the regularity of the means. During the reign of an able, fortunate, or popular prince, no member of either houſe, much leſs of the lower, durſt think of entering into a formed party, in oppoſition to the court; ſince the diſſoluti- 1621. 16th of June.

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on of the parliament muſt, in few days, leave him unprotected, to the vengeance of his ſovereign, and to thoſe ſtretches of prerogative, which were then ſo eaſily made, in order to puniſh an obnoxious ſubject. During an unpopular and weak reign, the current commonly run ſo ſtrong againſt the monarch, that none durſt inliſt themſelves in the court-party; or if the prince was able to ingage any conſiderable barons on his ſide, the queſtion was decided with arms in the field, not by debates or arguments in a ſenate or aſſembly. And upon the whole, the chief circumſtance, which, during antient times, retained the prince in any legal form of adminiſtration, was, that the ſword, by the nature of the feudal tenures, remained ſtill in the hands of his ſubjects; and this irregular and dangerous check had much more influence than the regular and methodical limits of the laws and conſtitution. As the nation could not be compelled, it was requiſite, that every public meaſure of conſequence, particularly that of levying new taxes, ſhould ſeem to be adopted by common conſent and approbation.

THE princes of the houſe of Tudor, partly by the vigor of their adminiſtration, partly by the concurrence of favorable circumſtances, had been able to eſtabliſh a more regular ſyſtem of government; but they drew the conſtitution ſo near to deſpotiſm as diminiſhed extremely the authority of the parliament. That ſenate became, in a great degree, the organ of royal will and pleaſure: Oppoſition would have been regarded as a ſpecies of rebellion: And even religion, the moſt dangerous article, in which innovations could be introduced, had admitted, in the courſe of a few years, four ſeveral alterations, from the authority alone of the ſovereign. The parliament was not then the road to honor and preferment: The talents of popular intrigue and eloquence were uncultivated and unknown: And tho' that aſſembly ſtill preſerved authority, and retained the privilege of making laws and beſtowing public money, the members acquired not, upon that account, either with prince or people, much more weight and conſideration. What powers were requiſite for conducting the machine of government, the king was accuſtomed, of himſelf, to aſſume. His own revenues ſupplied him with money ſufficient for his ordinary expences. And when extraordinary emergencies occurred, the prince needed not ſollicite votes in parliament, either for the making laws or impoſing taxes, both which were now become requiſite for public intereſt and preſervation.

THE ſecurity of individuals, ſo requiſite to the liberty of popular councils, was totally unknown in that age. And as no deſpotic princes, ſcarce even the eaſtern tyrants, rule intirely without the concurrence of ſome aſſemblies, which ſupply both advice and authority; little, but a mercenary force, ſeems then to have been wanting towards the eſtabliſhment of a ſimple monarchy in England.

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The militia, tho' more favorable to regal authority, than the feudal inſtitutions, was much inferior, in this reſpect, to diſciplined armies; and if it did not preſerve liberty to the people, it preſerved, at leaſt, the power, if ever the inclination ſhould ariſe, of recovering it.

But ſo low, at that time, ran the inclination towards liberty, that Elizabeth, the laſt of that arbitrary line, herſelf no leſs arbitrary, was yet the moſt renowned and moſt popular of all the princes, who had ever filled the throne of England. It was natural for James to take the government as he found it, and to purſue her meaſures, which he heard ſo much applauded; nor did his penetration extend ſo far as to diſcover, that neither his circumſtances nor his character could ſupport ſo extenſive an authority. His narrow revenues and little frugality began now to render him dependent on his people, even in the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration: Their increaſing knowlege diſcovered to them that advantage, which they had obtained; and made them ſenſible of the ineſtimable value of civil liberty. And as he poſſeſſed too little dignity to command reſpect, and too much goodneſs to impreſs fear, a new ſpirit diſcovered itſelf every day in the parliaments; and a party, jealous of a free conſtitution, was regularly formed in the houſe of commons.

But notwithſtanding theſe advantages, acquired to liberty; ſo extenſive was royal authority, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in all its parts, that 'tis probable the patriots of that age would have deſpaired of ever reſiſting it, had they not been ſtimulated by religious motives, which inſpire a courage, unſurmountable by any human obſtacle.

The ſame alliance, which has ever prevailed betwixt kingly power and eccleſiaſtical authority, was now fully eſtabliſhed in England; and while the prince aſſiſted the clergy in ſuppreſſing ſchiſmatics and innovators, the clergy, in return, inculcated the doctrine of an unreſerved ſubmiſſion and obedience to the civil magiſtrate. The genius of the church of England, ſo kindly to monarchy, forwarded the confederacy; its ſubmiſſion to epiſcopal juriſdiction; its attachment to ceremonies, to order, and to a decent pomp and ſplendor of worſhip; and in a word, its affinity to the tame ſuperſtition of the catholics, rather than to the wild fanaticiſm of the puritans.

On the other hand, oppoſition to the church, and the perſecutions under which they labored, were ſufficient to throw the puritans into the country party, and to engender political principles little favorable to the high pretenſions of the ſovereign. The ſpirit too of enthuſiaſm; bold, daring, and uncontroled; ſtrongly diſpoſed their minds to adopt republican tenets; and inclined them to arrogate, in their actions and conduct, the ſame liberty, which they aſſumed, in their ra-

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pturous flights and extaſies. Ever ſince the firſt origin of that ſect, thro the whole reign of Elizabeth as well as of James, *puritanical* principles had been underſtood in a double ſenſe, and expreſſed the opinions favorable both to political and to eccleſiaſtical liberty. And as the court, in order to diſcredit all parliamentary oppoſition, affixed the denomination of puritans to its antagoniſts; the religious puritans willingly adopted this idea, which was ſo advantageous to them; and confounded their cauſe with that of the patriots or country party. Thus were the civil and eccleſiaſtical factions regularly formed; and the humor of the nation, during that age, running ſtrongly towards fanatical extravagancies, the ſpirit of civil liberty gradually revived from its lethargy, and by means of its religious aſſociate, from which it reaped ſo much advantage and ſo little honor, it ſecretly enlarged its dominion, over the greateſt part of the kingdom.

In this parliament, however, it muſt be owned, there appeared, at firſt, nothing but duty and ſubmiſſion on the part of the commons; and they ſeemed determined to ſacrifice every thing, in order to maintain a good correſpondence with their prince. They would allow no mention to be made of the new cuſtoms or impoſitions, which had been ſo eagerly diſputed in the former parliament: The impriſonment of the members of that parliament was here, by ſome, complained of; but, by the authority of the graver and more prudent part of the houſe, that grievance was buried in oblivion: And being informed, that the King had remitted very conſiderable ſums to the Palatine, they voted him two ſubſidies; and that too, at the very beginning of the ſeſſion, contrary to the uſual maxims of their predeceſſors.

Afterwards, they proceeded, but in a very temperate manner, to the examination of grievances. They found, that patents had been granted to Sir Giles Mompeſſon and Sir Francis Michel, for the licencing inns and ale-houſes; that great ſumms of money had been levied, under pretext of theſe licences; and that ſuch innkeepers as preſumed to continue their buſineſs, without ſatisfying the rapacity of the patentees, had been ſeverely puniſhed by fines, impriſonments, and other vexations.

The ſame perſons had alſo procured a patent, which they ſhared with Sir Edward Villiers, brother to Buckingham, for the ſole making of gold and ſilver thread and lace, and had obtained very extraordinary powers for preventing any concurrence in theſe manufactures: They were armed with authority to ſearch for all goods, which might interfere with their patent; and even to puniſh, at their own will and diſcretion, the makers, importers, and venders of ſuch commodities. Many had grievouſly ſuffered by this exorbitant juriſdiction; and the lace, which had been manufactured by the patentees, was found univerſally

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to be adulterated, and compoſed more of copper than of the precious metals. Chap. IV. 1621.

THESE grievances the commons repreſented to the King; and they met with a very gracious and very cordial reception. He ſeemed even thankful for the information given him; and declared himſelf aſhamed, that ſuch abuſes, unknowingly to him, had crept into his adminiſtration. "I aſſure you," ſaid he, "had I before heard theſe things complained of, I would have done the office "of a juſt king, and out of parliament have puniſhed them, as ſeverely, and "peradventure more, than ye now intend to do". A ſentence was paſt on Michel, and Mompeſſon. It was executed on the former. The latter broke priſon and eſcaped. Villiers was, at that time, ſent purpoſely on a foreign employment; and his guilt being leſs enormous or leſs apparent than that of the others, he was eaſily protected by the credit of his brother, Buckingham.

ENCOURAGED by this ſucceſs, the commons carried their ſcrutiny, and ſtill with a reſpectful hand, into abuſes of a nature yet more important. The ſeals were, at that time, in the keeping of the celebrated Bacon, created Viſcount St. Albans; a man univerſally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for the courteouſneſs and humanity of his behavior. He was the great ornament of his age and nation; and nought was wanting to render him the ornament of human nature itſelf, but that ſtrength of mind, which might check his intemperate deſire of preferment, that could add nothing to his dignity, and reſtrain his profuſe inclination to expence, that could be requiſite neither for his honor nor entertainment. His want of oeconomy and his indulgence to ſervants had involved him in neceſſities; and, in order to ſupply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a very open manner, from ſuitors in chancery. 'Tis pretended, that, notwithſtanding this enormous abuſe, he had ſtill, in the ſeat of juſtice, preſerved the integrity of a judge, and had given juſt decrees againſt thoſe very perſons, from whom he had received the wages of iniquity. Complaints roſe the louder on that account, and at laſt reached the houſe of commons, who ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the peers. The chancellor, conſcious of guilt, deprecated the vengeance of his judges, and endeavored, by a general avowal, to eſcape the confuſion of a ſtricter inquiry. The lords inſiſted on a particular confeſſion of all his corruptions. He acknowleged twenty-eight articles *; and was ſentenced to pay a fine of 40,000 Bacon's fall

 pounds

* One of them is to this purpoſe. The vintners in London refuſed to give above a certain price for wines. The merchants complained to the council. The King made a reference to the chancellor. He ordered the vintners to give the price demanded by the merchants, and impriſoned two or three

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pounds, to be impriſoned in the tower during the King's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment; and never again to ſit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

THIS dreadful ſentence, dreadful to a man of nice ſenſibility to honor, he ſurvived five years; and being releaſed, in a little time, from the tower, his genius, yet unbroken, ſupported itſelf amidſt involved circumſtances and a depreſſed ſpirit, and ſhone out in literary productions, which have made his guilt or weakneſſes be forgotten or overlooked by poſterity. In conſideration of his great merit, the King remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his ſentence, conferred on him a large penſion of 1800 pound a-year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of his age and misfortunes. And that great philoſopher, at laſt, acknowleged with regret, that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius; and by plunging into buſineſs and affairs, which require much leſs capacity, but greater firmneſs of mind, than the purſuits of learning, had expoſed himſelf to ſuch grievous calamities.

THE commons had entertained the idea, that they were the great patrons of the people, and that the redreſs of all grievances muſt proceed from them; and to this principle they were chiefly beholden for the regard and conſideration of the public. In the execution of this office, they now kept their ears open to complaints of every kind; and they carried their reſearches into many grievances, which, tho' of no great importance, could not be touched, without ſenſibly affecting the King and his miniſters. The prerogative ſeemed, each moment, to be invaded; the King's authority, in every article, was diſputed; and James, who was willing to correct the abuſes of his power, could not ſubmit to have the power itſelf queſtioned and denied. After the houſe, therefore, had ſat near ſix months, and had, as yet, brought no conſiderable buſineſs to a full concluſion, the King reſolved, under pretext of the advanced ſeaſon, to interrupt their proceedings; and he ſent them word, that he was determined, in a very little time, to adjourn them till next winter. The commons made application to the lords, and deſired them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment; which was refuſed by the upper houſe. The King regarded this project of a joint petition as an attempt to force him from his meaſures: He thanked the peers for their refuſal to concur in it, and told them, that, if it was their deſire, he would delay the adjournment, but would not ſo far comply with the

three of the moſt obſtinate, till they complied. For his pains, he received a preſent of 1000 pound from the merchants. It may ſeem to us remarkable, that he was not accuſed for arbitrary proceedings, but for corruption. State trials vol. v. p. 44. firſt edit.

the requeſt of the lower houſe. And thus, in theſe great national affairs, the ſame peeviſhneſs, which, in private altercations, often raiſes a quarrel from the ſmalleſt beginnings, produced a mutual coldneſs and diſguſt betwixt the King and the commons. Chap. IV. 1621.

DURING the receſs of parliament, the King uſed every meaſure to render himſelf popular with the nation, and to appeaſe the riſing ill humor of their repreſentatives. To the parliament he had offered to circumſcribe his own prerogative, and to abrogate his power of granting all monopolies for the future. He now recalled all the patents of that kind, and redreſſed every article of grievance, to the number of thirty-ſeven, which had ever been complained of in the houſe of commons. But he gained not the end, which he propoſed. The diſguſt, which had appeared at parting, could not ſo ſuddenly be diſpelled. He had likeways been ſo imprudent as to commit to priſon Sir Edwin Sandys, and Mr. Selden, without any known cauſe, beſides their activity and vigor, in diſcharging their duty as members of parliament. And above all, the tranſactions in Germany were ſufficient, when joined to the King's cautions, negotiations, and delays, to inflame that jealouſy of honor and religion, which prevailed thro'out the nation. This ſummer, the ban of the empire was publiſhed againſt the Elector Palatine; and the execution of it was committed to the Duke of Bavaria. The upper Palatinate was, in a little time, conquered by that prince, and meaſures were taking in the empire for beſtowing on him the electoral dignity, of which the Palatine was deſpoiled. Frederic now lived with his numerous family, in great poverty and diſtreſs, either in Holland, or at Sedan with his uncle the Duke of Boüillon. And thro'out all the new conqueſts, in both the Palatinates as well as in Bohemia, Auſtria, Luſatia; the progreſs of the Auſtrian arms was marked with rigors and ſeverities, exerciſed againſt the profeſſors of the reformed religion.

THE pious zeal of the commons immediately moved them, upon their aſſembling, to take all theſe tranſactions into conſideration. They framed a remonſtrance, which they intended to carry to the King. They repreſented, that the enormous growth of the Auſtrian power threatened the liberties of all Europe; that the progreſs of the catholic religion in England bred the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, leſt it ſhould again acquire an aſcendant in the kingdom; that the indulgence of his Majeſty towards the profeſſors of that religion had encouraged their inſolence and temerity; that the uncontroled conqueſts, made by the Auſtrian family in Germany, raiſed mighty expectations in the Engliſh papiſts; but above all, that the proſpect of the Spaniſh match elevated them ſo far as to hope for an intire toleration, if not a final re-eſtabliſhment of their religion. The com- 14th of Nov.

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mons, therefore, entreated his Majeſty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the Palatine, and maintain it by force of arms; that he would turn the point of his ſword againſt Spain, whoſe armies and treaſures were the chief ſupport of the catholic intereſt in Europe; that he would enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his ſon but with a proteſtant princeſs; that the children of popiſh recuſants ſhould be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of proteſtant teachers and ſchoolmaſters; and that the fines and confiſcations, to which the catholics were by law liable, ſhould be levied with the utmoſt ſeverity.

Rupture betwixt King and Parliament.

By this *bold* ſtep, unprecedented in England for many years, and unheard of in peaceable times, the commons attacked at once all the King's favorite maxims of government; his cautious and pacific meaſures, his lenity towards the Romiſh religion, and his attachment to the Spaniſh alliance, from which he promiſed himſelf ſuch mighty advantages. But what moſt diſguſted him was, their ſeeming invaſion of his prerogative, and their pretending, under color of advice, to direct his conduct in ſuch tranſactions, as had ever been acknowleged to belong ſolely to the management and direction of the monarch. He was, at that time, abſent at Newmarket; but ſo ſoon as he heard of the intended remonſtrance of the commons, he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, where he ſharply reproved the houſe for debating openly of matters far above their reach and capacity, and he ſtrictly forbad them to meddle with any thing, that regarded his government or deep matters of ſtate, and eſpecially not to touch his ſon's marriage with the daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honor of that King or of any other his friends and confederates. In order the more to terrify them, he mentioned the impriſonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and tho' he denied, that the confinement of that member had been owing to any offence committed in the houſe, he yet plainly told them, that he thought himſelf fully intitled to puniſh every miſdemeanor in parliament, as well during its ſitting as after its diſſolution; and that he intended thenceforward to chaſtize any man, whoſe inſolent behavior there ſhould miniſter occaſion of offence.

This *violent* letter, in which the King may be thought not to have acted altogether on the defenſive, had the effect, which might naturally have been expected from it: The commons were enflamed, not terrified. Conſcious of their own popularity, and of the bent of the nation towards a war with the catholics abroad, and the perſecution of popery at home, they little dreaded the menaces of a prince, who was unſupported by military force, and whoſe gentle temper would, of itſelf, ſo ſoon diſarm his ſeverity. In a new remonſtrance, therefore, they

ſtill

ſtill inſiſted on their former remonſtrance and advice; and they maintained, tho' in reſpectful terms, that they were intitled to interpoſe with their council in all matters of government; that it was their antient and undoubted right, and an inheritance tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors, to poſſeſs intire freedom of ſpeech in their debates of public buſineſs; and that, if any member abuſed this liberty, it belonged to the houſe alone, who were witneſſes of his offence, to inflict a proper cenſure upon him. Chap. IV. 1621.

So *vigorous* an anſwer was no way calculated to appeaſe the King. 'Tis ſaid, when the approach of the committee, who were to preſent it, was notified to him, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought: For that there were ſo many kings a coming. His anſwer was prompt and ſharp. He told the houſe, that their remonſtrance was more like a denunciation of war than an addreſs of dutiful ſubjects; that their pretenſion to inquire into all ſtate-affairs, without exception, was ſuch a plenipotence as none of their anceſtors, even during the reign of the weakeſt princes, had ever pretended to; that public tranſactions depended on a complication of views and intelligence, with which they were intirely unacquainted; that they could not better ſhow their wiſdom, as well as duty, than by keeping within their proper ſphere *; and that in any buſineſs, which depended on his prerogative, they had no title to interpoſe with their advice, except when he was pleaſed to deſire it. And he concluded with theſe memorable words; *And tho' we cannot allow of your ſtile, in mentioning your antient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wiſhed, that ye had ſaid, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us (for moſt of them grew from precedents, which ſhows rather a toleration than inheritance); yet we are pleaſed to give you our royal aſſurance, that as long as you contain yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predeceſſors were, nay, as to preſerve our own royal prerogative.*

THIS open pretenſion of the King deſervedly gave great alarm to the houſe of commons. They ſaw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet conſidered, at leaſt, as very precarious. It might be forfeited by abuſe, and they had already abuſed it. They thought proper, therefore, immediately to oppoſe pretenſion to pretenſion. They framed a proteſtation, where they repeated all their former claims for freedom of ſpeech, and an unbounded authority to interpoſe with their advice and council. And they aſſerted, *That the liberties, franchiſes, privileges,* 18th of Dec. Proteſtation of the commons.

* *Ne ſutor ultra crepidam.*

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*privileges, and juriſdictions of parliament are the antient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the ſubjects of England**

THE King, informed of theſe increaſing heats and jealouſies in the houſe, hurried to town. He ſent immediately for the journal-book of the commons; and, with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this proteſtation; and ordered his reaſons to be inſerted in the council-book. He was doubly diſpleaſed, he ſaid, with the proteſtation of the lower houſe; on account of the manner of framing it, as well as of the matter, which it contained. It was tumultuouſly voted, at a late hour, and in a thin houſe; and it was expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, as might ſerve for a foundation to the moſt enormous claims, and to the moſt unwarrantable uſurpations upon his prerogative.

THE meeting of the houſe might have proved dangerous after ſo violent a breach. It was no longer poſſible, while men were in ſuch a temper, to finiſh any buſineſs. The King, therefore, prorogued the parliament, and ſoon after diſſolved it by proclamation; where he alſo made an apology to the public for his whole conduct. The leading members of the houſe, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips, were committed to the tower: Selden, Pym, and Mallory to other priſons. As a lighter puniſhment, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir James Perrot, joined in commiſſion with others, were ſent into Ireland, to execute ſome buſineſs. The King, at that time, enjoyed, at leaſt exerciſed, the prerogative of employing any man, even without his conſent, in any branch of public ſervice.

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* This proteſtation is ſo remarkable, that it may not be improper to give it in its own words. "The commons now aſſembled in parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry liberties, franchiſes and privileges of parliament, amongſt others here mentioned, do make "this proteſtation following; That the liberties, franchiſes and juriſdictions of parliament are the "antient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the ſubjects of England; and that the urgent "and arduous affairs concerning the king, ſtate, and defence of the realm and of the church of "England, and the maintainance and making of laws and redreſs of miſchiefs and grievances, "which daily happen within this realm, are proper ſubjects and matter of council and debate in "parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every member of the "houſe of parliament hath, and, of right, ought to have, freedom of ſpeech to propound, treat, "reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty "and freedom to treat of theſe matters, in ſuch order as in their judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt, and "that every member of the ſaid houſe hath like freedom from all impeachment, impriſonment and "moleſtation (other than by cenſure of the houſe itſelf) for, or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning "or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament-buſineſs. And that "if any of the ſaid members be complained of and queſtioned for any thing done or ſaid in parliament, the ſame is to be ſhown to the king by the advice and aſſent of all the commons aſſembled "in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

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SIR John Saville, a powerful man in the houſe of commons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the houſehold, a privy counſellor, and ſoon after, a baron. This event is memorable; as being the firſt inſtance, perhaps, in the whole hiſtory of England, of any king's advancing a man, on account of parliamentary intereſt, and of oppoſition to his meaſures. However irregular this practice, it will be regarded by political reaſoners, as one of the moſt early and moſt infallible ſymptoms of a regular, eſtabliſhed liberty.

THE King having thus, with ſo raſh and indiſcreet a hand, torn off that ſacred veil, which hitherto covered the Engliſh conſtitution, and which threw an obſcurity upon it, ſo advantageous to royal prerogative; every man began to indulge himſelf in political reaſonings and inquiries; and the ſame factions, which commenced in parliament, were propagated thro'out the nation. In vain, did James, by re-iterated proclamations, forbid the diſcourſing of ſtate-affairs. Such proclamations, if they had any effect, ſerved rather to inflame the curioſity of the public. And in every circle or ſociety, the late tranſactions became the ſubject of argument and debate.

ALL hiſtory, ſaid the partizans of the court, as well as the hiſtory of England, juſtify the King's poſition with regard to the origin of popular privileges; and every reaſonable man muſt allow, that, as monarchy is the moſt ſimple form of government, it muſt firſt have occurred to rude and uninſtructed mankind. The other complicated and artificial additions were the ſucceſſive invention of ſovereigns, and legiſlators; or, if they were obtruded on the prince by ſeditious ſubjects, their origin muſt appear, on that account, ſtill more precarious and unfavorable. In England, the authority of the King, in all the forms of government and in the ſtyle of every law, appears totally abſolute and ſovereign; nor does the real ſpirit of the conſtitution, as it has ever diſcovered itſelf in practice, fall much ſhort of theſe appearances. The parliament is created by his breath; by his breath it is diſſolved. 'Tis his will alone, tho' at the deſire of both houſes, which gives authority to laws. To all foreign nations, the majeſty of the monarch ſeems to merit chief attention and regard. And no ſubject, who has expoſed himſelf to royal indignation, can propoſe to live with ſafety in the kingdom; nor can he even leave it, according to law, without the conſent of his maſter. If a magiſtrate, invironed with ſuch power and ſplendor, ſhould conſider his authority as ſacred, and regard himſelf as the anointed of heaven, his pretenſions may bear a very favorable conſtruction. Or, allowing them to be merely pious frauds, we need not be ſurprized, that the ſame ſtratagem, which was practiſed by Minos, Numa, and the moſt celebrated legiſlators of antiquity, ſhould now, in theſe reſtleſs and inquiſitive times, be employed by the King of England. Subjects are not

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raiſed above that quality, tho' aſſembled in parliament. The ſame humble reſpect and deference is ſtill due to their prince. Tho' he indulges them in the privilege of laying before him their domeſtic grievances, with which they are ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted, this warrants not their bold intruſion into each province of government. And, to every judicious examiner, it muſt appear, "That the lines "of duty are as much tranſgreſſed by a more independent and leſs reſpectful exer- "ciſe of acknowleged powers, as by the uſurpation of ſuch as are new and unu- "ſual."

THE lovers of liberty, thro'out the nation, reaſoned after a very different manner. 'Tis in vain, ſaid they, that the King traces up the Engliſh government to its firſt origin, in order to repreſent the privileges of parliament as dependent and precarious: The preſcription and practice of ſo many ages, muſt, long 'ere this time, have given a ſanction to theſe aſſemblies, even tho' they had been derived from no more dignified an origin, than that which he aſſigns them. If the written records of the Engliſh nation, as aſſerted, repreſent parliaments to have ariſen from the conſent of monarchs; the principles of human nature, when we trace government a ſtep higher, muſt ſhow us, that monarchs themſelves owe all their authority to the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the people. But, in fact, no age can be ſhown, when the Engliſh government was altogether an unmixed monarchy: And if the privileges of the nation have, at any particular period, been overpowered by violent irruptions of foreign force or domeſtic uſurpation; the generous ſpirit of the people has ever ſeized the firſt opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing the antient government and conſtitution. Tho', in the ſtyle of the laws, and in the uſual form of adminiſtration, the royal authority may be repreſented as ſacred and ſupreme; whatever is eſſential to the exerciſe of ſovereign and legiſlative power, muſt ſtill be regarded as equally divine and inviolable. Or, if any diſtinction be made in this reſpect, the preference is rather due to thoſe national councils, by whoſe interpoſal the exorbitancies of tyrannical power are reſtrained, and that ſacred liberty is preſerved, which heroic ſpirits, in all ages, have deemed more precious than life itſelf. Nor is it ſufficient to ſay, that the mild and equitable adminiſtration of James affords ſmall occaſion or no occaſion of complaint. However moderate the exerciſe of his prerogative, however exact his obſervance of the laws and conſtitution; "If he founds "his authority on unknown and dangerous principles, 'tis requiſite to watch him "with equal care, and to oppoſe him with equal vigor, as if he had indulged him- "ſelf in all the exceſſes of cruelty and tyranny."

AMIDST all theſe diſputes, the wiſe and moderate in the nation endeavored to preſerve, as much as poſſible, an equitable neutrality betwixt the oppoſite parties; and the more they reflected on the courſe of public affairs, the greater difficulty they found

found of fixing juſt ſentiments with regard to them. On the one hand, they regarded the very riſe of oppoſite parties as a happy prognoſtic of the eſtabliſhment of liberty; nor could they ever expect to enjoy, in a mixed government, ſo invaluable a bleſſing, without ſuffering that inconvenience, which, in ſuch governments, has ever attended it. But, when they conſidered, on the other hand, the neceſſary aims and purſuits of both parties, they were ſtruck with apprehenſion of the conſequences, and could diſcover no plan of peaceable accommodation betwixt them. From long practice, the crown was now poſſeſſed of ſo exorbitant a prerogative, that it was not ſufficient for liberty to remain on the defenſive, or endeavor to ſecure the little ground, which was left her: It was become requiſite to carry on an offenſive war, and to circumſcribe, within narrower, as well as more exact bounds, the authority of the ſovereign. Upon ſuch provocation, it could not but happen, that the prince, however juſt and moderate, would endeavor to repreſs his opponents; and, as he ſtood upon the very brink of arbitrary power, it was to be feared, that he would, haſtily and unknowingly, paſs thoſe limits, which were not preciſely marked by the conſtitution. The turbulent government of England, ever fluctuating betwixt privilege and prerogative, would afford a variety of precedents, which might be pleaded on both ſides. In ſuch delicate queſtions, the people muſt be divided: The arms of the ſtate were ſtill in their hands: A civil war muſt enſue; a civil war, where no party or both parties would juſtly bear the blame, and where the good and virtuous would ſcarce know what vows to form, were it not that liberty, ſo requiſite to the perfection of human ſociety, would be ſufficient to byaſs their affections towards the ſide of its defenders.

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CHAP. V.

Negotiations with regard to the marriage and the Palatinate.——Character of Buckingham.——Prince's journey to Spain.—— Marriage treaty broken.—— A parliament.—— Return of Briſtol.—— Rupture with Spain.——Treaty with France.——Mansfeldt's expedition.—— Death of the King.——His character.

1622.

Negotiations with regard to the marriage and the Palatinate.

TO wreſt the Palatinate from the hands of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria muſt always have been regarded as a very difficult taſk for the power of England, conducted by ſuch an unwarlike prince as James: It was plainly impoſſible, while the breach continued betwixt him and the commons. The King's negotiations, therefore, had they been managed with never ſo great dexterity, muſt now carry leſs weight with them; and it was eaſy to elude all his applications. When Lord Digby, his ambaſſador to the Emperor, had deſired a ceſſation of hoſtilities, he was remitted to the Duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Auſtrian armies. The Duke of Bavaria told him, that it was entirely ſuperfluous to form any treaty for that purpoſe. *Hoſtilities are already ceaſed*, ſaid he; *and I doubt not but I ſhall be able to prevent their revival, by keeping firm poſſeſſion of the Palatinate, till a final agreement ſhall be concluded betwixt the contending parties.* Notwithſtanding this inſult, James endeavored to reſume with the Emperor a treaty of accommodation; and he opened the negotiations at Bruſſels, under the mediation of the Archduke Albert, and, after his death, which happened about this time, under that of the Infanta: When the conferences were entered upon, it was found, that the powers of theſe princes to determine in the controverſy were not ſufficient nor ſatisfactory. Schwartzenbourg, the imperial miniſter, was expected at London; and it was hoped, that he would bring more ample authority: His commiſſion referred entirely to the negotiation at Bruſſels. It was not difficult for the King to perceive, that his applications were purpoſely eluded by the Emperor; but as he had no choice of any other expedient, and it ſeemed the intereſt of his ſon-in-law to keep alive his pretenſions, he was ſtill contented to follow Ferdinand thro' all his ſhifts and evaſions. Nor was he entirely diſcouraged, even when the imperial diet at Ratiſbon, by the influence, or rather authority of the Emperor, tho' contrary to the proteſtation of Saxony and all the reformed, had

had transferred the electoral dignity from the Palatine to the Duke of Bavaria. Chap. V. 1622.

MEAN while, the efforts made by Frederic for the recovery of his dominions were vigorous. Three armies were levied in Germany by his commiſſion, under three commanders, Duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, the Prince of Baden-Dourlach, and Count Mansfeldt. The two former generals were defeated by Count Tilly and the imperialiſts: The third, tho' much inferior in force to his enemies, ſtill maintained the war; but with no great ſupplies of money either from the Palatine or the King of England. 'Twas chiefly by pillage and free quarters in the Palatinate, that he ſubſiſted his army. As the Auſtrians were regularly paid, they were kept in more exact diſcipline; and James became juſtly apprehenſive, leſt ſo unequal a conteſt, beſide the ſpoil of the Palatine's patrimonial dominions, would end in the total alienation of the people from their antient ſovereign, by whom they were plundered, and an attachment to their new maſters, by whom they were protected. He therefore perſuaded his ſon-in-law totally to diſarm, under colour of duty and ſubmiſſion to the Emperor: And accordingly, Mansfeldt was diſmiſſed from the Palatine's ſervice; and that famous general withdrew his army into the low countries, and there received a commiſſion from the ſtates of the united provinces.

To ſhew how little account was made of James's negotiations abroad, there is a pleaſantry which is mentioned by all hiſtorians, and which, for that reaſon, ſhall have place here. In a farce, acted at Bruſſels, a courier was introduced, carrying the doleful news, that the Palatinate would ſoon be wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria; ſo powerful were the ſuccours, which, from all quarters, were haſtening to the relief of the deſpoiled Elector: The King of Denmark had agreed to contribute to his aſſiſtance a hundred thouſand pickled herrings, the Dutch a hundred thouſand butter-boxes, and the King of England a hundred thouſand ambaſſadors. On other occaſions, he was painted with a ſcabbard, but without a ſword; or with a ſword, which no body could draw, tho' ſeveral were pulling at it.

IT was not from negotiations with the Emperor or the Duke of Bavaria, that James expected any ſucceſs in his project for reſtoring the Palatine: His eyes were entirely turned towards Spain; and if he could effectuate his ſon's marriage with the Infanta, he doubted not, after ſo intimate a conjunction, but that this other point could eaſily be obtained. The negotiations of that court being naturally ſlow and dilatory, it was not eaſy for a prince of ſo little penetration in buſineſs, to diſtinguiſh whether the difficulties, which occurred, were real or affected; and he was ſurprized, after negotiating five years on ſo ſimple a demand, that he was not more advanced than at the beginning. The diſpenſation of Rome

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was requiſite for the marriage of the Infanta with a proteſtant prince; and the King of Spain having undertaken to procure that diſpenſation, he had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleaſure, or of forwarding the marriage, and at the ſame time of concealing entirely his artifices from the court of England.

In order to remove all obſtacles, James diſpatched Digby, ſoon afterwards created Earl of Briſtol, as his ambaſſador to Philip IV. who had lately ſucceeded his father in the crown of Spain. He employed Gage as his agent at Rome; and finding that the difference of religion was the principal, if not ſole difficulty which retarded the marriage, he reſolved to ſoften that objection as much as poſſible. He iſſued public orders for diſcharging all popiſh recuſants, who were impriſoned; and it was daily expected, that he ſhould forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws enacted againſt them. For this ſtep, ſo oppoſite to the rigid bigotry of his ſubjects, he took care to apologize; and he even endeavored to aſcribe it to his great zeal for the reformed religion. He had been making applications, he ſaid, to all foreign princes for ſome indulgence to the diſtreſſed proteſtants; and he was ſtill anſwered by objections derived from the ſeverity of the Engliſh laws againſt catholics. And indeed, if the extremity of religious zeal was ever to abate among the chriſtian ſects, it might probably occur to him, that one of them muſt begin; and nothing would be more honorable for England, than to have been the firſt who led the way in ſo wiſe and moderate a practice.

Not only the religious puritans murmured at this tolerating meaſure of the King: The lovers of civil liberty were alarmed at ſo large an exerciſe of his prerogative. But among other dangerous articles of authority, the kings of England were, at that time, poſſeſſed of the diſpenſing power; at leaſt, were in the conſtant practice of exerciſing it. Beſides, tho' the royal prerogative in civil matters was then exorbitant, the princes, during ſome late reigns, had been accuſtomed to aſſume ſtill a higher in eccleſiaſtical. And the King failed not to repreſent the toleration of catholics as a meaſure entirely of that nature.

By James's conceſſions in favor of the catholics, he obtained his end. The ſame religious motives, which had hitherto rendered the court of Spain inſincere in all the ſteps taken towards the marriage, were now the chief cauſe of promoting it. By its means, it was there hoped, the Engliſh catholics would, for the future, enjoy eaſe and indulgence; and the Infanta would be the happy inſtrument of procuring to the church ſome tranquillity, after the many ſevere perſecutions which it had hitherto undergone. The Earl of Briſtol, a miniſter of vigilance and penetration, and who had formerly oppoſed all alliance with catholics, was now fully convinced of the ſincerity of Spain; and he was ready to congratulate

gratulate the King on the entire completion of all his views and projects. A daughter of Spain, whom he repreſents as extremely accompliſhed, would ſoon, he ſaid, arrive in England, and bring with her an immenſe fortune of two millions,* a ſum four times greater than Spain had ever before given with any princeſs. But what was of more importance to the King's honor and happineſs; Briſtol conſidered this match as an infallible prognoſtic of the Palatine's reſtoration; nor would Philip, he thought, ever have beſtowed his ſiſter and ſo large a fortune, under the proſpect of entering, next day, into a war with England. So exact was his intelligence, that the moſt ſecret councils of the Spaniards, he boaſts, had never eſcaped him; and he found that they had, all along, conſidered the marriage of the Infanta and the reſtitution of the Palatinate as meaſures cloſely connected, or altogether inſeparable. However little calculated James's character, however improper the meaſures which he had purſued, to extort ſo vaſt a conceſſion; the ambaſſador could not withſtand the plain evidence of facts, by which Philip now demonſtrated his ſincerity. Perhaps too, like a wiſe man, he conſidered, that reaſons of ſtate, which are ſuppoſed ſolely to influence the councils of monarchs, are not always the motives which there predominate; that the milder views of gratitude, honor, friendſhip, generoſity, are frequently able, among princes as well as private perſons, to counterballance theſe ſelfiſh conſiderations; that the juſtice and moderation of James had been ſo conſpicuous in all theſe tranſactions, his reliance on Spain, his confidence in her friendſhip, that he had, at laſt, obtained the cordial alliance of that nation, ſo celebrated for honor and fidelity. Or if politics muſt ſtill be ſuppoſed the ruling motive of all public meaſures; the maritime power of England was ſo great, the Spaniſh dominions ſo divided, as might well induce the council of Philip to think, that a ſincere friendſhip with the maſters of the ſea could not be purchaſed by too many conceſſions. And as James, during ſo many years, had been allured and ſeduced by hopes and proteſtations, his people enraged by delays and diſappointments; it would probably occur, that there was now no medium left betwixt the moſt inveterate hatred and the moſt intimate alliance betwixt the nations. Not to mention, that, as a new ſpirit began about this time to animate the councils of France, the friendſhip of England became every day more requiſite for the greatneſs and ſecurity of the Spaniſh monarchy.

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ALL meaſures being, therefore agreed betwixt the parties, nought was wanting but the diſpenſation from Rome, which might be conſidered as a mere formality. The King warranted by ſucceſs, now exulted in his pacific councils, and boaſted of his

* It appears by Buckingham's narrative, that theſe two millions were of pieces of eight, and made 600,000 pound Sterling: A very great ſum, and almoſt equal to all the ſums which the parliament, during the whole courſe of this reign, had hitherto beſtowed on the King.

Chap. V. 1622. his ſuperior views and penetration; when all theſe flattering proſpects were blaſted by the temerity of a man, whom he had fondly exalted from an obſcure condition to be the bane of himſelf, of his family, and of his people.

1623. Character of Buckingham. EVER ſince the fall of Somerſet, Buckingham had governed, with an uncontroled ſway, both the court and nation; and could James's eyes have been opened, he had now full opportunity of obſerving how unfit his favorite was for the high ſtation to which he had raiſed him. Some accompliſhments of a courtier he was poſſeſſed of: Of every talent of a miniſter he was utterly devoid. Headlong in his paſſions, and incapable equally of prudence and of diſſimulation: Sincere from violence rather than from candor; expenſive from profuſion more than from generoſity: A warm friend, a furious enemy; but without any choice or diſcernment in either: With theſe qualities he had early and quickly mounted to the higheſt rank; and partook at once of the inſolence which attends a fortune newly acquired, and the impetuoſity which belongs to perſons born in high ſtations, and unacquainted with oppoſition.

AMONG thoſe, who had experienced the arrogance of this overgrown favorite, the Prince of Wales himſelf had not been entirely ſpared; and a great coldneſs, if not enmity, had, for that reaſon, taken place betwixt them. Buckingham, deſirous of an opportunity, which might connect him with the Prince and overcome his averſion, and at the ſame time envious of the great credit acquired by Briſtol in the Spaniſh negotiation, bethought himſelf of an expedient, by which he might, at once, gratify both theſe inclinations. He repreſented to Charles, That perſons of his exalted ſtation were peculiarly unfortunate in their marriage, the chief circumſtance in life; and commonly received into their arms a bride, unknown to them, to whom they were unknown; not endeared by ſympathy, not obliged by ſervices; wooed by treaties alone, by negotiations, by political intereſts: That however accompliſhed the Spaniſh Princeſs, ſhe muſt ſtill conſider herſelf as a melancholy victim of ſtate, and could not but think with averſion of that day when ſhe was to enter the bed of a ſtranger; and paſſing into a foreign country and a new family, bid adieu for ever to her father's houſe and to her native land: That it was in the Prince's power to ſoften all theſe rigors, and lay ſuch an obligation on her, as would attach the moſt indifferent temper, as would warm the coldeſt affections: That his journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, which would equal all the fictions of Spaniſh romance, and ſuiting the amorous and enterprizing character of that nation, muſt immediately introduce him to the Infanta under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer: That the negotiations with regard

to

to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languiſhed in the hands of miniſters, would quickly be terminated by ſo illuſtrious an agent, ſeconded by the mediation and intreaties of the grateful Princeſs: That the Spaniſh generoſity, moved by that unexampled truſt and confidence, would make conceſſions beyond what could be expected from political views and conſiderations: And that he would quickly return to the King with the glory of having re-eſtabliſhed the unhappy Palatine, by the ſame enterprize, which procured him the affections and the perſon of the Spaniſh Princeſs.

THE mind of the young Prince, replete with candor, was inflamed by theſe generous aud romantic ideas. He agreed to make application to the King for his approbation. They choſe the moment of his kindeſt and moſt jovial humor; and more by the earneſtneſs which they expreſſed, than by the force of their reaſons, they obtained a haſty and unguarded aſſent to their undertaking. And having engaged his promiſe to keep their purpoſe ſecret, they left him, in order to make preparations for their journey.

No ſooner was the King alone, than his temper, more timorous than ſanguine, ſuggeſted very different views of the matter, and repreſented every difficulty and danger which would occur. He reflected, that, however the world might pardon this ſally of youth in the Prince, they would never forgive himſelf, who, at his years, and after his experience, could entruſt his only ſon, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to the diſcretion of foreigners, without ſo much as providing the frail ſecurity of a ſafe conduct in his favor: That, if the Spaniard was ſincere in his profeſſions, a few months muſt finiſh the treaty of marriage, and bring the Infanta into England; if he was not ſincere, the folly was ſtill more egregious of committing the Prince into his hands: That, when poſſeſſed of ſo invaluable a pledge, he might well riſe in his demands, and impoſe harder conditions of treaty: And that the temerity of this enterprize was ſo apparent, that the event, however proſperous, could never juſtify it; and if diſaſtrous, it would render him infamous to his people, and ridiculous to all poſterity.

TORMENTED with theſe reflections, ſo ſoon as the Prince and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, he informed them of all the reaſons which had determined him to change his reſolution; and he begged them to deſiſt from ſo fooliſh an adventure. The Prince received the diſappointment with ſorrowful ſubmiſſion and ſilent tears: Buckingham preſumed to ſpeak in an imperious tone, which he had ever experienced to be prevalent over his too eaſy maſter. He told him, that no body, for the future, would believe any thing he ſaid, when he retracted ſo ſoon the promiſe, ſo ſolemnly given; that he plainly diſcerned this change of reſolution to proceed from another breach of his word, in communicating the mat-

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ter to ſome raſcal, who had furniſhed him with thoſe pitiful reaſons, which he had alleged, and he doubted not but he ſhould hereafter know who his counſellor had been; and that if he receded from what he had promiſed, it would be ſuch a diſobligation to the Prince, who had now ſet his heart upon the journey, after his Majeſty's approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any man who had been the cauſe of it.

THE King, with great earneſtneſs, fortifyed by many oaths, made his apology, by denying, that he had communicated the matter to any man; and finding himſelf aſſailed, as well by the boiſtrous importunities of Buckingham, as by the warm entreaties of his ſon, whoſe applications had hitherto, on other occaſions, been always dutiful, never earneſt; he had again the weakneſs to aſſent to their purpoſed journey. It was agreed, that Sir Francis Cottington alone, the Prince's ſecretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, ſhould accompany them; and the former being at that time in the anti-chamber, he was immediately called in by the King's order.

JAMES told Cottington, that he had always been an honeſt man, and therefore he was now to truſt him in an affair of the higheſt importance, which he was not, upon his life, to diſcloſe to any man whatever. "Cottington, added he, here "is baby Charles and Stenny" (theſe ridiculous appellations he uſually gave to the Prince and Buckingham) "who have a great mind to go poſt into Spain, and fetch "home the Infanta: They will have but two more in their company, and have "choſen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had reſided ſome years in Spain as the King's agent, was ſtruck with all the obvious objections to ſuch an enterprize, and immediately diſcovered them. The King threw himſelf upon his bed, and cryed, *I told you this before*; and fell into new paſſion and lamentation, complaining that he was undone, and ſhould loſe baby Charles.

THE Prince ſhowed by his countenance, that he was extremely diſſatisfied with Cottington's diſcourſe; but Buckingham broke out into an open paſſion againſt him. The King, he told him, aſked him only of the journey and of the manner of travelling; particulars, of which he might be a competent judge, having made the way ſo often by poſt; but that he, without being called to it, had the preſumption to give his advice upon matters of ſtate and againſt his maſter, which he ſhould repent ſo long as he lived. A thouſand other reproaches he added, which put the poor King into a new agony on behalf of a ſervant, who, he foreſaw, would ſuffer for anſwering him honeſtly. Upon which he ſaid with ſome commotion: *Nay, by God, Stenny, you are much to blame for uſing him ſo: He anſwered me directly to the queſtion which I aſked him, and very honeſtly and wiſely; and yet, you knew, he ſaid no more,*

more, than I told you before he was called in. However, after all this paſſion on both ſides, James renewed his conſent; and all proper directions were given for the journey. Nor was he now at any loſs to diſcover, that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by Buckingham, as well as purſued violently by his ſpirit and impetuoſity. Chap. V. 1623.

THESE circumſtances, which ſo well characterize the perſons, ſeem to have been related by Cottington to Lord Clarendon, from whom they are here tranſcribed; and, tho' minute, are not undeſerving of a place in hiſtory.

THE Prince and Buckingham, with their two attendants, and Sir Richard Graham, maſter of horſe to Buckingham, paſſed diſguiſed and undiſcovered thro' France; and they even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the Princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards eſpouſed, and who was, at that time, in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived at Madrid; and ſurprized every body by a ſtep ſo little uſual among great princes. The Spaniſh monarch immediately viſited Charles, expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for the confidence repoſed in him, and made warm proteſtations of a correſpondent confidence and friendſhip. By the moſt ſtudied civilities, he marked the reſpect, which he bore his royal gueſt. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the Prince might, without any introduction, have acceſs to him at all hours: He took the left hand of him on every occaſion, except in the apartments aſſigned to Charles; for there, he ſaid, the Prince was at home: Charles was introduced into the palace with the ſame pomp and ceremony which attend the kings of Spain on their coronation: The privy council received public orders to obey him as the King himſelf: All the priſons of Spain were thrown open, and all the priſoners received their freedom, as if the event, the moſt honorable and moſt fortunate, had happened to the monarchy: And every ſumptuary law with regard to apparel was abrogated and ſuſpended during his reſidence in Spain. The Infanta, however, was only ſhown to her lover in public; the Spaniſh ideas of decency being ſo ſtrict, as not to allow of any more intercourſe, till the arrival of the diſpenſation. 7th of March. The Prince's journey to Spain.

THE point of honor was carried ſo far by that generous people, that no attempt was made, on account of the advantage, which they had acquired, of impoſing any harder conditions of treaty: Their pious bigotry only prompted them, on one occaſion, to deſire more conceſſions in the religious articles; but, on the oppoſition of Briſtol, accompanied with ſome reproaches, they immediately deſiſted. The Pope, however, hearing of the Prince's arrival in Madrid, tacked ſome new clauſes to the diſpenſation; and it became requiſite to tranſmit the articles to London, that the King might there ratify them. This treaty, which was made

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public, consisted of several articles, chiefly regarding the exercise of the catholic religion by the Infanta and her family. Nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, where the King promised, that the children should be educated by the Princess, till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasoning their minds with catholic prejudices; and tho' so tender an age seemed little susceptible of theological tenets, yet the same reason, which made the Pope insert that article, should have induced the King to reject it.

BESIDE the public treaty, there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the King; where he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against catholics, to procure a repeal of them in parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the catholic religion in private houses. Great murmurs, we may believe, would have arisen against these articles, had they been made known to the public; since we find it to have been imputed as an enormous crime to the Prince, that, having received, about this time, a very civil letter from the Pope, he was induced to return a very civil answer.

MEAN while Gregory XV. who granted the dispensation, died; and Urban VIII. was chosen in his place. Upon this event, this nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, till it should be renewed by Urban; and that crafty pontiff delayed the sending a new dispensation, in hopes, that, during the Prince's residence in Spain, some expedient might be fallen upon to operate his conversion. The King of England, as well as the Prince, became impatient. On the first hint, Charles obtained permission to return; and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of elaborate civility and respect, which had attended his arrival. He even erected a pillar, on the spot where they separated, as a monument of mutual friendship; and the Prince, having sworn to the observance of all the articles, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andero.

THE character of Charles, composed of decency, reserve, modesty, sobriety; virtues so suitable to the manners of the Spaniards; the unparalleled confidence, which he had reposed in their nation; the romantic gallantry, which he had practised towards their Princess; all these circumstances, joined to his youth and agreeable figure, had endeared him to the whole court of Madrid, and had impressed the most favorable ideas of him. But, in the same proportion, that the Prince was beloved and esteemed, was Buckingham despised and hated. His behavior, composed of English familiarity and French vivacity; his sallies of passion, his indecent freedoms with the Prince, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant, impetuous temper, which he neither could, nor cared to disguise; qualities like these, could, most of them, be esteemed no where, but to the Spaniards were the objects of peculiar

culiar averſion. They could not conceal their ſurprize, that ſuch a hair-brained youth could intrude into a negotiation, now conducted to a period, by ſo accompliſhed a miniſter as Briſtol, and could aſſume to himſelf all the merit of it. They lamented the Infanta's fate, who muſt be approached by a man, whoſe temerity ſeemed to reſpect no laws, divine or human. And when they obſerved, that he had the imprudence to inſult the Condé Duke of Olivarez, their prime miniſter; every one, who was ambitious of paying court to the Spaniſh, became deſirous of marking a contempt for the Engliſh favorite. Chap. V. 1623.

THE Duke of Buckingham told Olivarez, that his own attachment to the Spaniſh nation and to the King of Spain was extreme; that he would contribute to every meaſure, which would cement the friendſhip betwixt England and them; and that his peculiar ambition would be to facilitate the Prince's marriage with the Infanta. But, he added, with a ſincerity, equally inſolent and indiſcreet, *With regard to you, Sir, in particular, you muſt not conſider me as your friend, but muſt ever expect from me all poſſible enmity and oppoſition.* The Condé Duke replied, with a becoming dignity, that he very willingly accepted of what was proferred him: And on theſe terms the favorites parted.

BUCKINGHAM, ſenſible how odious he was become to the Spaniards, and dreading the influence, which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the Infanta, reſolved to employ all his credit, in order to prevent the marriage. By what arguments he could engage the Prince to offer ſuch an inſult to the Spaniſh nation, from whom he had met with ſuch generous treatment; by what colors he could diſguiſe the ingratitude, perfidy, and imprudence of ſuch a meaſure; theſe are totally unknown to us. It only appears, that his impetuous and domineering character had acquired, what it ever after maintained, a total aſcendant over the gentle and modeſt temper of Charles; and, when the Prince left Madrid, he was firmly determined, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions, to break off the treaty with Spain.

IT is not likely, that Buckingham prevailed ſo eaſily with James to abandon a project, which, during ſo many years, had been the object of all his wiſhes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to a happy period. A rupture with Spain, the loſs of two millions, were proſpects little agreeable to this pacific and indigent monarch: But, finding his only ſon bent againſt a match, which had always been oppoſed by his people and his parliament, he ſuccumbed under difficulties, which he had not courage nor ſtrength of mind ſufficient to reſiſt. The Prince, therefore, and Buckingham, on their arrival at London, aſſumed intirely the direction of the negotiation; and it was their buſineſs to ſeek for pretexts, by which they could give a color to their intended violation of treaty.

THO'

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THO' the reſtitution of the Palatinate had ever been conſidered by James as a natural or neceſſary conſequence of the Spaniſh alliance, he had always forbid his miniſters to inſiſt on it as a preliminary article to the concluſion of the marriage-treaty. He conſidered, that that principality was now intirely in the hands of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria; and that it was no longer in the King of Spain's power, by a ſingle ſtroke of his pen, to reſtore it to the antient proprietor. The ſtrict alliance of Spain with theſe princes would engage Philip, he thought, to ſoften ſo diſagreeable a demand by every art of negotiation; and many articles, muſt, of neceſſity, be adjuſted, before ſuch an important point could be effectuated. It was ſufficient, in James's opinion, if the Spaniards' ſincerity could, for the preſent, be aſcertained; and, dreading farther delays in the marriage, ſo long wiſhed for, he was reſolved to truſt the Palatine's full reſtoration to the event of future councils and deliberations.

THIS whole ſyſtem of politics, Buckingham now reverſed; and he over-turned every ſuppoſition, upon which the treaty had hitherto been conducted. Briſtol received orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, nor to finiſh the marriage, till the full reſtitution of the Palatinate. Philip underſtood this language. He had been acquainted with the diſguſt received by Buckingham; and eſteeming him a man, capable of ſacrificing, to his own ungovernable paſſions, the greateſt intereſts of his maſter and of his country, he had expected that the unbounded credit of that favorite would be employed to embroil the two nations. Determined, however, to throw the blame of the rupture intirely on the Engliſh, he delivered into Briſtol's hand a written promiſe, by which he bound himſelf to procure the reſtoration of the Palatine, either by perſuaſion, or by every other poſſible means; and, when he found that that conceſſion gave no ſatisfaction, he ordered the Infanta to lay aſide the title of Princeſs of Wales, and to drop her ſtudy of the Engliſh language. And thinking, that ſuch furious councils as now governed the court of England would not ſtop at the breach of treaty, he ordered preparations for war immediately to be made thro'out all his dominions.

Marriage-treaty broken.

THUS James, having, by means, inexplicable from all the rules of politics, conducted, ſo near an honorable end, the marriage of his ſon and the reſtoration of his ſon-in-law, failed at laſt of his purpoſe, by means equally unaccountable.

BUT, tho' the expedients, already uſed by Buckingham, were ſufficiently inglorious, both for himſelf and for the nation; it was requiſite, 'ere he could fully effect his purpoſe, to employ artifices ſtill more ſhameful and diſhonorable.

1624.

THE King, having broke with Spain, was obliged to concert new meaſures; and, without the aſſiſtance of parliament, no effectual ſtep of any kind could be taken.

The

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The benevolence, which, during the interval, had been rigorously exacted for the recovery of the Palatinate, tho' levied for so favorable an end, had acquired the King less money than ill-will from his subjects *. Whatever discouragements, therefore, he might receive from his bad agreement with former parliaments, there was a necessity of summoning once more this assembly; and, it might be hoped, that the Spanish alliance, which gave such umbrage, being abandoned, the commons would now be better satisfied with the King's administration. In his speech to the houses, James dropped some hints of the causes of complaint which he had against Spain; and he graciously condescended to ask the parlianent's advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair as his son's marriage. Buckingham, to a committee of lords and commons, delivered a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and conpleat, of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip: But partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false coloring laid on others, this narrative was calculated intirely to mislead the parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity. He said, that, after many years negotiation, the King found not himself any nearer his purpose; and that Bristol had never brought the treaty beyond general professions and declarations: That the Prince, doubting the good intentions of Spain, resolved at last to take a journey to Madrid, and put the matter to the utmost trial: That he there found such artificial dealing as made him conclude all the steps taken towards the marriage to be false and deceitful: That the restitution of the Palatinate, which had ever been regarded by the King as an essential preliminary, was not seriously intended by Spain: And that, after enduring much ill-usage, the Prince was obliged to return to England, without any hopes, either of obtaining the Infanta, or of restoring the Elector Palatine.

A parliament. 19th of Feb.

This narrative, which, considering the importance of the occasion, and the solemnity of that assembly, to which it was delivered, deserves no better name, than that of an infamous imposture, was yet vouched for truth by the Prince of Wales, who was present; and the King himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament, that it was by his order Buckingham hid the whole affair before them. The conduct of these princes it is difficult to excuse. 'Tis in vain to plead the youth and inexperience of Charles; unless his inexperience and youth, as

* To show by what violent measures this benevolence was raised, Johnstone, an excellent, but unknown historian, tells us, in his *Rerum Britannicarum historia*, that Barnes, a citizen of London, was the first who refused to contribute any thing; upon which, the treasurer sent him word, that he must immediately prepare himself to carry by post a dispatch into Ireland. The citizen was glad to make his peace by paying a hundred pound; and no one durst afterwards refuse the benevolence required.

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as is probable *, really led him into error, and made him ſwallow all the groſs falſities of Buckingham. And, tho' the King was here hurried from his own meaſures by the furious impetuoſity of others; nothing ſhould have induced him to proſtitute his character, and vouch the impoſtures of his favorite, of which he had ſo good reaſon to entertain a ſuſpicion.

BUCKINGHAM'S narrative, however artificially diſguiſed, contained yet ſo many contradictory circumſtances as were ſufficient to open the eyes of all reaſonable men; but it concurred ſo well with the paſſions and prejudices of the parliament, that no ſcruple was made of immediately adopting it. Charmed with having obtained at laſt the opportunity, ſo long wiſhed for, of going to war with papiſts, they little thought of future conſequences; but immediately adviſed the King to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the reſtitution of the Palatinate. The people, ever greedy of war, till they ſuffer by it, marked their triumph at theſe violent meaſures by public bonefires and rejoicings, and by inſults on the Spaniſh miniſters. Buckingham was now the univerſal favorite of the public and of the parliament. Sir Edward Coke, in the houſe of commons, called him the Savior of the nation. Every place reſounded with his praiſes. And he himſelf, intoxicated by a popularity, which he enjoyed ſo little time, and which he ſo little merited, violated all duty to his indulgent maſter, and entered into cabals with the puritan members, who had ever oppoſed the royal authority. He even encouraged ſchemes for aboliſhing the order of biſhops, and ſelling the dean and chapter lands, in order to defray the expences of a Spaniſh war. And the King, who ſtill entertained projects for temporizing, and for forming an accommodation with Spain, was ſo borne down by the torrent of popular prejudices, conducted and increaſed by Buckingham, that he was at laſt obliged, in a ſpeech to parliament, to declare in favor of hoſtile meaſures, if they would engage to ſupport him. Doubts of their ſincerity in this reſpect; doubts which the event ſhowed not to be ill-grounded; had probably been one cauſe of his former tame and dilatory meaſures.

IN his ſpeech on this occaſion, the King began with lamenting his misfortunes, that, having ſo long plumed himſelf in the epithet of the pacific monarch, he ſhould

* The moment the Prince embarked at St. Andero's, he ſaid, to thoſe about him, that it was folly in the Spaniards to uſe him ſo ill, and allow him to depart: A proof that the Duke had made him believe they were inſincere in the affair of the marriage and the Palatinate: For, as to his reception, in other reſpects, it had been altogether unexceptionable: Beſides, had not the Prince believed the Spaniards to be inſincere, he had no reaſon to quarrel with them; tho' Buckingham had. It appears, therefore, that Charles himſelf muſt have been deceived.

ſhould now, in his old age, be obliged to exchange the bleſſings of peace for the inevitable calamities of war. He repreſented to them the immenſe and continued expence, requiſite for military armaments; and beſide ſupplies, from time to time, as they ſhould become requiſite, he demanded a vote of ſix ſubſidies and twelve fifteenths, as a ſtock requiſite before the commencement of hoſtilities. He told them of his intolerable debts and burthens, chiefly contracted by the ſums remitted to the Palatine *; but he added, that he did not inſiſt on any ſupply for his own relief, and that it was ſufficient for him, if the honor and ſecurity of the public were provided for. To remove all ſuſpicion, he, who had ever ſtrenuouſly maintained his prerogative, and even extended it into ſome doubtful points, now made a moſt imprudent conceſſion, of which the conſequences might have been fatal to regal authority: He voluntarily offered, that the money voted ſhould be payed into a committee of parliament, and ſhould be iſſued by them, without being intruſted to his management. The commons willingly accepted of this conceſſion, ſo unprecedented in an Engliſh monarch; they voted him only three ſubſidies and three fifteenths †; and they took no notice of the complaints, which he made of his own wants and neceſſities.

ADVANTAGE was alſo taken of the preſent good agreement betwixt the King and parliament, in order to paſs the bill againſt monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the King, but which had failed by the rupture betwixt him and the laſt houſe of commons. This bill was conceived in ſuch terms as to render it merely declarative; and all monopolies were condemned, as contrary to law and to the known liberties of the people. It was there ſuppoſed, that every ſubject of England had intire liberty to diſpoſe of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow ſubjects; and that no prerogative of the King, no power of any magiſtrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could reſtrain that unlimited freedom. The full proſecution of this noble principle into

* Among other particulars, he mentions a ſum of 80,000 pound borrowed from the King of Denmark. But what is more extraordinary, the treaſurer, in order to ſhow his own good ſervices, boaſts to the parliament, that, by his contrivance, 60,000 pound had been ſaved on the head of exchange in the ſums remitted to the Palatinate. This ſeems ſcarce credible, nor is it conceivable whence the King could procure ſuch vaſt ſums as would require a ſum ſo great to be payed in exchange.

† Leſs than 300,000 pound.

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all its neceſſary conſequences, has, at laſt, thro' many conteſts, produced that ſingular and happy government, which at preſent we enjoy *.

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* How little this principle had prevailed, during any former period of the Engliſh government, particularly during the laſt reign, which certain writers, from a ſhameful ignorance, would repreſent as the model of liberty, will eaſily appear from ſome paſſages, extracted from Sir Simon D'ewes's journal and Townſhend's collections.

In the ſeſſion, the 39th and 40th of Elizabeth, complaints were made in the houſe of commons againſt monopolies, which had certainly riſen to an enormous height, much beyond what they ever reached during the reign of James; but the Queen thought not proper to grant any redreſs. In the ſeſſion, the 43d of that reign, a bill was brought into the houſe againſt monopolies; but all the prudent members eſteemed it much more adviſable to proceed by way of petition to the Queen. Here are ſome paſſages of the debates, which will perhaps ſurpriſe ſuch of the Engliſh readers, as know nothing of hiſtory beyond what they have learned from pamphlets, and daily writers.

"Mr. Spicer, burgeſs of Warwic, ſaid, This bill may touch the prerogative royal, which, as I "learned the laſt parliament, is ſo tranſcendent that the ——————of the ſubject may not aſpire "thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the ſtate and prerogative royal of the prince ſhould "be tied by me or by the act of any other ſubject. Mr. Francis Bacon ſaid, as to the prerogative "royal of the prince, for my own part, I ever allowed of it; and it is ſuch as, I hope, will never "be diſcuſſed. The Queen, as ſhe is our ſovereign, hath both an enlarging and reſtraining power. "For, by her prerogative, ſhe may firſt ſet at liberty things reſtrained by ſtatute, law, or otherways; "and, ſecondly, by her prerogative, ſhe may reſtrain things, which be at liberty. For ſhe may "grant *non obſtante* contrary to the penal laws.——————I ſay, and I ſay again, that we ought not "to deal, to judge or meddle, with her Majeſty's prerogative. Dr. Bennet ſaid, He that will go a-"bout to debate her Majeſty's prerogative, had need to walk warily. Mr. Laurence Hyde ſaid, I "confeſs, Mr. Speaker, that I owe duty to God and loyalty to my prince. And for the bill itſelf, "I made it, and I think I underſtand it. And, far be it from this heart of mine to think, this "tongue to ſpeak, or this hand to write, any thing either in prejudice or derogation of her Majeſty's "prerogative royal and the ſtate. Mr. George Moore ſaid, We know the power of her Majeſty "cannot be reſtrained by any act; why therefore ſhould we thus talk? Admit we ſhould make this "ſtatute with a *non obſtante*, yet the Queen may grant a patent with a *non obſtante*, to croſs this *non* "*obſtante*. Mr. Wingfield ſaid, It was my hap, the laſt parliament, to encounter with the word "prerogative; but as then, ſo now, I do it with all humility; and wiſh all happineſs both to it and "to her Majeſty.

On the ſecond reading of the bill, Mr. Spicer again ſaid, "The way of petition will be our ſafeſt "courſe: For it is to no purpoſe to tie her Majeſty's hands by act of parliament, when ſhe may "looſen herſelf at her pleaſure. Mr. Davies ſaid, God hath given that power to abſolute princes, "which he attributeth to himſelf, *Dixi quod dii eſtis.*" (This doctrine he applies to the kings of "England.) "Mr. Secretary Cecil ſaid, I am ſervant unto the Queen; and, before I would ſpeak "or give conſent to a caſe, that would debaſe her prerogative or abrige it, I would wiſh my tongue "cut out of my head.——————One gentleman went about to poſſeſs us with the execution of "the law in an antient record of Edward III.; likely enough to be true in that time, when the "king was afraid of the ſubject.——————If ye ſtand upon law, and diſpute of the prerogative, "hark ye what Bracton ſays, *Prerogativum noſtrum nemo audeat diſputare*, Let no man dare to diſ-"pute of our prerogative. Mr. Francis Moore, at another time, ſaid, I muſt confeſs, Mr. Speaker,

"I

THE houſe of commons alſo corroborated, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which, two years before, they had exerciſed, in the caſe of Chancellor Bacon, and which had lain dormant for more than a century before, except when they ſerved as inſtruments of royal vengeance. The Earl of Middleſex had been raiſed by Buckingham's intereſt, from the rank of a London merchant, to be Lord high treaſurer of England; and, by his activity and addreſs, Chap. V. 1624.

"I moved the houſe, both the laſt parliament and this, touching this point; but I never meaned "(and I hope this houſe thinketh ſo) to ſet limits and bounds to the prerogative royal."

All this ſtrange parliamentary language paſſed uncontroverted; and came equally, from the mouths of thoſe who were attached or who were not attached to the court: Theſe were the only diſtinctions known: For, 'tis eaſily conceived, there could be no oppoſition to the court, no country-party, while ſuch maxims prevailed. But the ideas of men were much changed, during about twenty years of a gentle and peaceful adminiſtration. The commons, tho' James, of himſelf, had recalled all patents of monopolies, were not contented without a law againſt them, and a declarative law too; which was gaining a great point, and eſtabliſhing principles very favorable to liberty: But they were extremely grateful, if Elizabeth, upon petition, (after having once refuſed their requeſts) recalled a few of the moſt oppreſſive patents; and employed ſome ſoothing expreſſions towards them.

In the ſame ſeſſion, *viz.* the 43d of Elizabeth, a bill being brought in againſt pluralities, Mr. Sergeant Harris ſaid, "We ſeem to defend the privileges and cuſtoms of the houſe: But, if we pro-"ceed to determine of this bill, we ſhall not only infringe a cuſtom, which we have ever obſerved, "*viz.* to meddle with no matter that toucheth her Majeſty's prerogative; but alſo procure her great "diſpleaſure Admit we ſhould determine of this matter, yet her Majeſty may grant toleration with "a *non obſtante*. And, Mr Speaker, the laſt parliament may be a warning to us, when the like bill "by us was preferred, and the ſame not only rejected, but alſo her Majeſty commanded the Lord "keeper to tell us, that ſhe hoped we would not hereafter meddle in caſes of this nature ſo nearly "touching her prerogative royal."

In the 35th of Elizabeth, the Queen ſent to the commons a meſſage, which would now appear ſomewhat ſtrange. Theſe were the ſpeaker's expreſſions when he related the matter to the houſe; "Her Ma-"jeſty's moſt excellent pleaſure being then delivered unto us by the Lord keeper, it was not meant we "ſhould meddle in matters of ſtate, or in cauſes eccleſiaſtical (for ſo her Majeſty termed them) ſhe "wondered that any ſhould be of ſo high commandment to attempt (I uſe her own words) a thing "contrary to that, which ſhe had ſo expreſsly forbidden; wherefore with this ſhe was highly diſpleaſed. "And, becauſe the words then ſpoken by my Lord keeper are not now perhaps well remembered, or "ſome be now here that were not there; her Majeſty's preſent charge and expreſs commandment is, "That no bills, touching matters of ſtate or reformation in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, be exhibited: "And, upon my allegiance, I am commanded, if any ſuch bill be exhibited, not to read it." 'Tis remarkable, that the Queen rejected 48 bills, which had paſſed the two houſes, during this ſeſſion.

When the parliament was upon this footing, inſtead of wondering, that no more than four pound ſhould be given as a bribe for a ſeat (which was diſcovered to be the caſe, in one inſtance during Elizabeth's reign) we ſhall be inclined to think, that the member, bating the fees, made a very dear purchaſe.

The parliament had ſurely reaſon, when they confeſſed, in the ſeventh of James, that he allowed them more freedom of debate, than ever was indulged by any of his predeceſſors. His indulgence in this particular was probably one cauſe of the great power aſſumed by the commons.

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seemed not unworthy of that preferment. But, having incurred the displeasure of his patron, by scrupling or refusing some demands of money, during the Prince's residence in Spain, that favorite vowed vengeance, and employed all his credit among the commons to procure an impeachment of the treasurer. The King was extremely dissatisfied with this measure, and propheſied to the Prince and Duke, that they would live to have their fill of parliamentary prosecutions. In a speech to the parliament, he endeavored to apologize for Middlesex, and to soften the accusation against him. The charge, however, was still maintained by the commons; and the treasurer was found guilty by the peers, tho' the misdemeanors proved against him, were neither numerous nor important. The accepting two presents, of five hundred pound a-piece, for the passing two patents, was the article of greatest weight. His sentence was, to be fined 50,000 pound for the King's use, and to suffer all the other penalties formerly inflicted upon Bacon. The fine was afterwards remitted by the Prince, when he mounted the throne.

THIS session, an address was also made, very disagreeable to the King, craving the severe execution of the laws against catholics. His answer was gracious and condescending; tho' he declared against persecution; as being an improper measure for the suppression of any religion; according to the received maxim, *That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church.* He also condemned an intire indulgence of the catholics; and seemed to represent a middle course, as the most humane and most politic. He went so far as even to affirm, with an oath, that he never had entertained any thought of granting a toleration to these religionists. Perhaps, the liberty of exercising their religion in private houses, which he had secretly agreed to in the Spanish treaty, he did not esteem deserving that name; and it was probably by means of this evasion, he thought, tho' falsely, that he had saved his honor. After all these transactions, the parliament was prorogued by the King, who let fall some hints, tho' in gentle terms, of the sense, which he entertained, of their unkindness, in not supplying his necessities.

29th of May.

JAMES, unable to resist so strong a combination as that of his people, his parliament, his son, and his favorite, had been compelled to embrace measures, for which, from temper as well as judgment, he had ever entertained a most settled aversion. Tho' he dissembled his resentment, he began to estrange himself from Buckingham, to whom he ascribed all those violent councils, and whom he considered as the author, both of the Prince's journey into Spain, and of the breach of the marriage-treaty. The arrival of Bristol, he impatiently longed for; and it was by the assistance of that minister, whose wisdom he respected, and whose views he approved, that he hoped, in time, to extricate himself from his present difficulties.

DURING

Chap. V. 1624. Return of Briſtol.

DURING the Prince's abode in Spain, that able negotiator had ever oppoſed, tho' unſucceſsfully, to the impetuous meaſures, ſuggeſted by Buckingham, his own wiſe and well-tempered councils. After Charles's departure, upon the firſt appearance of a change of reſolution, he ſtill interpoſed his advice, and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the Spaniards' ſincerity in the conduct of the treaty, as well as the advantages, which England muſt reap from the completion of it. Enraged to find, that his ſucceſsful and ſkilful labors ſhould all be rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an inſolent minion, he would underſtand no hints; and nothing but expreſs orders from his maſter could engage him to make that demand, which, he was ſenſible, would put a final period to the treaty. He was not, therefore, ſurprized to hear, that Buckingham had declared himſelf his open enemy, and both before the council and parliament, had thrown out many ſcandalous reflections againſt him. Upon the firſt order, he prepared for leaving Madrid; and he was carried to the King of Spain and the Condé Duke, in order to fulfil the ceremonial of his departure.

PHILIP, by the mouth of his miniſter, expreſſed much regret, that Briſtol's ſervices ſhould meet with ſo unworthy a reward, and that his enemies ſhould ſo far have prevailed as to infuſe prejudices into his maſter and his country againſt a miniſter, who had ſo faithfully done his duty to both. He entreated him to fix his abode in Spain, rather than expoſe himſelf to the inveterate malice of his rival and the ungovernable fury of the people. He offered him every advantage of rank and fortune, to ſoften the rigors of baniſhment; and, leſt his honor ſhould ſuffer by the deſertion of his native country, the monarch promiſed to confer all theſe advantages, with a public declaration, that they were beſtowed merely for his fidelity to the truſt committed to him. And he added, that he eſteemed ſuch a conduct of importance to his own ſervice; that all his miniſters, obſerving his regard to virtue even in a ſtranger, might be the more animated to exert their fidelity towards ſo generous a maſter.

THE Earl of Briſtol, while he expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for this princely offer, thought himſelf obliged to decline the acceptance of it. He ſaid, that nothing would more confirm all the calumnies of his enemies than his remaining at Madrid, and his receiving honor and preferment from his catholic Majeſty; that the higheſt dignity of the Spaniſh monarchy, however valued, would be but an unequal compenſation for the loſs of his honor, which he muſt ſacrifice to the obtaining of it; that he truſted to his own innocence for protection againſt all the fury of popular prejudice; and that his maſter was ſo juſt and gracious, that, however he might, for a time, be ſeduced by calumny, he would ſurely afford him

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him an opportunity of defending himſelf, and would in the end reſtore him to his favor and good opinion.

So magnanimous an anſwer increaſed the eſteem which Philip had conceived of the ambaſſador. That prince begged him, at leaſt, to accept of a preſent of 10,000 ducats, which might be requiſite for his ſupport, till he could diſſipate the prejudices contracted againſt him; and he promiſed, that this compliance ſhould for ever remain a ſecret to all the world, and ſhould never come to the knowlege of his maſter. *There is one perſon*, replied the generous Engliſhman, *who muſt neceſſarily know it: He is the Earl of Briſtol, who will certainly reveal it to the King of England.*

NOTHING could be of greater conſequence to Buckingham, than to keep Briſtol at a diſtance both from the King and the parliament; leſt the power of truth, enforced by ſo powerful a ſpeaker, ſhould open ſcenes, which were but ſuſpected by the former, and of which the latter had as yet entertained no manner of jealouſy. He applied therefore to James, whoſe weakneſs, diſguiſed to himſelf under the appearance of fineſſe and diſſimulation, was now become abſolutely incurable. A warrant for ſending Briſtol to the tower was granted immediately upon his arrival in England; and tho' he was ſoon releaſed from that confinement, yet orders were carried him from the King, to retire to his country ſeat, and to abſtain from all attendance on the parliament, which was not yet prorogued. He obeyed; but loudly demanded an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter. On all occaſions, he proteſted his innocence, and threw on his enemy the blame of every miſcarriage. Buckingham, and, at his inſtigation, the Prince, declared, that they would be reconciled to Briſtol, if he would but acknowlege his errors and ill conduct: But the high ſpirited Nobleman, jealous of his honor, refuſed to buy favor at ſo high a price. James had the equity to ſay, that the inſiſting on that condition was a ſtrain of unexampled tyranny: But Buckingham ſcrupled not to aſſert, with the utmoſt preſumption, that neither the King, the Prince, nor himſelf were, as yet, ſatisfied of Briſtol's innocence.

WHILE the attachment of the Prince to Buckingham, while the timidity of James, or the ſhame of changing his favorite, kept the whole court in awe; the Spaniſh ambaſſador, Inoioſa, endeavored to open the King's eyes, and to cure his fears by inſtilling greater fears into him. He privately ſlipt into his hand a paper, and gave him a ſignal to read it alone. He there told him, that he was as much a priſoner at London as ever Francis I. was at Madrid; that the Prince and Buckingham had conſpired together, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals among the popular leaders in parliament were carrying on to the extreme

extreme prejudice of his royal authority; that the project was to confine him to some of his hunting seats, and to commit the whole administration of affairs to the management of Charles; and that it was requisite for him, by one vigorous effort, to vindicate his throne, and to punish those who had so long and so much abused his goodness and facility. Chap. V. 1624.

What credit James gave to this representation does not appear. He only discovered some faint symptoms, which he instantly retracted, of dissatisfaction with Buckingham. All his public measures, and all the alliances, into which he entered, were founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the Palatinate. Rupture with Spain.

The states of the united provinces, at this time, were governed by Maurice; and that aspiring prince, sensible that his credit would languish during peace; on the expiration of the twelve years truce, had renewed the war with the Spanish monarchy. His great capacity in the military art would have supplied the inferiority of his forces, had not the Spanish armies been commanded by Spinola, a general equally renowned for conduct, and more celebrated for enterprize and activity. In such a situation, nothing could be more welcome to the republic than the prospect of a rupture betwixt James and the catholic King; and they flattered themselves, as well from the natural union of interests betwixt them and England, as from the influence of the present conjuncture, that powerful succors would soon march to their relief. Accordingly, an army of six thousand men was levied in England, and sent over into Holland, commanded by four young Noblemen, Essex, Oxford, Southampton, and Willoughby, who were ambitious of distinguishing themselves in so favorable a cause, and of acquiring military experience under so renowned a captain as Maurice.

It might reasonably have been expected, that, as religious zeal had made the recovery of the Palatinate appear a point of such vast importance in England; the same effect must have been produced in France, by the force merely of political views and considerations. While that principality remained in the hands of the house of Austria, the French dominions were surrounded on all sides by the possessions of one or the other branch of that ambitious family, and might be invaded by superior forces from every quarter. It concerned the King of France therefore to prevent the peaceable establishment of the Emperor in his new conquests; and both by the situation and greater power of his state, he was better enabled than James to give succor to the distressed Palatine. But tho' these views escaped not Louis, nor Cardinal Richelieu, who began to acquire an ascendant over his master; that minister was determined to prepare his vast enterprizes, by first subduing the Hugonots, and thence to proceed, by mature councils, Treaty with France.

to

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to humble the houſe of Auſtria. The proſpect, however, of a conjunction with England was preſently embraced, and all imaginable encouragement was given to every propoſal for conciliating a marriage betwixt Charles and the Princeſs Henrietta.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſenſible experience, which James might have acquired, of the unſurmountable antipathy entertained by his ſubjects againſt all alliance with catholics, he ſtill perſevered in the ridiculous opinion, that his ſon would be degraded, by receiving into his bed a princeſs of leſs than royal pedigree. After the rupture, therefore, with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France; and to that court he immediately applied himſelf. The ſame allurements had not here place, which had ſo long entangled him in the Spaniſh negotiation: The portion promiſed was much inferior; and the peaceable reſtoration of the Palatine could not thence be expected. But being afraid, leſt his ſon ſhould be altogether diſappointed of a bride, as ſoon as the chriſtian King demanded, for the honor of his crown, the ſame terms which had been granted to the catholic, James was prevailed with to comply. And as the Prince, during his abode in Spain, had given a verbal promiſe to allow the Infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inſerted in the treaty; and to that imprudence is generally imputed the preſent diſtreſſed condition of his poſterity. The court of England, however, it muſt be confeſſed, always pretended, even in their memorials to the French court, that all the favorable conditions, granted to the catholics, were inſerted in the marriage treaty merely to pleaſe the Pope, and that their ſtrict execution, by an agreement with France, was ſecretly diſpenſed with *.

As much as the concluſion of the marriage treaty was acceptable to the King, as much were all the military enterprizes diſagreeable, both from the extreme difficulty of the undertaking, in which he was engaged, and from his own incapacity for ſuch a ſcene of action.

DURING the Spaniſh negotiation, Heidelberg and Manheim had been taken by the imperial forces; and Frankendale, tho' the garriſon was entirely Engliſh, was cloſely beſieged by them. Upon re-iterated remonſtrances from James, Spain interpoſed,

* Rymer, tom. 18. p. 224. Tis certain, that the young Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. had proteſtant governors from his early infancy, firſt the Earl of Newcaſtle, then the Marquis of Hertford. The King, in his memorial to foreign churches after the commencement of the civil wars, inſiſts on his care in educating his children to the proteſtant religion, as a proof that he was no way inclined to the catholic. Ruſhworth, vol. 5. p. 752. It can ſcarce, therefore, be queſtioned, but this article, which has ſo odd an appearance, was inſerted only to amuſe the Pope, and was never intended by either party to be executed.

interpoſed, and procured a ſuſpenſion of arms during eighteen months. But as Frankendale was the only place of his antient dominions, which continued in Frederic's hands, Ferdinand, being deſirous of withdrawing his forces from the Palatinate, and of leaving that ſtate in ſecurity, was unwilling, that ſo important a fortreſs ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. To compound all differences, it was agreed to ſequeſtrate it in the Infanta's hands as a neutral perſon; upon condition, that, after the expiration of the truce, it ſhould be delivered to Frederic; tho' peace ſhould not, at that time, be concluded betwixt him and Ferdinand. After the unexpected rupture with Spain, when James demanded the execution of the treaty, the Infanta offered him peaceable poſſeſſion of Frankendale, and even promiſed ſecure paſſage for the garriſon thro' the Spaniſh Netherlands: But there was ſome territory of the empire interpoſed betwixt her ſtate and the Palatinate; and for paſſage over that territory no terms were ſtipulated. By this chicane, which certainly had not been employed, if amity with Spain had been preſerved, the Palatine was totally diſpoſſeſſed of all his patrimonial dominions. Chap. V. 1624.

THE Engliſh nation, however, and James's warlike council were not diſcouraged. It was ſtill reſolved to reconquer the Palatinate; a ſtate lying in the midſt of Germany, poſſeſſed entirely by the Emperor and Bavaria, ſurrounded by potent enemies, and cut off from all communication with England. Count Mansfeldt was taken into pay; and an Engliſh army of 12,000 foot and 200 horſe were levied by a general preſs thro'out the kingdom. During the negotiation with France, vaſt promiſes had been made, tho' in general terms, by the French miniſtry; not only, that a free paſſage ſhould be granted the Engliſh troops, but alſo that powerful ſuccors ſhould join them in their march towards the Palatinate. In England, all theſe profeſſions were haſtily interpreted to be poſitive engagements. The troops, under Mansfeldt's command, were embarked at Dover; but upon ſailing over to Calais, found no orders yet arrived for their admiſſion. After waiting in vain for ſome time, they were obliged to ſail towards Zealand; where no proper meaſures were yet concerted for their diſembarkation; and ſome ſcruples aroſe among the ſtates on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions. Mean while, a peſtilential diſtemper crept in among the Engliſh forces, ſo long coopped up in narrow veſſels. Half the army died while on board; and the other half, weakened by ſickneſs, appeared too ſmall a body to march into the Palatinate. And thus ended this ill concerted and fruitleſs expedition; the only diſaſter, which happened to England, during the proſperous and pacific reign of James. Mansfeldt's expedition. December. 1625.

Chap. V. 1625.

THAT reign was now drawing towards a concluſion. With peace, ſo ſucceſsfully cultivated, and ſo paſſionately loved by this monarch, his life alſo terminated. This ſpring, he was ſeized with a tertian ague; and, when encouraged by his courtiers with the common proverb, that this diſtemper, during that ſeaſon, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. After ſome fits, he found himſelf extremely weakened, and ſent for the Prince, whom he exhorted to bear a tender affection for his wife, but to preſerve a conſtancy in religion; to protect the church of England; and to extend his care towards the unhappy family of the Palatine. With decency and courage, he prepared himſelf for his end; and he expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of twenty two years and a few days; and in the fifty ninth year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almoſt of equal duration with his life.

Death of the King.

His character.

No prince, ſo little enterprizing and ſo inoffenſive, was ever ſo much expoſed to the oppoſite extremes of calumny and flattery, of ſatyre and panegyric. And the factions, which began in his time, being ſtill continued, have made his character be as much diſputed to this day, as is commonly that of princes who are our contemporaries. Many virtues, however, it muſt be owned, he was poſſeſſed of; but no one of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighboring vices. His generoſity bordered on profuſion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific diſpoſition on puſillanimity, his wiſdom on cunning, his friendſhip on light fancy and boyiſh fondneſs. While he imagined, that he was only maintaining his own authority, he may juſtly be ſuſpected, in ſome of his actions, and ſtill more of his pretenſions, to have encroached on the liberties of his people: While he endeavored, by an exact neutrality, to acquire the good will of all his neighbors, he was able to preſerve fully the eſteem and regard of none. His capacity was conſiderable; but fitter to diſcourſe on general maxims than to conduct any intricate buſineſs: His intentions were juſt; but more adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of kingdoms. Aukward in his perſon, and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command reſpect; partial and undiſcerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Of a feeble temper more than of a frail judgment: Expoſed to our ridicule from his vanity; but exempt from our hatred by his freedom from pride and arrogance. And upon the whole, it may be pronounced of his character, that all his qualities were ſullied with weakneſs, and embelliſhed by humanity. Political courage he certainly was devoid of; and from thence chiefly is derived the ſtrong prejudice which prevails againſt his perſonal bravery: An inference, however, which muſt be owned, from general experience, to be extremely fallacious.

He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died on the 3d of March, 1619, in the forty fifth year of her age; a woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues. She loved expenſive amuſements and ſhows; but poſſeſſed no taſte in her pleaſures. A great comet appeared about the time of her death; and the vulgar eſteemed it the forerunner of that event. So conſiderable in their eyes are even the moſt inſignificant princes.

He left only one ſon, Charles, then in the twenty fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine. She was aged twenty nine years. Thoſe alone remained of ſix legitimate children born to him. He never had any illegitimate; and he never diſcovered any tendency, even the ſmalleſt, towards a paſſion for any miſtreſs.

The Archbiſhops of Canterbury during this reign were, Whytgift, who died in 1604; Bancroft, in 1610; Abbot, who ſurvived the King. The chancellors, Lord Elleſmore, who reſigned in 1617; Bacon was firſt Lord keeper till 1619, then was created chancellor, and was diſplaced in 1621; Williams, biſhop of Lincoln was created Lord keeper in his place. The high treaſurers were the Earl of Dorſet, who died in 1609; the Earl of Saliſbury, in 1612; the Earl of Suffolk fined and diſplaced for bribery in 1618; Lord Mandeville, reſigned in 1021; Earl of Middleſex, diſplaced in 1624; the Earl of Marlborough ſucceeded. The Lord admirals were, the Earl of Nottingham, who reſigned in 1618; the Earl, afterwards Duke of Buckingham. The ſecretaries of ſtate were, the Earl of Saliſbury, Sir Ralph Winwood, Nanton, Calvert, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton.

The numbers of the houſe of lords, in the firſt parliament of this reign, beſide the biſhops, were ſeventy eight temporal peers. The numbers in the firſt parliament of Charles were ninety ſeven. Conſequently James, during that period, created nineteen new peerages above thoſe that expired.

The houſe of commons, in the firſt parliament of this reign, conſiſted of four hundred and ſixty ſeven members. It appears, that four burroughs revived their charters, which they had formerly neglected. And as the firſt parliament of Charles conſiſted of four hundred and ninety four members, we may infer that James erected ten new burroughs.

CHAP. VI.

Civil government of England during this period.——Eccleſiaſtical government.—— Manners.——Finances.——Navy.—— Commerce.——Manufactures.——Colonies.——Learning and arts.

Civil government of England.

IT may not be improper, at this period, to make a pauſe; and, departing a little from the hiſtorical ſtyle, take a ſurvey of the ſtate of the kingdom, with regard to government, manners, finances, arms, trade, learning. Where a juſt notion is not formed of theſe particulars, hiſtory can be very little inſtructive, and often will not be intelligible.

WE may ſafely pronounce, that the Engliſh government, at the acceſſion of the Scottiſh line, was much more arbitrary, than it is at preſent, the prerogative more unlimited, the liberties of the ſubject leſs accurately defined and ſecured. Without mentioning other particulars, the courts alone of high commiſſion and ſtar-chamber were ſufficient to lay the whole kingdom at the mercy of the prince.

THE court of high commiſſion had been erected by Elizabeth, in conſequence of an act of parliament, paſſed at the beginning of her reign: By this act, it was thought proper, during the great revolution of religion, to arm the ſovereign with full powers, in order to diſcourage and ſuppreſs oppoſition. All appeals from the inferior eccleſiaſtical courts were carried before the high commiſſion; and, of conſequence, the whole life and doctrine of the clergy lay directly under its inſpection. Every breach of the act of uniformity, every refuſal of the ceremonies, was cognizable in this court; and, during the reign of Elizabeth, had been puniſhed by deprivation, by fines, confiſcations, and impriſonment. James contented himſelf with the gentler penalty of deprivation; nor was that puniſhment inflicted with rigor on every offender *. All the catholics too were liable to be puniſhed by this court, if they exerciſed any act of their religion, or were any way active in ſending abroad their children or other relations, to receive that education, which they could not procure them in their own country. Popiſh prieſts were thrown into priſon, and might be delivered over to the law, which puniſhed them

* Archbiſhop Spotſwood tells us, that he was informed by Bancroft, ſeveral years after the King's acceſſion, that not above 45 clergymen had been deprived. We may ſafely regard that number as almoſt the whole, that ſuffered during this reign. Abbot, who ſucceeded Bancroft in the ſee of Canterbury was very gentle to the puritans.

them with death; tho' that ſeverity had been ſparingly exerciſed by Elizabeth, and never almoſt by James. In ſhort, that precious liberty of conſcience, which we ſo highly value at preſent, was totally ſuppreſſed; and no exerciſe of any religion, but the eſtabliſhed, was permitted thro'out the kingdom. Any word or writing, which tended towards hereſy or ſchiſm or ſedition, was puniſhable by the high commiſſioners or any three of them: They alone were judges what expreſſions had that tendency: They proceeded not by information, but upon rumor, ſuſpicion, or according to their own fancy: They adminiſtred an oath, by which the party, cited before them, was bound to anſwer any queſtion, which ſhould be propounded to him: Whoever refuſed this oath, tho' under pretext that he might thereby be brought to accuſe himſelf or his deareſt friend, was puniſhable by impriſonment: And in ſhort, an inquiſitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom. Full diſcretionary powers were beſtowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, ſentence, and penalty inflicted; excepting only that corporal puniſhments were reſtrained by that patent of the prince, which erected that court, not by the act of parliament, which empowered him. By reaſon of the uncertain limits, which ſeparate eccleſiaſtical from civil cauſes, all accuſations of adultery and inceſt were tried by the court of high commiſſion; and every complaint of wives againſt their huſbands was there examined and diſcuſſed *. Under like pretexts, every cauſe, which regarded conſcience, that is, every cauſe, could have been brought under their juriſdiction. Chap. VII. 1625.

BUT there was a ſufficient reaſon, why the king would not be anxious to ſtretch the juriſdiction of this court: The ſtar-chamber poſſeſſed the ſame authority in civil matters; and its methods of proceeding were equally arbitrary and unlimited. The origin of this court was derived from the moſt remote antiquity; tho', 'tis pretended, that its power had been firſt carried to the utmoſt height by Henry VII. At all times, however, 'tis confeſſed, it enjoyed authority; and at no time was its authority circumſcribed, or method of proceeding directed, by any preciſe law or ſtatute.

WE have had already, or ſhall have ſufficient occaſion, during the courſe of this hiſtory, to mention the diſpenſing power, the power of impriſonment, of exacting forced loans † and benevolence, of preſſing and quartering ſoldiers, of altering the cuſtoms, of erecting monopolies. Theſe branches of power, if not directly oppoſite to the principles of all free government, muſt, at leaſt, be acknowleged deſtructive to freedom in a monarchical conſtitution; where an eternal jealouſy muſt be preſerved againſt the ſovereign, and no diſcretionary powers muſt ever be entruſted

* Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 200.

† During the two laſt centuries, no reign had paſſed without ſome forced loans from the ſubject.

Chap. VI. 1625.

entruſted to him, by which any ſubject can be affected. The kings of England, however, had almoſt conſtantly exerciſed theſe powers; and if, on any occaſion, the prince had been obliged to ſubmit to laws enacted againſt them, he had ever, in practice, eluded theſe laws, and returned to the ſame arbitrary adminiſtration. During a whole century before the acceſion of James, the regal authority, in almoſt all theſe particulars, had never once been called in queſtion.

We may alſo obſerve, that the principles in general, which prevailed during that age, were ſo favorable to monarchy, that they beſtowed on it an authority almoſt abſolute and unlimited, ſacred and indefeizable.

The meetings of parliament were ſo precarious; their ſeſſions ſo ſhort, compared to the vacations; that, when men's eyes were turned upwards in ſearch of ſovereign power, the prince alone was apt to ſtrike them as the only permanent magiſtrate, inveſted with the whole majeſty and authority of the ſtate. The great complaiſance too of parliaments, during ſo long a period, had extremely degraded and obſcured thoſe aſſemblies; and as all inſtances of oppoſition to prerogative muſt have been drawn from a remote age, they were unknown to a great many, and had the leſs authority even with thoſe, who were acquainted with them. Theſe examples, beſides, of liberty, had commonly been accompanied with ſuch circumſtances of violence, convulſion, civil war, and diſorder, that they preſented but a diſagreeable image to the inquiſitive part of the people, and afforded ſmall inducement to renew ſuch diſmal ſcenes. By a great many, therefore, monarchy, ſimple and unmixed, was conceived to be the goverrment of England; and thoſe popular aſſemblies were imagined to form only the ornament of the fabric, without being, in any degree, eſſential to its being and exiſtence *. The prerogative of the crown was

* "Monarchies," according to Sir Walter Raleigh, "are of two ſorts, touching their power or "authority, *viz.* 1. Entire, where the whole power of ordering all ſtate-matters, both in peace "and war, doth, by law and cuſtom, appertain to the prince, as in the Engliſh kingdom; where "the prince hath the power to make laws, league and war; to create magiſtrates; to pardon life; "of appeal, *&c.* Tho', to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a ſuffrage in making "laws, yet ever ſubject to the princes pleaſure and negative will.—2. Limited or reſtrained, that "hath no full power in all the points and matters of ſtate, as the military king, that hath not the "ſovereignty in time of peace, as the making of laws, *&c.* But in war only, as the POLONI-"AN king. *Maxims of State.*"

And a little after, "In every juſt ſtate, ſome part of the government is, or ought to be, impart-"ed to the people, as in a kingdom, a voice and ſuffrage in making laws; and ſometimes alſo of "levying of arms (if the charge be great, and the prince forced to borrow help of his ſubjects) the "matter rightly may be propounded to a parliament, that the tax may *ſeem* to have proceeded from "themſelves. So conſultations and ſome proceedings in judicial matters may, in part, be referred "to them. The reaſon, leſt, ſeeing themſelves to be in no number nor of reckoning, they miſlike "the

was repreſented by lawyers as ſomething real and durable; like thoſe eternal eſ- Chap. VI. 1625.
ſences of the ſchools, which no time nor force could alter. The ſanction of religion

"the ſtate or government." This way or reaſoning differs little from that of the King, who conſidered the privileges of the parliament as matters of grace and indulgence, more than of inheritance. 'Tis remarkable, that Raleigh was eſteemed to lean towards the puritanical party, notwithſtanding theſe poſitions. But ideas of government change much in different times.

Raleigh's ſentiments on this head are ſtill more openly expreſſed, in his *Prerogative of parliaments*, a work not publiſhed till after his death. 'Tis a dialogue betwixt a courtier or counſellor and a country juſtice of peace, who repreſents the patriot party, and defends the higheſt notions of liberty, which the principles of that age would bear. Here is a paſſage of it: "*Counſellor*. That which is "done by the king, with the advice of his private or privy council, is done by the king's abſolute "power. *Juſtice*. And by whoſe power is it done in parliament but by the king's abſolute power? "Miſtake it not, my Lord: The three eſtates do but adviſe as the privy council doth; which ad- "vice, if the king embrace, it becomes the king's own act in the one, and the king's law in the "other, *&c.*"

The Earl of Clare, in a private letter to his ſon-in-law Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, thus expreſſes himſelf, "We live under a prerogative-government, where book-law "ſubmits to *lex loquens*." He ſpoke from his own, and all his anceſtors, experience. There was no ſingle inſtance of power, which a king of England might not, at that time, exert, under pretext of neceſſity or expediency: The continuance alone or frequent repetition of arbitrary adminiſtration might prove dangerous, for want of force to ſupport it. 'Tis remarkable that this letter of the Earl of Clare was wrote in the firſt year of Charles's reign; and conſequently muſt be meant of the general genius of the government, not the ſpirit or temper of the monarch. See Strafford's letters, vol. 1. p. 32. From another letter in the ſame collection, vol. 1. p. 10. it appears, that the council ſometimes aſſumed the power of forbidding perſons, diſagreeable to the court, to ſtand in the elections. This authority they could exert in ſome inſtances; but we are not thence to infer, that they could ſhut the door of that houſe to every one who was not acceptable to them. The genius of the antient government repoſed more truſt in the king, than to entertain any ſuch ſuſpicion, and it allowed ſcattered inſtances, of ſuch a kind as would have been totally deſtructive of the conſtitution, had they been continued without interruption.

I have not met with any Engliſh writer of that age, who ſpeaks of England as a limited monarchy, but as an abſolute one, where the people have many privileges. That is no contradiction. In all European monarchies, the people have privileges; but, whether dependant or independant on the will of the monarch, is a queſtion, that, in moſt governments, it is beſt to forbear. Surely that queſtion was not determined, before the age of James. The riſing ſpirit of the parliament, along with that King's love of general, ſpeculative principles, brought it from its obſcurity, and made it be generally canvaſſed. The ſtrongeſt teſtimony, which I remember from a writer of James's age, in favor of Engliſh liberty, is in Cardinal Bentivoglio, a foreigner, who mentions the Engliſh government as ſimilar to that of the low-country provinces under their princes, rather than to that of France or Spain. Engliſhmen were not ſo ſenſible, that their prince was limited; becauſe they were ſenſible, that no individual had any full ſecurity againſt a ſtretch of prerogative: But foreigners, by compariſon, could perceive, that theſe ſtretches, from cuſtom or other cauſes, were, at that time, leſs frequent in England than in other monarchies. Philip de Comines too remarked the Engliſh conſtitution, to be more popular, in his time, than that of France.

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gion, was, by divines, called in aid; and the Monarch of heaven was ſuppoſed to be intereſted in ſupporting the authority of his earthly vicegerent. And tho' theſe doctrines were perhaps more openly inculcated and more ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on during the reign of the Stuarts, they were not then invented; and were only found more neceſſary at that period, by reaſon of the oppoſite doctrines, which began to be promulgated by the puritannical party *.

In conſequence of theſe exalted ideas of kingly authority, the prerogative, beſide the inſtances of juriſdiction, founded on precedent, was, by many, ſuppoſed to poſſeſs an inexhauſtible fund of latent powers, which might be exerted on any emergence. In every government, neceſſity, when real, ſuperſedes all laws, and levels all limitations: But, in the Engliſh government, convenience alone was conceived to authorize any extraordinary act of regal power, and to render it obligatory on the people. Hence the ſtrict obedience required to proclamations, during all periods of the Engliſh hiſtory; and, if James has incurred blame on account of his edicts, 'tis only becauſe he multiplied them at a time, when they began to be leſs regarded, not becauſe he firſt aſſumed that exerciſe of authority. Of his maxims in a parallel caſe, the following is a pretty remarkable inſtance.

Queen Elizabeth had appointed commiſſioners for the inſpection of priſons, and had beſtowed on them full diſcretionary powers to adjuſt all differences betwixt priſoners and their creditors, to compound debts, and to give liberty to ſuch debtors as they found honeſt, and incapable of making full payment. From the uncertain and undefined nature of the Engliſh conſtitution, doubts ſprang up in many

* Paſſive obedience is expreſsly and zealouſly inculcated in the homilies, compoſed and publiſhed by authority, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The convocation, which met in the very firſt year of the King's reign, voted as high monarchical principles as are contained in the decrees of the univerſity of Oxford, voted during the reign of the tories. Theſe principles, ſo far from being eſteemed a novelty, introduced by King James's influence, paſſed ſo ſmoothly, that no hiſtorian has taken notice of them: They were never the ſubject of controverſy, or diſpute, or diſcourſe; and it is only by means of biſhop Overall's Convocation-book, printed near 70 years after, that we are acquainted with them. Would James, who was ſo cautious, and even timid, have ventured to begin his reign with a bold ſtroke, which would have given juſt ground of jealouſy to his ſubjects? It appears, from that monarch's Baſilicon Doron, wrote while he was in Scotland, that the republican ideas of the origin of power from the people were, at that time, eſteemed puritannical novelties. The patriarchal ſcheme, 'tis remarkable, is inculcated in thoſe votes of the convocation preſerved by Overall; nor was Filmer the firſt inventer of thoſe abſurd notions. Into how many ſhapes have political reaſonings been turned, in order to avoid an obvious, but, it ſeems, too homely a truth? The patriarchal ſcheme is nonſenſe. The original contract is oppoſed by experience. Men are unwilling to confeſs, that all government is derived from violence, uſurpation or injuſtice, ſanctified by time, and ſometimes by a ſeeming imperfect conſent.

many, that this commiſſion was contrary to law; and it was repreſented in that light to James. He forbore therefore to renew the commiſſion, till the fifteenth of his reign; when complaints roſe ſo high, with regard to the abuſes practiſed in priſons, that he thought himſelf obliged to overcome his ſcruples, and to appoint new commiſſioners, inveſted with the ſame diſcretionary powers, which Elizabeth had formerly conferred *.

UPON the whole, we muſt conceive that monarchy, on the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, was poſſeſſed of a very extenſive authority: An authority, in the judgment of all, not exactly limited; in the judgment of ſome, not limitable. But, at the ſame time, this authority was founded merely on the opinion of the people, influenced by antient precedent and example. It was not ſupported either by money or by force of arms. And, for that reaſon, we need not wonder, that the princes of that line were ſo extremely jealous of their prerogative; being ſenſible, that, when thoſe claims were raviſhed from them, they poſſeſſed no influence, by which they could maintain their dignity. By the changes, which have ſince been introduced, the liberty and independence of individuals has been rendered much more full, intire, and ſecure; that of the public more uncertain and precarious.

Eccleſiaſtical government.

WE have had occaſion to remark, in ſo many inſtances, the bigotry, which prevailed in that age, that we can look for no toleration among the different ſects. Two arians, under the title of heretics, were puniſhed with fire during this period; and no one reign, ſince the reformation, had been free from like barbarities. Stowe ſays, that theſe arians were offered their pardon at the ſtake, if they would merit it by a recantation. A madman, who called himſelf the Holy Ghoſt, was, without any indulgence for his frenzy, condemned by the biſhop of Lichfield to the ſame puniſhment. Twenty pounds a month, by law, could be levied from every one, who frequented not the eſtabliſhed worſhip. This rigorous law, however, had one indulgent clauſe, that the fines exacted ſhould not exceed two thirds of the yearly income of the perſon. It had been uſual for Elizabeth to allow thoſe penalties to run on for ſeveral years; and to levy them all at once, to the utter ruin of ſuch catholics, as had incurred her diſpleaſure. James was more humane in this as in every other reſpect. The puritans formed a ſect, which ſecretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any ſeparate worſhip or diſcipline. An attempt of that kind would have been regarded as the moſt unpardonable enormity.

THE liberty of the preſs was incompatible with ſuch maxims and ſuch principles of government, and was therefore quite unknown in that age. Beſide the two

* Rymer, tom. xviii. p. 117, 594.

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terrible courts of ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion, whoſe power was unlimited; Queen Elizabeth exerted her authority by reſtraints upon the preſs. She paſſed a decree in her court of ſtar-chamber, that is, by her own will and pleaſure, forbidding any book to be printed in any place but in London, Oxford, and Cambridge*: And another, in which ſhe prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the publiſhing any book or pamphlet *againſt the form or meaning of any reſtraint or ordinance, contained or to be contained, in any ſtatute or laws of this realm, or in any injunction made or ſet forth by her Majeſty or her privy council, or againſt the true ſenſe or meaning of any letters patent, commiſſions or prohibitions under the great ſeal of England*†. James extended the ſame penalties to the importing ſuch books from abroad ‡. And, to render thoſe edicts more effectual, he afterwards prohibited the printing any book without a permiſſion from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of London, or the vice chancellor of one of the univerſities, or of ſome perſon appointed by them ‖.

Manners.

THE manners of the nation were ſuitable to the monarchical government, which prevailed; and contained not that ſtrange mixture, which, at preſent, diſtinguiſhes England from all other countries. Such violent extremes were then unknown, of induſtry and debauchery, frugality and profuſion, civility and ruſticity, fanaticiſm and ſcepticiſm. Candor, ſincerity, modeſty are the only qualities, which the Engliſh of that age poſſeſſed in common with the preſent.

HIGH pride of family then prevailed; and it was by a dignity and ſtatelineſs of behavior, that the gentry and nobility diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the common people. Great riches, acquired by commerce, were more rare, and had not, as yet, been able to confound all ranks of men, and render money the chief foundation of diſtinction. Much ceremony took place in the common intercourſe of life, and little familiarity was indulged by the great. The advantages, which reſult from opulence, are ſo ſolid and real, that thoſe poſſeſſed of them need not dread the near approaches of their inferiors. The diſtinctions of birth and title, being more empty and imaginary, ſoon vaniſh upon familiar acceſs and acquaintance.

THE expences of the great conſiſted in pomp and ſhow and a numerous retinue rather than in convenience and true pleaſure. The Earl of Nottingham, in his embaſſy to Spain, was attended with 500 perſons: The Earl of Hertford, in that to Bruſſels, carried 300 gentlemen along with him.

CIVIL

* 28th of Eliz. See ſtate-trials: Sir Rob. Knightley, vol. 7. edit. 1. † Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 522. ‡ *Id. ibid.* ‖ *Id.* p. 616.

CIVIL honors, which now occupy the first place, were, at that time, subordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of distinguishing themselves by arms. The fury of duels too prevailed more than at any time before or since. This was the turn, that the romantic chivalry, for which the nation was formerly so renowned, had lately taken. Chap. VI. 1625.

LIBERTY of commerce betwixt the sexes was indulged; but without any licentiousness of manners. The court was very little an exception to this observation. James had entertained rather an aversion and contempt for the females; nor were those young courtiers, of whom he was so fond, able to break thro' the established manners of the nation.

THE country life prevails at present in England beyond any nation of Europe, except Poland; but it was then much more generally embraced by all the gentry. The increase of arts, pleasures, and social commerce, was just beginning to produce an inclination for the softer and more civilized life of the city. James discouraged, as much as possible, this alteration of manners. "He was wont to be "very earnest," as Lord Bacon says, "with the country-gentlemen to go from "London to their country-seats. And sometimes he would say thus to them: "*Gentlemen, at London, you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but, in "your country-villages, you are like ships in a river, which look like great things* *."

HE was not contented with reproofs, and exhortations. As Queen Elizabeth had perceived, with regrete, the increase of London, and had restrained all new buildings by proclamation; James, who found, that these edicts were not exactly obeyed, frequently renewed them; tho' a strict execution seems still to have been wanting. Re-iterated proclamations he also issued, in imitation of his predecessor; accompanied with severe menaces against the gentry, who lived in town †. This policy is contrary to that, which has ever been practised by all princes, who studied the increase of their authority. To allure the nobility to court; to engage them in expensive pleasures or employments, which involve their fortune; to increase their subjection to ministers by attendance; to weaken their authority in the provinces by absence: These have been the common arts of arbitrary government. But James had no money to support a splendid court, or bestow on a numerous retinue of gentry and nobility. He thought too, that, by their living together, they became more sensible of their own strength, and were apt to indulge too curious researches into matters of government. To remedy the present evil, he was desirous of dispersing them into their country-seats; where, he hoped, they would bear a more submissive reverence to his authority, and receive less support from each other. But the contrary effect soon followed. The riches, amassed,

* Apophthegms. † Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 632.

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during their reſidence at home, rendered them independant. The influence, acquired by hoſpitality, made them formidable. They would not be led by the court: They could not be driven: And thus the ſyſtem of the Engliſh government received a total and a ſudden alteration in the courſe of leſs than forty years.

THE firſt riſe of commerce and the arts had contributed, in preceding reigns, to ſcatter thoſe immenſe fortunes of the barons, which rendered them ſo formidable both to king and people. The farther progreſs of theſe advantages began, during this reign, to ruin the ſmall proprietors of land*; and, by both events, the gentry, or that rank which compoſed the houſe of commons, enlarged their power and authority. The early improvements in luxury were ſeized by the greater nobles, whoſe fortunes, placing them above frugality, or even calculation, were ſoon diſſipated in expenſive pleaſures. Theſe improvements reached at laſt all men of property; and thoſe of ſlender fortunes, who, at that time, were often men of family, imitating thoſe of a rank immediately above them, reduced themſelves to poverty. Their lands, coming to ſale, ſwelled the fortune of thoſe, who poſſeſſed riches ſufficient for the faſhionable expences; but who were not exempted from ſome care and attention to their domeſtic oeconomy.

THE gentry too of that age were engaged in no expence, except that of country hoſpitality. No taxes were levied, no wars waged, no attendance at court expected, no bribery or profuſion required at elections†. Could human nature ever reach happineſs, the condition of the Engliſh gentry, under ſo mild and benign a prince, might merit that appellation.

Finances.

THE condition of the King's revenue, as it ſtood in 1617, is thus ſtated‡. Of crown lands, 80,000 a-year; by cuſtoms and new impoſitions, near 190,000; by wards and other various branches of revenue, beſide purveyance, 180,000. The whole amounting to 450,000. The King's ordinary diſburſements, by the ſame account, is ſaid to exceed this ſum thirty ſix thouſand pound‖. All the extraordinary ſums, which he had raiſed by ſubſidies, loans, ſale of lands, ſale of the title of baronet, money payed by the ſtates and by the King of France, benevolences, *&c.* were, in the whole, about two millions, two hundred thouſand pound.

* Cabbala, p. 224. firſt edit.

† Men ſeem then to have been ambitious of repreſenting the counties, but careleſs of the burroughs. A ſeat, in the houſe was, in itſelf, of ſmall importance: But the former became a point of honor among the gentlemen, journ. 10. Feb. 1620. Towns, which had formerly neglected their right of ſending members, now began to claim it. Journ. 26. Feb. 1623.

‡ See abſtract, or brief declaration of his Majeſty's revenue, with the aſſignations and defalcations upon the ſame.

‖ The exceſs was formerly greater, as appears by Saliſbury's account, See chap. 2.

pound. Of which the ſale of lands afforded ſeven hundred and ſeventy five thouſand pounds. The extraordinary diſburſements of the King amounted to two millions; beſide above four hundred thouſand pound given in preſents. Upon the whole, a ſufficient reaſon appears, partly from neceſſary expences, partly from want of oeconomy, why the King, even early in his reign, was very deeply involved in debt.

FARMERS, not commiſſioners, levied the cuſtoms. It ſeems, indeed, requiſite, that the former method ſhould always be tried before the latter; tho' a preferable one. When men's own intereſt is concerned, they fall upon a hundred expedients to prevent fraud in the merchants; and theſe the public may afterwards imitate, in eſtabliſhing proper rules for its officers.

THE cuſtoms were ſuppoſed to amount to five *per cent* of the value, and were levied upon exports, as well as imports. Nay the impoſition upon exports, by James's arbitrary additions, is ſaid to amount to twenty five *per cent*. This practice, ſo hurtful to induſtry, prevails ſtill in France, Spain, and moſt countries of Europe. 'Tis ſtrange, that it ſhould alſo be continued in Ireland. The cuſtoms in 1604, yielded 127,000 pounds a-year *: They roſe to 160,000 pounds towards the end of the reign †.

INTEREST during this reign, was never below eight *per cent*: An indication of the great profits and ſmall progreſs of commerce.

ALL the extraordinary ſupplies granted by the parliament, during this whole reign, amounted not to more than 630,000 pounds; which, divided among twenty one years, makes 30,000 pounds a-year. I comprehend not thoſe ſupplies, amounting to 300,000 pounds, which were given the King by his laſt parliament. Theſe were paid into their commiſſioners; and the expences of the Spaniſh war would be much more than ſufficient to exhauſt them. The diſtreſſed family of the Palatine was a great burthen on James, during part of his reign. The King, it muſt be owned, poſſeſſed not frugality, proportioned to the narrowneſs of his revenue. Splendid equipages, however, he did not affect, nor coſtly furniture, nor a luxurious table, nor prodigal miſtreſſes. His buildings too were not ſumptuous; tho' the banquetting houſe muſt not be forgot, as a monument, which does honor to his reign. Hunting was his chief amuſement, the cheapeſt pleaſure in which a king can indulge himſelf. His expences were the effects of liberality, rather than of luxury.

ONE day, 'tis ſaid, while he was ſtanding amid ſome of his courtiers, a porter paſſed by, loaded with money, which he was carrying to the treaſury. The King obſerved, that Rich, afterwards Earl of Holland, one of his handſome agree-

able

* Journ. 21. of May, 1604. † Id. 31. May 1621.

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able favorites, whiſpered ſomewhat to one ſtanding near him. Upon enquiry, he found, that Rich had ſaid, *How happy would that money make me!* Without heſitation, James beſtowed it all upon him, tho' it amounted to 3000 pounds. He added, *You think yourſelf very happy in obtaining ſo large a ſum; but I am more happy, in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man, whom I love.* The generoſity of James was more the reſult of a benign humor or light fancy than of reaſon or judgment. The objects of it were ſuch as could render themſelves agreeable to him in his looſe hours; not ſuch as were endowed with great merit, or who poſſeſſed talents or popularity, which could ſtrengthen his intereſt with the people.

SUBSIDIES and fifteenths are frequently mentioned by hiſtorians; but neither the amount of theſe taxes, nor the method of impoſing them have been well explained. It appears, that the fifteenths formerly correſponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables *. But a valuation being made, during the reign of Edward III. that valuation was always adhered to, and each town payed unalterably a particular ſum, which they themſelves aſſeſſed upon the inhabitants. The ſame tax in corporate towns was called a tenth; probably, becauſe there it was, at firſt, a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth and fifteenth thro' the kingdom, or a fifteenth, as it is often more conciſely called, was about 29,000 pound †. The amount of a ſubſidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth of Elizabeth, a ſubſidy amounted to 120,000 pound: In the fortieth, it was not above 78,000 ‡. It afterwards fell to 70,000; and was continually decreaſing ‖. The reaſon is eaſily collected from the method of levying it. We may learn from the ſubſidy bills **, that one ſubſidy was given for four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on moveables thro'out the counties; a conſiderable tax, had it been ſtrictly levied. But this was only the antient ſtate of a ſubſidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the fiftieth part of that ſum. The tax was ſo far perſonal, that a man payed only in the county where he lived, tho' he ſhould poſſeſs eſtates in other counties; and the aſſeſſors formed a looſe eſtimation of his property, and rated him accordingly. To preſerve, however, ſome rule in the eſtimation, it ſeems to have been the practice to keep an eye to paſt aſſeſſments, and to rate every man according as his anceſtors, or men of ſuch an eſtimated property, were accuſtomed to pay. This was a ſufficient reaſon, why ſubſidies would not

* Coke Inſt. book iv. cap. 1. Of fifteens, quinzins. † Id. ſubſidies temporary.
‡ Journ. 11. July 1610. ‖ Coke's inſt. book. iv. chap. 1. Subſidies temporary.
** See ſtatutes at large.

not increaſe, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of money and improvement of rents. But there was an evident reaſon, why they continually decreaſed. The favor, as is natural to ſuppoſe, ran always againſt the crown; eſpecially during the latter end of Elizabeth, when ſubſidies became numerous and frequent, and the ſums levied were conſiderable. The aſſeſſors, tho' accuſtomed to have an eye to paſt eſtimations, were not bound to obſerve any ſuch rule; but might rate anew any perſon, according to his preſent income. When rents fell, or parcels were ſold off an eſtate, the proprietor was ſure to repreſent theſe loſſes, and obtain a diminution of his ſubſidy; but where rents roſe, or new lands were purchaſed, he kept his own ſecret, and payed no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change was taken againſt the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. And to make the matter worſe, the alterations, which happened in property during this age were, in general, unfavorable to the crown. The ſmall proprietors, or twenty pound men (for none of leſs income payed any ſubſidy) went continually to decay; and when their eſtates were ſwallowed up by a greater, the new purchaſer increaſed not his ſubſidy. So looſe indeed is the whole method of rating ſubſidies, that the wonder was not how the tax ſhould continually diminiſh; but how it yielded any revenue at all to the king. It became at laſt ſo unequal and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it for a land tax. Chap. VI. 1625.

THE price of corn, during this reign, and by conſequence, that of the other neceſſaries of life, was no lower, or was rather higher, than at preſent. By a proclamation of James, eſtabliſhing public magazines, whenever wheat fell below thirty two ſhillings a quarter, rye below eighteen, barley below ſixteen, the commiſſioners were empowered to purchaſe corn for the magazines*. Theſe prices then are to be regarded as low; tho' they would paſs for very high by our preſent eſtimation. The beſt wool, during the greateſt part of James's reign, was at thirty three ſhillings a tod: At preſent, it is not above two thirds of that value; tho' it is to be preſumed, that our exports in woolen goods are conſiderably increaſed. The finer manufactures too, by the progreſs of art and induſtry, have been kept pretty near at the ſame value, if they have not rather diminiſhed, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of money. In Shakeſpear, the hoſteſs tells Falſtaff, that the ſhirts ſhe bought him were holland at eight ſhillings a yard; a very high price at this day, even ſuppoſing, what is not probable, that the beſt holland at that time was equal in goodneſs to the beſt which can now be purchaſed. In like manner, a yard of velvet, about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, was valued at two and

* Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 526.

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and twenty ſhillings *. I have not been able by any inquiry to learn the common price of butcher meat during the reign of James: But as bread is the chief article of food, and its price regulates that of every thing elſe, we may preſume, that cattle bore a high value as well as corn. Beſides, we muſt conſider, that the general turn of that age, which no laws could prevent, was the converting arable into paſture: A certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and conſequently that all butcher meat, as well as bread, was conſiderably higher than at preſent. We have a regulation of the market with regard to poultry and ſome other articles, very early in Charles I-'s reign †; and the prices are high. A turkey cock four ſhillings and ſixpence, a turkey hen three ſhillings, a pheaſant cock ſix ſhillings, a pheaſant hen five ſhillings, a partridge one ſhilling, a gooſe two ſhillings, a capon two and ſixpence, a pullet one and ſixpence, a rabbit eight pence, a dozen of pigeons ſix ſhillings. We muſt conſider, that London at preſent is more than three times the bulk it was at that time. A circumſtance, which much increaſes the price of poultry and of every thing that cannot conveniently be brought from a diſtance. The chief difference in expence betwixt that age and the preſent conſiſts in the imaginary wants of men, which have ſince extremely multiplied. Theſe are the principal reaſons, why James's revenue would go farther than the ſame money in our time; tho' the difference is not ſo great as is uſually imagined.

Arms.

THE public was entirely free from the great danger and expence of a ſtanding army. While James was vaunting his divine vicegerency, and boaſting of an almoſt unlimited prerogative, he poſſeſſed not ſo much as a ſingle regiment of guards to maintain his extenſive claims: A ſufficient proof, that he ſincerely believed his pretenſions to be well grounded, and a ſtrong preſumption, that they were at leaſt built on plauſible arguments. The militia of England, amounting to 160,000 men ‡, were the ſole defence of the kingdom. 'Tis pretended, that they were kept in very good order during this reign ‖. The city of London got officers, who had ſerved abroad, and who taught the trained bands their exerciſes in artillery-garden; a practice, which had been diſcontinued ſince 1588. All the counties of England, in emulation of the capital, were fond of ſhowing a well ordered and well appointed militia. The natural propenſity of men towards military ſhows and exerciſes will always be ſufficient, along with a little attention of the ſovereign, to excite and ſupport this ſpirit in any nation. The very boys, at this time, in mimickry

* See a compendium or dialogue inſerted in the Memoirs of Wool. chap. 23. † Rymer tom. xix. p. 511. ‡ Journ. 1. March, 1623. ‖ Stowe. See alſo Sir Walter Raleigh of the prerogatives of parliament, and Johnſtoni hiſt. lib. 18.

mickry of their elders, inliſted themſelves voluntarily into companies, elected officers, and practiſed the diſcipline, of which the models were every day expoſed to their obſervation *. Sir Edward Harwood, in a memorial compoſed at the beginning of the ſubſequent reign, ſays, that England was ſo unprovided of horſes fit for war, that 2000 men could not poſſibly be mounted thro'out the whole kingdom †. At preſent, the breed of horſes is ſo much improved, that almoſt all thoſe employed, either for the plough, waggon, or coach, would be fit for that purpoſe.

THE diſorders of Ireland obliged James to keep up ſome forces there, and put him to a great charge. The common pay of a private man in the infantry was eight pence a-day, a lieutenant two ſhillings, an enſign eighteen pence ‡. The armies in Europe were not near ſo numerous, during that age; and the private men, we may obſerve, were drawn from a better rank than at preſent, and approaching nearer to that of the officers ‖.

IN the year 1583, there was a general review made of all the men in England capable of bearing arms; and theſe were found to amount to 1,172,000 men, according to Raleigh §. It is impoſſible to warrant the exactneſs of this computation; or rather, we may fairly preſume it to be ſomewhat inaccurate. But, if it approached near the truth, England has probably, ſince that time, increaſed much in populouſneſs. The growth of London, in riches and beauty, as well as numbers of inhabitants, has been prodigious. From 1600, it doubled every forty years **; and conſequently in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants, as at the beginning of the century. It has ever been the center of all the trade in the kingdom; and almoſt the only town which affords ſociety and amuſement. The affection, which the Engliſh bear to a country life, makes the provincial towns be little frequented by the gentry. Nothing but the allurements of the capital, which is favored by the reſidence of the king, by being the ſeat of government, and of all the courts of law, can prevail over their paſſion for their rural villas.

LONDON, at this time, was almoſt intirely built of wood, and in every reſpect, was certainly a very ugly city. The Earl of Arundel firſt introduced the practice of brick buildings ††.

* Stowe. † In the Harleyan miſcellany, vol. iv. p. 255. ‡ Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 717.

‖ In older times, ſoldiers were ſtill of a higher rank. The Duke of Clarence, ſon to Edward III. when Lord lieutenant of Ireland, had for the pay of his army theſe appointments. For himſelf thirteen ſhillings and four pence a-day, for his knights two ſhillings a piece, for his archers ſix pence. This laſt would now be equal to a crown a-day. Sir John Davies, p. 35. edit. 1745.

§ Of the invention of ſhipping. ** Sir William Petty. †† Sir Edward Walker's political diſcourſes, p. 270.

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Navy.

THE navy of England was eſteemed very formidable in Elizabeth's time, yet it conſiſted only of thirty three ſhips beſides pinnaces *: And the largeſt of theſe would not equal our fourth rates at preſent. Raleigh adviſes never to build a ſhip of war above 600 tuns †. James was not negligent of the navy. In five years, preceding 1623, he built ten new ſhips, and expended fifty thouſand pound a-year on the fleet, beſide the value of thirty ſix thouſand pound in timber, which he annually gave from the royal forreſts ‡. The largeſt ſhip that ever had come from the Engliſh docks, was built during this reign. She was only 1400 tuns, and carried ſixty four guns ‖. The merchant ſhips, in caſes of neceſſity, were converted inſtantly into ſhips of war.

Commerce.

EVERY ſeſſion of parliament, during this whole reign, we meet with grievous lamentations of the decay of trade and the growth of popery: Such violent propenſity have men to complain of the preſent times, and to entertain diſcontents againſt their fortune and condition. The King himſelf was deceived by theſe popular complaints, and was at a loſs to account for the total want of money, which he heard ſo much exaggerated §. It may however be affirmed, that, during no period of Engliſh hiſtory, was there a more ſenſible increaſe, than during the reign of this monarch, of all the advantages, which diſtinguiſh a flouriſhing people. Not only the peace, which he procured, was favorable to induſtry and commerce: His turn of mind inclined him to promote the peaceful arts: And trade being as yet in its infancy, all additions to it would be the more evident to every eye, which was not blinded by melancholy prejudices **.

By

* Cokes inſt. book iv. chap. 1. Conſultation in parliament for the navy.

† By Raleigh's account in his diſcourſe of the firſt invention of ſhipping, the fleet in the twenty fourth of the Queen, conſiſted only of thirteen ſhips, and were augmented afterwards eleven. He probably reckoned ſome pinnaces, which Coke called ſhips.

‡ Journ. 11th of March 1623. ‖ Stowe. § Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 413.

** That of the honeſt hiſtorian Stowe ſeems not to have been of this number. "The great bleſ-
"ſings of God, ſays he, thro' increaſe of wealth in the common ſubjects of this land, eſpecially upon
"the citizens of London; ſuch within men's memory, and chiefly within theſe few years of peace,
"that, except there were now due mention of ſome ſort made thereof, it would in time to come
"be held incredible, &c." In another place, "Amongſt the manifold tokens and ſigns of the in-
"finite bleſſings of Almighty God beſtowed upon this kingdom, by the wondrous and merciful eſta-
"bliſhing of peace within ourſelves, and the full benefit of concord with all chriſtian nations and
"others: Of all which graces let no man dare to preſume he can ſpeak too much; whereof in
"truth there can never be enough ſaid, neither was there ever any people leſs conſiderate and leſs
"thankful than at this time, being not willing to endure the memory of their preſent happineſs,
"as

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By an account*, which ſeems judicious and accurate, it appears, that all the ſeamen, employed in the merchants ſervice, amounted to 10,000 men, which probably exceeds not the ſixth part of their preſent number. Sir Thomas Overbury ſays, that the Dutch poſſeſſed three times more ſhipping than the Engliſh, but that their ſhips were of inferior burden to thoſe of the latter †.

Manufactures.

A catalogue of the manufactures, for which the Engliſh were then eminent, would appear very contemptible, in compariſon of thoſe, which flouriſh among them at preſent. Almoſt all the more elaborate and curious arts were only cultivated abroad, particularly in Italy. Ship-building and founding of iron-cannon were the ſole, in which the Engliſh excelled. They ſeem, indeed, to have poſſeſſed alone the ſecret of the latter; and great complaints were made every parliament againſt the exportation of Engliſh ordinance.

Nine tenths of the commerce of the kingdom conſiſted in woolen goods‡. Wool, however, was allowed to be exported, till the 19th of the King. Its exportation was then forbid by proclamation; tho' that edict was never ſtrictly executed. Moſt of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dreſſed by the Dutch; who gained, 'tis pretended, 700,000 pound a-year by this manufacture ‖. A prohibition, iſſued by the King, to export cloth in that condition, had ſucceeded ſo ill, during one year, by the refuſal of the Dutch to buy the dreſſed cloth, that great murmurs aroſe againſt it; and this meaſure was retracted by the King, and complained of by the nation, as if it had been the moſt impolitic in the world. It ſeems indeed to have been premature.

In ſo little credit was the fine Engliſh cloth even at home, that the King was obliged to ſeek expedients, by which he might oblige the people of faſhion to wear it §. The manufacture of fine linnen was totally unknown in the kingdom **.

" as well in the univerſal increaſe of commerce and traffic thro'out the kingdom, great building of " royal ſhips and by private merchants, the re-peopling of cities, towns, and villages, beſide the " indiſcernible and ſudden increaſe of fair and coſtly buildings, as well within the city of London " as the ſuburbs thereof, eſpecially within theſe twelve years, &c.

* The trade's increaſe in the Harleyan miſc. vol. iii.

† Remarks on his travels, Harl. miſc. vol. ii. p. 349.

‡ Journ. 26 May 1621.

‖ Journ. 20th May 1614. Raleigh, in his obſervations, computes the loſs at 400,000 pound to the nation. There are about 80,000 undreſſed cloths, ſays he, tranſported yearly. He computes, beſides that, about 100,000 pound a-year had been loſt by kerſies; not to mention other articles.

§ Rymer, tom. xvii. p. 415. ** *Id. ibid.*

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THE company of merchant-adventurers, by their patent, poſſeſſed the ſole commerce of woolen goods, tho' the ſtaple commodity of the nation. An attempt, made during the reign of Elizabeth, to lay open this important trade, had been attended with bad conſequences for a time, by a conſpiracy of the merchant-adventurers, not to make any purchaſes of cloth; and the Queen immediately reſtored them their patent.

THEY were groundleſs fears of a like accident, that enſlaved the nation to thoſe excluſive companies, which confined ſo much every branch of commerce and induſtry. The parliament, however, annulled, in the third of the King, the patent of the Spaniſh company; and the trade to Spain, which was, at firſt, very inſignificant, ſoon became the moſt conſiderable in the kingdom. 'Tis ſtrange, that they were not thence encouraged to aboliſh all the other companies, and that they went no farther than obliging them to enlarge their bottom, and to facilitate the entrance of new adventurers.

A board of trade was erected by the King in 1622 *. One of the reaſons, aſſigned in the commiſſion, is to remedy the low price of wools, which begot complaints of the decay of the woolen manufactory. 'Tis more probable, however, that this fall of prices proceeded from the great increaſe of wool. The King likeways recommends it to the commiſſioners to inquire and examine, whether a greater freedom of trade and an exemption from the reſtraint of excluſive companies, would not be beneficial. Men were then impriſoned by their own prejudices; and the King was juſtly afraid of embracing a bold meaſure, whoſe conſequences might be uncertain. The digeſting of a navigation-act, of a like nature with the famous one executed afterwards by the republican parliament, is likeways recommended to the commiſſioners. The arbitrary powers, then commonly aſſumed by the privy council, appear evidently thro' the whole tenor of the commiſſion.

THE ſilk manufacture had no footing in England: But, by James's direction, mulberry-trees were planted, and ſilk-worms introduced †. The climate ſeems averſe to the execution of this project.

GREENLAND is thought to have been diſcovered during this reign; and the whale-fiſhery was carried on with great ſucceſs: But the induſtry of the Dutch, in ſpite of all oppoſition, ſoon deprived the Engliſh of this ſource of riches. A company was erected for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage; and many fruitleſs attempts were made for that purpoſe. In ſuch noble projects, deſpair ought never to be admitted, till the abſolute impoſſibility of ſucceſs be fully aſcertained.

THE paſſage to the Eaſt Indies had been opened to the Engliſh during the reign of Elizabeth; but the trade to thoſe parts of the world was not fully eſtabliſhed, till this reign, when the Eaſt India-company received a new patent, enlarged their ſtock

* *Id.* p. 410. † Stowe.

ſtock to 1500,000 pound *, and ſet out ſeveral ſhips on theſe adventures. In 1609, they built a veſſel of 1200 tun, the largeſt merchant-ſhip, which England had ever known. She was unfortunate, and periſhed by ſhip-wreck. In 1611, a large ſhip of the company, aſſiſted by a pinnace, maintained five ſeveral engagements with a ſquadron of Portugueſe, and gained a compleat victory over forces much ſuperior. During the following years, the Dutch company were guilty of great injuries towards the Engliſh, in expelling many of their factors, and deſtroying their ſettlements: But theſe violences were reſented with a proper ſpirit by the court of England. A naval force was equipped under the Earl of Oxford †, and lay in wait for the return of the Dutch Eaſt India-fleet. By reaſon of croſs winds, Oxford failed of his purpoſe, and the Dutch eſcaped. Sometime after, one ſhip, full of riches, was taken by Vice-admiral Merwin; and it was ſtipulated by the Dutch to pay 70,000 pound to the Engliſh company, in conſideration of the injuries, which that company had ſuffered ‡. But neither this ſtipulation, nor the fear of reprizals, nor the ſenſe of that friendſhip, which ſubſiſted betwixt England and the ſtates, could reſtrain the avidity of the Dutch company, or render them equitable in their proceedings towards their allies. Impatient to have ſole poſſeſſion of the ſpice-trade, which the Engliſh then ſhared with them, they aſſumed a juriſdiction over a factory of the latter in the iſland of Amboyna; and under very improbable, and even abſurd pretexts, ſeized all the factors with their families, and put them to death with the moſt inhuman tortures. This diſmal news arrived in England at the time, when James, by the prejudices of his ſubjects and the intrigues of his favorite, was forced into a breach with Spain; and he was obliged, after ſome remonſtrances, to acquieſce in this indignity from a ſtate, whoſe alliance was now become neceſſary to him. 'Tis remarkable, that the nation, almoſt without a murmur, ſubmitted to an injury from their proteſtant confederates; and to an injury, which, beſide the horrid enormity of the action, was of much deeper importance to national intereſt, than all thoſe which they were ſo impatient to reſent from the houſe of Auſtria.

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WHAT chiefly renders the reign of James memorable, is the commencement of the Engliſh colonies in America; colonies eſtabliſhed on the nobleſt footing, that has been known in any age or nation. The Spaniards, being the firſt diſcoverers of the new world, immediately took poſſeſſion of the precious mines, which they found there; and, by the allurement of great riches, they were tempted to depopulate their own country as well as that which they conquered; and added the vice of ſloth to thoſe of avidity and barbarity, which had attended their adventurers in thoſe renowned interprizes. That fine coaſt was intirely neglected

Colonies.

* Journ. 26th Nov. 1621. † In 1622. ‡ *Johnſtoni hiſt. lib.* 19.

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glected, which reaches from St. Auguſtine to Cape Breton, and which lies in all the temperate climates, is watered by noble rivers, and offers a fertile ſoil, but nothing more, to the induſtrious planter. Peopled gradually from England by the neceſſitous and indigent, who, at home, increaſed neither wealth nor populouſneſs, the colonies, which were planted along that tract, have promoted the navigation, encouraged the induſtry, and even multiplied the inhabitants of their mother-country. The ſpirit of independency, which was reviving in England, here ſhone forth in its full luſtre, and received new acceſſion of force from the aſpiring character of thoſe, who, being diſcontented with the eſtabliſhed church and monarchy, had ſought for freedom amid thoſe ſavage deſarts. The ſeeds of many a noble ſtate have been ſown in climates, kept deſolate by the wild manners of the antient inhabitants; and an aſylum ſecured, in that ſolitary world, for liberty and ſcience, if ever the ſpreading of unlimited empire, or the inroad of barbarous nations, ſhould again extinguiſh them in this turbulent and reſtleſs hemiſphere.

QUEEN Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after planting one feeble colony, which quickly decayed, that country was intirely abandoned. But when peace put an end to the warlike enterprizes againſt Spain, and left ambitious ſpirits no hopes of making any longer ſuch rapid advances towards honor and fortune, the nation began to ſecond the pacific intentions of its monarch, and to ſeek a ſurer, tho' ſlower expedient, for acquiring riches and glory. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony and began a ſettlement; which the company, erected by patent for that purpoſe in London and Briſtol, took care to ſupply with yearly recruits of proviſions, utenſils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argal diſcovered a more direct and ſhorter paſſage to Virginia, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had firſt directed their courſe ſouthwards to the tropic, ſailed weſtward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward, till they reached the Engliſh ſettlements. The ſame year, five hundred perſons under Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were embarked for Virginia. Somers's ſhip, meeting with a tempeſt, was driven into Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a ſettlement in thoſe iſlands. Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the Engliſh colonies: But notwithſtanding all his care, ſeconded by ſupplies from James, and by money raiſed from the firſt lottery ever known in the kingdom, ſuch difficulties attended the ſettlement of theſe countries, that, in 1614, there were not alive more than 400 men, of all that had been ſent thither. After ſupplying themſelves with proviſions more immediately requiſite for the ſupport of life, the new planters began the cultivating tobacco; and

James,

James, notwithstanding his antipathy to that drug, gave them permission to enter it in England; and he prohibited all importation from Spain *. By degrees, new colonies were established in that continent, and gave new names to the places where they settled, leaving that of Virginia to the province first planted. Chap. VI. 1625.

SPECULATIVE reasoners, during that age, raised many objections to the planting those remote colonies; and foretold, that, after draining their mother-country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America: But time has shown, that the views, entertained by those who encouraged such generous undertakings, were more just and solid. A mild government and great naval force have preserved, and may long preserve the dominion of England over her colonies. And such advantage have commerce and navigation reaped from these establishments, that more than half of the English shipping is at present computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic with the American settlements.

AGRICULTURE was antiently very imperfect in England. The sudden transitions, so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest prices of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value in different years, are sufficient proofs, that the produce depended intirely on the season, and that art had, as yet, done nothing to fence against the injuries of the heavens. During this reign, considerable improvements were made, as in most arts, so in this, the most beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books and pamphlets, treating of husbandry, which were wrote about this time. The nation, however, was still dependant on foreigners for daily bread; and tho' its exportation of grain now forms a considerable branch of its commerce, notwithstanding its increase of people, there was, at that time, a regular import from the Baltic; and if ever it stopped, the bad consequences were very sensibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh in his observations computes, that two millions went out at one time for corn. It was not till the fifth of Elizabeth, that the exportation of corn had ever been allowed in England; and Cambden observes, that agriculture, from that moment, received new life and vigor.

THE endeavors of James, or more properly speaking, those of the nation, for the promotion of trade, were attended with greater success than those for the encouragement of learning. Tho' the age was by no means destitute of eminent writers, a very bad taste in general prevailed during that period; and the monarch himself was not a little infected with it.

ON

* Rymer tom. xviii. p. 621, 633.

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Learning and arts.

ON the firſt origin of letters among the Greeks, the genius of poets and orators, as might naturally be expected, was diſtinguiſhed by an amiable ſimplicity, which, whatever rudeneſs might ſometimes attend it, is ſo fitted to expreſs the genuine movements of nature and paſſion, that the compoſitions, poſſeſſed of it, muſt for ever appear valuable to the diſcerning part of mankind. The glaring figures of diſcourſe, the pointed antitheſis, the unnatural conceit, the jingle of words; ſuch falſe ornaments are not employed by early writers; not becauſe they were rejected, but becauſe they ſcarce ever occurred to them. An eaſy, unforced ſtrain of ſentiment runs thro' their compoſitions; tho' at the ſame time we may obſerve, that, amid the moſt elegant ſimplicity of thought and expreſſion, one is ſometimes ſurpriſed to meet with a poor conceit, which had preſented itſelf unſought for, and which the author had not acquired critical obſervation enough to condemn.* A bad taſte ſeizes with avidity theſe frivolous beauties, and even perhaps a good taſte, 'ere ſurfeited by them: They multiply every day more and more, in the faſhionable compoſitions: Nature and good ſenſe are neglected: Laboured ornaments, ſtudied and admired: And a total degeneracy of ſtyle and language prepares the way for barbariſm and ignorance. Hence the Aſiatic manner was found to depart ſo much from the ſimple purity of Athens: Hence that tinſel eloquence, which is obſervable in many of the Roman writers, from which Cicero himſelf is not wholly exempted, and which ſo much prevails in Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, and the Plinys.

ON the revival of letters, when the judgment of the public is, as yet, raw and unformed, this falſe gliſter catches the eye, and leaves no room, either in eloquence or poetry, for the durable beauties of ſolid ſenſe and lively paſſion. The reigning genius is then diametrically oppoſite to that which prevails on the firſt origin of arts. The Italian writers, 'tis evident, even the moſt celebrated, have not reached the proper ſimplicity of thought and compoſition; and in Petrarch, Taſſo, Guarini, frivolous witticiſms and forced conceits are but too predominant. The period, during which letters were cultivated in Italy, was ſo ſhort as ſcarce to allow leiſure for correcting this adulterated reliſh.

THE

* The name of Polynices, one of Oedipus's ſons, means in the original *much quarrelling*. In the altercations betwixt the two brothers, in Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, this conceit is employed; and 'tis remarkable, that ſo poor a conundrum could not be rejected by any of theſe three poets; ſo juſtly celebrated for their taſte and ſimplicity. What could Shakeſpear have done worſe? Terence has his *inceptio eſt amentium, non amantium*. Many ſimilar inſtances will occur to the learned. 'Tis well known, that Ariſtotle treats very ſeriouſly of puns, divides them into ſeveral claſſes, and recommends the uſe of them to orators.

THE more early French writers are liable to the ſame reproach. Voiture, Balzac, even Corneille, have too much affected thoſe ambitious ornaments, of which the Italians in general, and the leaſt pure of the antients, ſupplied them with ſo many models. And 'twas not till late, that obſervation and reflection gave riſe to a more natural turn of thought and compoſition among that elegant people.

A like character may be extended to the firſt Engliſh writers; ſuch as flouriſhed during the reign of Elizabeth and James, and even till long afterwards. Learning, on its revival, in this iſland, was attired in the ſame unnatural garb, which it wore at the time of its decay among the Greeks and Romans. And, what may be regarded as a misfortune, the Engliſh writers were poſſeſſed of great genius before they were endued with any degree of taſte, and by that means gave a kind of ſanction to thoſe forced turns and ſentiments, which they ſo much affected. Their diſtorted conceptions are attended with ſuch vigor of mind, that we admire the imagination, which produced them; as much as we blame the want of judgment, which gave them admittance. To enter into an exact criticiſm of the writers of that age would exceed our preſent purpoſe. A ſhort character of the moſt eminent, delivered with the ſame freedom, which hiſtory exerciſes over kings and miniſters, may not be improper. The national prepoſſeſſions, which prevail, may perhaps render the former liberty not the leaſt perilous for an author.

IF Shakeſpeare be conſidered as a MAN, born in a rude age, and educated in the loweſt manner, without any inſtruction, either from the world or from books, he may be regarded as a prodigy: If repreſented as a POET, capable of furniſhing a proper entertainment to a refined or intelligent audience, we muſt abate ſomewhat of this eulogy. In his compoſitions, we regret, that great irregularities, and even ſometimes abſurdities ſhould ſo frequently disfigure the animated and paſſionate ſcenes intermixt with them; and at the ſame time, we perhaps admire the more thoſe beauties, on account of their being ſurrounded with ſuch deformities. A ſtriking peculiarity of ſentiment, adapted to a ſingular character, he frequently hits, as it were by inſpiration; but a reaſonable propriety of thought he cannot, for any time, uphold. Nervous and picturesque expreſſions as well as deſcriptions, abound in him; but 'tis in vain we look either for continued purity or ſimplicity of diction. His total ignorance of all theatrical art and conduct, however material a defect; yet, as it affects the ſpectator rather than the reader, we can more readily excuſe, than that want of taſte, which often prevails in his productions, and which gives way, only by intervals, to the irradiations of genius. A great and fertile genius he certainly

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certainly poſſeſſed, and one enriched equally with a tragic and comic vein; but, he ought to be cited as a proof, how dangerous it is to rely on theſe advantages alone for the attaining an excellence in the finer arts *. And there may even remain a ſuſpicion, that we over-rate, if poſſible, the greatneſs of his genius; in the ſame manner as bodies often appear more gigantic, on account of their being diſproportioned and miſhapen. He died in 1617, aged 53 years.

JOHNSON poſſeſſed all the learning, which was wanting to Shakeſpeare, and wanted all the genius, of which the other was poſſeſſed. Both of them were equally deficient in taſte and elegance, in harmony and correctneſs. A ſervile copiſt of the antients, Johnſon tranſlated into bad Engliſh, the beautiful paſſages of the Greek and Roman authors, without accommodating them to the manners of his age and country. His merit has been totally eclipſed by that of Shakeſpeare, whoſe rude genius prevailed over the rude art of his cotemporary. The Engliſh theatre has ever ſince taken a ſtrong tincture of Shakeſpeare's ſpirit and character; and thence it has proceeded, that the nation have undergone, from all their neighbors, the reproach of barbariſm, from which their many valuable productions in other parts of learning, would otherways have exempted them. Johnſon had a penſion of a hundred merks from the King, which Charles afterwards augmented to a hundred pounds. He died in 1637, aged 63.

FAIRFAX has tranſlated Taſſo with an elegance and eaſe, and, at the ſame time, with an exactneſs, which, for that age, are ſurprizing. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correſpondent line in the tranſlation. Harrington's tranſlation of Arioſto is not likeways without its merit. 'Tis to be regretted, that theſe poets ſhould have imitated the Italians in their ſtanza, which has a prolixity and uniformity in it, that diſpleaſes in long performances. They had otherways, as well as Spencer, who went before them, contributed much to the poliſhing and refining the Engliſh verſification.

IN Donne's ſatyres, when carefully inſpected, there appear ſome flaſhes of wit and ingenuity; but theſe totally ſuffocated and buried by the harſheſt and moſt uncouth expreſſion, which is any where to be met with.

IF the poetry of the Engliſh was ſo rude and imperfect during that age, we may reaſonably expect, that their proſe would be liable to ſtill greater objections. Tho' the latter appears the more eaſy, as it is the more natural method of compoſition; it has ever in practice been found the more rare and difficult; and there ſcarce is an inſtance, in any language, that it has reached a degree of perfection, before the refinement of poetical numbers and expreſſion. Engliſh proſe, during

* *Invenire etiam barbari ſolent, diſponere et ornare non niſi eruditus.* PLIN.

during the reign of James, was wrote with little regard to the rules of grammar, and with a total disregard of the elegance and harmony of the period. Stuffed with Latin sentences and citations, it likeways imitated those inversions, which, however forcible and graceful in the antient languages, are intirely contrary to the idiom of the English. I shall indeed venture to affirm, that, whatever uncouth phrases and expressions occur in old books, they were owing chiefly to the unformed taste of the author; and that the language, spoke in the courts of Elizabeth and James, was very little different from that which, in good company, we meet with at present. Of this opinion, the little scraps of speeches, which are found in the parliamentary journals, and which carry an air so opposite to the labored orations, seem to be a sufficient proof; and there want not productions of that age, which, being wrote by men, who were not authors by profession, retain a very natural manner, and may give us some idea of the language, which prevailed in polite conversation. I shall particularly mention Sir John Davis's discovery. Chap. VI. 1625.

The great glory of literature in this island, during the reign of James, was my Lord Bacon. Most of his performances were composed in Latin; tho' he possessed, neither the elegance of that, nor of his native tongue. If we consider the variety of talents enjoyed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher; he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light, in which we view him at present, tho' very estimable, he was yet much inferior to his cotemporary Galilaeo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon pointed out at a distance the road to true philosophy: Galilaeo both pointed it out to others, and made, himself, considerable advances in it. The Englishman was ignorant of geometry: The Florentine revived that science, excelled in it, and was the first, who applied it, along with experiment, to natural philosophy. The former rejected, with the most positive disdain, the system of Copernicus: The latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reason and the senses. Bacon's style is stiff and rigid: His wit, tho' sometimes brilliant, is, in general, unnatural and far fetcht; and he seems to be the original of those pointed similies and long-spun allegories, which so much distinguish the English authors: Galilaeo is a lively and agreeable, tho' somewhat a prolix writer. But Italy, not united in any single government, and perhaps satiated with that literary glory, which it has possessed both in antient and modern times, has too much neglected the renown, which it has acquired by giving birth to so great a man. That national spirit, which prevails among the Englishmen, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause, why they accompany all their eminent

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writers, and Bacon among the reſt, with praiſes and acclamations, which may often appear partial and exceſſive. He died in 1626, in the 66th year of his age.

If the reader of Raleigh's hiſtory can have the patience to wade thro' the Jewiſh and Rabinical learning, which compoſe the half of the volume, he will find, when he comes to the Greek and Roman ſtory, that his pains are not unrewarded. Raleigh is the beſt model of that antient ſtyle, which ſome writers would affect to revive at preſent. He was beheaded in 1618, aged 66 years.

Cambden's hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth may be eſteemed good compoſition, both for the ſtyle and the matter. It is wrote with ſimplicity of expreſſion, very rare in that age, and with a regard to truth. It would not perhaps be too much to affirm, that it is among the beſt hiſtorical productions, which have yet been compoſed by any Engliſhman. 'Tis well known, that the Engliſh have not much excelled in that kind of literature. He died in 1618, aged 67 years.

We ſhall mention the King himſelf at the end of the Engliſh writers; becauſe that is *his* place, when conſidered as an author. It may ſafely be affirmed, that the mediocrity of James's talent in literature, joined to the great change in national taſte, is the chief cauſe of that contempt, under which his memory labors, and which is often carried, by party-writers, to a great extreme. 'Tis remarkable, how different from ours were the ſentiments of the antients with regard to learning. Of the firſt twenty Roman emperors, counting from Caeſar to Severus, above the half were authors; and tho' few of them ſeem to have been eminent in that profeſſion, it is always remarked to their praiſe, that, by their example, they encouraged literature. Not to mention Germanicus, and his daughter, Agrippina, perſons ſo nearly allied to the throne, the greater part of the claſſic writers, whoſe works remain, were men of the higheſt quality. As every human advantage is attended with inconveniences, the change of men's ideas in this particular may probably be aſcribed to the invention of printing; which has rendered books ſo common, that even men of ſlender fortunes can have acceſs to them.

That James was but a midling writer may be allowed: That he was a contemptible one can by no means be admitted. Whoever will read his Baſilicon Doron, particularly the two laſt books, the true law of free monarchies, his anſwer to Cardinal Perron, and almoſt all his ſpeeches and meſſages to parliament, will confeſs him to have poſſeſſed no mean genius. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions; who, in that age, did not admit the

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the reality of these fictitious beings? If he has composed a commentary on the Revelations, and proved the Pope to be Antichrist; may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier; and even to Newton, at a time when learning was much more advanced than during the reign of James? From the grossness of its superstitions, we may infer the ignorance of an age; but never should pronounce concerning the folly of an individual, from his admitting popular errors, consecrated with the appearance of religion.

Such an infinite superiority do the pursuits of literature possess above every other human occupation, that even he, who attains but a mediocrity in them, deserves the pre-eminence above those who excel the most in the common and vulgar professions. The speaker of the house is commonly an eminent man; yet the harangue of his Majesty we shall always find superior to that of the speaker, in every parliament during this reign.

Every science, as well as polite literature, must be considered as being yet in its infancy. Scholastic learning and polemical divinity retarded the growth of all true knowlege. Sir Henry Saville, in the preamble of that deed, by which he fixed a sallary to the mathematical and astronomical professors in Oxford, says, that geometry was almost totally abandoned and unknown in England *. The best learning of that age was the study of the antients. Casaubon, eminent for this knowlege, was invited over from France by James, and encouraged by a pension of 300 a-year, as well as by church preferments †. The famous Antonio di Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, no despicable philosopher, came likeways into England, and afforded great triumph to the nation, by their gaining so considerable a profelyte from the papists. But the mortification followed soon after. For the Archbishop, tho' advanced to some ecclesiastical preferments ‖, received not encouragement, sufficient to satisfy his ambition, and made his escape into Italy, where, soon after, he died in confinement.

THE

* Rymer tom. xvii. p. 217. † Id. p. 709. ‖ Id. p. 95.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHARLES I.

CHAP. I.

A parliament at Weſtminſter.——At Oxford.——Naval expedition againſt Spain.—— Second parliament.—— Impeachment of Buckingham.—— Violent meaſures of the court.——War with France.——Expedition to the iſle of Rhe.—

NO ſooner had Charles taken into his hands the reins of government, than he marked an impatience to aſſemble the great council of the nation; and he would gladly, for the ſake of diſpatch, have called together the ſame parliament, which had ſat under his father, and which lay, at that time, under prorogation. But, being told, that this meaſure would appear unuſual, he iſſued writs for the ſummoning a new parliament on the 7th of May; and it was not without regret, that the arrival of the Princeſs Henrietta, whom he had eſpouſed by proxy, obliged him to delay, by repeated prorogations, their meeting till the eighteenth of June, when they aſſembled at Weſtminſter for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The young Prince, unexperienced and impolitic, regarded as ſincere all the praiſes and careſſes, with which he had been loaded, while active in procuring.

1625. March 27.

13th of June.

A parliament at Weſtminſter.

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curing the rupture with the houſe of Auſtria. And, beſide that he labored under great neceſſities, he haſtened with alacrity to a period, when he might receive the moſt undoubted teſtimonies of the dutiful attachment of his ſubjects. His diſcourſe to the parliament was full of ſimplicity and cordiality. He lightly mentioned the occaſion, which he had for ſupply. He employed no intrigue to engage the ſuffrages of the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown, who had ſeats in the houſe, to mention any particular ſum, which might be expected by the King. Secure of the affections of the commons, he was reſolved, that their bounty ſhould be intirely their own deed; unaſked, unſollicited; the genuine fruit of ſincere confidence and regard.

THE houſe of commons accordingly took into conſideration the buſineſs of ſupply. They knew, that all the money, granted by the laſt parliament, had been expended on naval and military armaments; and that great anticipations were likeways made on the revenues of the crown. They were not ignorant, that Charles was loaded with a large debt, contracted by his father, who had borrowed money, both from his own ſubjects and from foreign princes. They had learned by experience, that the public revenues could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government. They were ſenſible, that the preſent war was, very lately, the reſult of their own importunate applications and entreaties, and that they had ſolemnly engaged to ſupport their ſovereign in the management of it. They were acquainted with the difficulty of military interprizes, directed againſt the whole houſe of Auſtria; againſt the King of Spain, poſſeſſed of the greateſt riches and moſt extenſive dominions of any prince in the world; againſt the Emperor Ferdinand, hitherto the moſt fortunate monarch of his age, who had ſubdued and aſtoniſhed Germany by the rapidity of his victories. Deep impreſſions, they ſaw, muſt be made by the Engliſh ſword, and a vigorous offenſive war be waged againſt theſe mighty potentates, 'ere they would reſign a principality, which they had now fully ſubdued, and which they held in ſecure poſſeſſion, by its being ſurrounded with all their other territories.

To anſwer, therefore, all theſe great and important ends; to ſatisfy their young King in the firſt requeſt, which he ever made them; to prove their ſenſe of the many royal virtues, particularly oeconomy, with which Charles was endued; the houſe of commons, conducted by the wiſeſt and ableſt ſenators, that had ever flouriſhed in England; thought proper to confer on the King a ſupply of two ſubſidies, amounting to 112,000 pound*.

THIS meaſure, which marks rather a cruel mockery of Charles, than any ſerious deſign of ſupporting him, appears ſo extraordinary, when conſidered in all its circumſtances,

* A ſubſidy was now fallen to about 56,000 pound. Cabbala, p. 224. firſt edit.

circumstances, that it naturally summons up our attention, and raises inquiry concerning the causes of a conduct, unprecedented in an English parliament. So numerous an assembly, composed of persons of various dispositions, were not, 'tis probable, influenced, all of them, by the same motives; and few declared openly their true reason. We shall, therefore, approach nearer the truth, if we mention all the views, which the present conjuncture could suggest to them. Chap. I. 1625.

It is not to be doubted, that spleen and ill-will against the Duke of Buckingham had a strong effect with many. So vast and rapid a fortune, so little merited, could not fail to excite public envy; and, however men's hatred might have been suspended for a moment, while the Duke's conduct seemed to gratify their passions and their prejudices, it was impossible for him long to preserve the affections of the people. His influence over the modesty of Charles exceeded even that which he had acquired over the weakness of James; nor was any public measure conducted but by his counsel and direction. His impetuous temper prompted him to raise suddenly, to the highest elevation, his flatterers and dependants: And, upon the least occasion of displeasure, he threw them down with equal fury and violence. Implacable in his hatred; fickle in his friendship: All men were either regarded as his enemies, or dreaded soon to become such. The whole power of the kingdom was grasped by his insatiable hand; while he both engrossed the intire confidence of his master, and held, invested in his single person, the most considerable offices of the crown.

But the public hatred against Buckingham acquired new force, by the discoveries, which were every day made, of his imprudent conduct in Spain, and perhaps of the falshoods, which he had dared to impose upon the parliament. The King himself having borne testimony to Buckingham's narrative, could not fail to be exposed, in some degree, to the blame, which fell upon his favorite; tho' all those, who judged with candor, were inclined to think, that he had, himself, been first deceived, 'ere he contributed to deceive others. No wonder, that resentment was kindled in such as were sensible of so bold an imposture, and that they deserted the measures, which they had formerly pursued; without considering, that, if the war was ever adviseable upon political motives, it ought still, notwithstanding any such discovery, to be pursued, with equal vigor and activity. The parliament had supposed it practicable to wrest the Palatinate from the house of Austria; they had represented it as prudent to expend the blood and treasure of the nation on such an enterprize; they had believed that the King of Spain never had any sincere intention of restoring that principality. 'Tis certain, that he had not now any such intention: And tho' there was reason to suspect, that this alteration of his views had proceeded from the ill-conduct of Buckingham, yet

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paſt errors could not be retrieved; and the nation was undoubtedly in the ſame ſituation, which the parliament had ever ſuppoſed, when they ſo much harraſſed their ſovereign, by their impatient, importunate, and even undutiful ſollicitations.

However the ill-humor of the commons might have been increaſed by theſe conſiderations, we are not to ſuppoſe them the ſole motives. The laſt parliament of James, amid all their joy and feſtivity, had given him a ſupply very diſproportioned to his demand and to the occaſion. And, as every houſe of commons, who were elected during forty years, ſucceeded to all the paſſions and principles of their predeceſſors; we ought rather to account for this obſtinacy from the general ſituation of the kingdom during that whole period, than from any circumſtances, which attended this immediate conjuncture.

THE nation were very little accuſtomed, at that time, to the burthens of taxes, and had never opened their purſes, in any degree, for the ſupplying their ſovereign. Habits, more than reaſon, we find, in every thing, to be the governing principle of mankind. In this view likeways the ſinking of the value of ſubſidies muſt be conſidered as a loſs to the King. The parliament, ſwayed by cuſtom, would not augment their number in the ſame proportion.

THE puritanical party, tho' diſguiſed, had a very great authority over the kingdom; and many of the leaders among the commons had ſecretly embraced the rigid tenets of that ſect. All theſe were diſguſted with the court, both by reaſon of the principles of civil liberty, eſſential to their party, and on account of the reſtraint, under which they were held by the eſtabliſhed hierarchy. In order to fortify himſelf againſt the reſentment of James, Buckingham had affected popularity, and entered into the cabals of the puritans: But, being ſecure of the confidence of Charles, he had ſince abandoned that party; and, on that account, was the more expoſed to their hatred and reſentment. Tho' the religious ſchemes of the puritans, when explained, appear, many of them, pretty frivolous, we are not thence to imagine, that they were purſued by none but fools. Many men of the greateſt parts and moſt extenſive knowlege, whom the nation, at that time, produced, could not enjoy any peace of mind; becauſe obliged to hear prayers offered up to the Divinity, by a prieſt, covered with a white linnen veſtment.

The match with France, and the articles in favor of catholics, which were ſuſpected to be in the treaty, were likeways cauſes of diſguſt to this whole party: Tho' it muſt be remarked, that the alliance with that crown was infinitely leſs obnoxious to the proteſtants, and leſs favorable to the catholics, than that formerly

formerly projected with Spain, and was therefore received rather with pleaſure than diſſatisfaction. Chap. I. 1625.

To all theſe cauſes we muſt yet add another of conſiderable moment. The houſe of commons, we may obſerve, were almoſt intirely governed by a ſet of men of the moſt uncommon capacity and the largeſt views: men, who were now formed into a regular party, and united, as well by fixed aims and projects, as by the hardſhips, which they had, many of them, undergone in proſecution of them. Among theſe we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Symour, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, theſe men ſaw, with regrete, an unbounded power exerciſed by the crown, and were reſolved to ſeize the opportunity, which the King's neceſſities offered them, to reduce the prerogative within more reaſonable compaſs. Tho' their anceſtors had blindly given way to practices and precedents favorable to kingly power, and had been able, notwithſtanding, to preſerve ſome remains of liberty; it would be impoſſible, they thought, when all theſe pretenſions were methodized and proſecuted by the increaſing knowlege of the age, to maintain any ſhadow of popular government, in oppoſition to ſuch unlimited authority in the ſovereign. 'Twas neceſſary to fix a choice: Either to abandon intirely the privileges of the people, or to ſecure them by firmer and more preciſe barriers than the conſtitution had hitherto provided for them. In this dilemma, men of ſuch aſpiring genius and ſuch independent fortune could not long deliberate: They generouſly embraced the ſide of freedom, and reſolved to grant no ſupplies to their neceſſitous Prince, without extorting conceſſions in favor of civil liberty. The end, they eſteemed beneficent and noble: The means, regular and conſtitutional. To grant or refuſe ſupplies was the undoubted privilege of the commons. And as all human governments, particulary thoſe of a mixed frame, are in continual fluctuation; it was as natural, in their opinion, and allowable, for popular aſſemblies to take advantage of favorable incidents, in order to ſecure the ſubjects; as for monarchs, in order to extend their own authority. With pleaſure, they beheld the King involved in a foreign war, which rendered him, every day, more dependent on the parliament; while, at the ſame time, the ſituation of the kingdom, even without any military preparations, gave it ſufficient ſecurity againſt all invaſion from foreigners. And perhaps, it had partly proceeded from expectations of this nature, that popular leaders had been ſo urgent for a rupture with Spain; nor is it credible, that religious zeal could ſo far have blinded all of them as to make them find, in ſuch a meaſure, any appearance of neceſſity or any hopes of ſucceſs.

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BUT, however natural all these sentiments might appear to the country-party, it is not to be imagined, that Charles would entertain the same ideas. Strongly prejudized in favor of the Duke, whom he had heard so highly extolled in parliament, he could not conjecture the cause of so sudden an alteration in their opinions. And when the war, which they themselves had so earnestly sollicited, was, at last, commenced, the immediate desertion of their sovereign could not but seem very strange and unaccountable. Even tho' no farther motive had been suspected, the refusal of supply, in such circumstances, would naturally to him appear cruel and deceitful: But, when he perceived that this measure proceeded from an intention of encroaching on his authority, he failed not to regard these aims as highly criminal and traiterous. Those lofty ideas of monarchical power, which were very commonly adopted during that age, and to which the ambiguous nature of the English constitution gave so plausible an appearance, were firmly rivetted in Charles; and however moderate his temper, the natural illusions of self-love, joined to his education under James, and to the flattery of courtiers and church-men, had represented his political tenets as certain and uncontroverted. Taught to regard even the antient laws and constitution more as lines to direct his conduct than barriers to withstand his power; a conspiracy to erect new ramparts, in order to straiten his authority, appeared but one degree removed from open violence and rebellion. So atrocious in his eyes was such a design, that he seems even unwilling to impute it to the commons: And, tho' he was obliged to adjourn the parliament by reason of the plague, which, at that time, raged in London; he immediately assembled them at Oxford, and made a new attempt to gain from them some supplies in such an urgent necessity.

11th of July.

1st of Aug.

Parliament at Oxford.

CHARLES now found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy, which he had formerly affected. By himself or his ministers, he entered into a particular detail, both of the alliances, which he had formed, and of the military operations, which he had projected. He told the parliament, That, by a promise of subsidies, he had engaged the King of Denmark to take part in the war; that that monarch intended to enter Germany by the north, and to animate those princes, who impatiently longed for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into the Palatinate, and by that quarter to rouze from their lethargy the members of the evangelical union; that the states must be supported in the unequal warfare, which they maintained with Spain; that no less a sum than 700,000 pound a-year had been found, by computation, requisite for all these purposes; that the maintenance of the fleet and the defence of Ireland demanded an annual expence of 400,000 pound; that he himself had already exhausted and anticipated, in the public

public ſervice, his whole revenue, and had ſcarce left ſufficient for the daily ſubſiſtence of himſelf and of his family; that, on his acceſſion to the crown, he found a debt of above 300,000 pound, contracted by his father, in ſupport of the Palatine; and that, while Prince of Wales, he had indebted himſelf, notwithſtanding his great frugality, to the extent of 100,000 pound, which he had expended intirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all theſe facts, the King even condeſcended to entreaties. He ſaid, that this was the firſt requeſt, which he had ever made them; that he was young and in the commencement of his reign; and, if he now met with kind and dutiful uſage, it would endear to him the uſe of parliaments, and would, for ever, preſerve an intire harmony betwixt him and his people. Chap. I. 1625.

To theſe reaſons the commons remained inexorable. Notwithſtanding that the King's meaſures, on the ſuppoſition of a foreign war, which they had ever demanded, were altogether unexceptionable, they obſtinately refuſed any farther aſſiſtance. Some members, favorable to the court, having inſiſted on an addition of two fifteenths to the former ſupply, even this ſmall pittance was denied; tho' it was known, that a fleet and army were lying at Portſmouth, in great want of pay and proviſions. Beſide all their other motives, the houſe of commons had made a new diſcovery, which enflamed them extremely againſt the court and againſt the Duke of Buckingham.

When James deſerted the Spaniſh alliance, and courted that of France, he had promiſed to furniſh Louis, who was intirely deſtitute of naval force, with one ſhip of war, and ſeven armed veſſels, hired from the merchants. Theſe the French court had pretended they ſhould employ againſt the Genoeſe, who, being firm and uſeful allies to the Spaniſh monarchy, were naturally regarded with an evil eye, both by the King of France and of England. When theſe veſſels, by Charles's order, arrived at Diepe, there aroſe a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that they were to ſerve againſt Rochelle. The ſailors were enflamed. That race of men, who are at preſent both careleſs and ignorant in all matters of religion, were, at that time, only ignorant. They drew up a remonſtrance to Pennington, their commander; and, ſigning all their names in a circle, leſt he ſhould diſcover the ring-leaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for diſobedience, than fight againſt his brother-proteſtants in France. The whole ſquadron ſailed immediately to the Downs. There, they received new orders from Buckingham, Lord high admiral, to return to Diepe. As the Duke knew, that authority alone would not ſuffice, he employed much art and many ſubtilities, to engage them to obedience; and a rumor, which was ſpred, that peace had been concluded betwixt the French King and

Chap. I. 1625. and the hugonots, assisted him in his purpose. When arrived at Diepe, they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke thro' and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of all the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deserted. One miserable gunner alone preferred duty towards his King to the cause of religion; and he was afterwards killed in charging a canon before Rochelle. The care, which historians have taken to record this frivolous event, shows with what pleasure it was received by the whole nation.

The house of commons, when informed of these transactions, had the honor of showing a zeal for the protestant religion, not inferior to that of the sailors. It was not considered, that, if the force of Spain was really so exorbitant as they imagined, the French monarch was the only prince, who could oppose its progress, and preserve the ballance of Europe; that his power was at present fettered by the hugonots, who, being possessed of many privileges and even of fortified towns, formed an empire within his empire, and kept him in perpetual jealousy and inquietude; that an insurrection had been, at that time, wantonly and voluntarily, formed by their leaders, who being disgusted in some court-intrigue, took advantage of the never failing pretext of religion, in order to cover their rebellion; that the Dutch, influenced by these views, had ordered a squadron of twenty ships to join the French fleet, employed against the inhabitants of Rochelle; that the Spanish monarch, sensible of the same consequences, secretly supported the protestants in France; and that all princes had ever sacrificed, to reasons of state, the interest of their religion in foreign countries. All these obvious considerations had no influence. Great murmurs and discontents still prevailed in parliament. And it plainly appears, from this incident, as well as from many others, that, of all European nations, the British were, at that time, and till long after, sunk into the lowest and most odious bigotry.

On this occasion, the commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and remonstrated against some late pardons which had been granted to priests. They attacked Montague, one of the King's chaplains, on account of a moderate book, which he had lately composed, and which, to the great disgust of the commons and all good protestants, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other christians, from eternal torments. Charles gave them a gracious and a compliant answer to all their remonstrances. He was, however, in his heart, extremely averse to these furious measures. Tho' a determined protestant, by principle as well as inclination, he had entertained no violent horror against popery; and a little

little humanity, he thought, was due by the nation to the religion of their anceſtors. That degree of liberty, which is now indulged to catholics, tho' a party much more obnoxious than during the reign of the Stuarts; it ſuited neither with Charles's ſentiments, nor the humor of the age, to allow them. An abatement of the more rigorous laws was all he intended; and his engagements with France, tho' their regular execution had never been propoſed nor expected, required of him ſome indulgence. But ſo unfortunate was this Prince, that no meaſure, embraced during his whole reign, was ever attended with more unhappy and more fatal conſequences. Chap. I. 1625.

THE extreme rage againſt popery was a ſure characteriſtic of puritaniſm. This houſe of commons diſcovered other infallible ſymptoms of the prevalence of that party. They petitioned the King for replacing ſuch able clergy as had been ſilenced for want of conformity to the ceremonies. They alſo enacted laws for the ſtrict obſervance of ſunday, which the puritans affected to call the ſabbath, and which they ſanctified by the moſt melancholy indolence. 'Tis to be remarked, that the different appellations of this feſtival were, at that time, known ſymbols of the different parties. This is a difference about a few unmeaning ſyllables: But as the controverſy betwixt the church and the puritans did not altogether regard theological dogmas, but involved a diſpute concerning eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil power and government; that controverſy muſt be allowed, in ſome of its articles, to have been of much greater importance.

THE King finding, that the parliament were reſolved to grant him no ſupply, and would furniſh him with nothing but empty proteſtations of duty, or diſagreeable complaints of grievances; took advantage of the plague, which began to appear at Oxford, and, under that pretext, immediately diſſolved them. By finiſhing the ſeſſion with a diſſolution, inſtead of a prorogation, he ſufficiently marked his diſpleaſure at their conduct.

TO ſupply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles iſſued privy ſeals for borrowing money from his ſubjects. The advantage reaped by this levy was a ſmall compenſation for the ill-will, occaſioned by it. By means, however, of that ſupply, and by other expedients, he was, tho' with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet. It conſiſted of eighty veſſels, great and ſmall; and carried on board an army of 10,000 men. Sir Edward Cecil, lately created Viſcount Wimbleton, was entruſted with the command. He ſailed immediately for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spaniſh ſhips of great value. To attack theſe was either neglected or attempted prepoſterouſly. The army was landed, and a fort taken: But the undiſciplined ſoldiers, finding ſtore of wine, could not be reſtrained from the utmoſt exceſſes. Farther ſtay appearing fruitleſs, they were re-imbarked; and the fleet put

Auguſt 12.

October 1.

Naval expedition againſt Spain.

Chap. I. 1625. November.

put to sea with an intention of waiting for the Spanish gallions. But the plague having seized the seamen and soldiers, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of this prize, and return to England. Loud complaints were made against the court for entrusting so important a command to a man like Cecil, who, tho' of great experience, the people, judging by the event, esteemed of very slender capacity.

1626. Second parliament.

CHARLES, having failed of so rich a prize, was obliged again to have recourse to a parliament. Tho' the ill success of his enterprizes diminished his authority, and showed, every day, more plainly the folly of the Spanish war; tho' the increase of his necessities rendered him more dependant, and more exposed to the encroachments of the commons; he was resolved to try once more that regular and constitutional expedient for supply. Perhaps too, a little political trick, which at that time he practised, was much trusted to. Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Francis Seymour, all of them popular leaders, the King had named for sheriffs in the counties, and had, by that means, incapacitated them for being elected members. But this affectation, being so evident, rather put the commons more upon their guard. Enow of patriots still remained to keep up the ill humor of the house; and men needed but little instruction or rhetoric to recommend to them practices, which increased their own importance and consideration. The weakness of the court too could not more evidently appear, than by its being reduced to so poor an expedient, in order to obtain an influence on the commons.

February 6.

THE views, therefore, of the last parliament were immediately adopted; as if the same men had been every where elected, and no time had interposed since their last meeting. When the King laid before the house his necessities, and asked for supply, they immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths; and tho' they afterwards added one subsidy more, the sum was little proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, and ill fitted to promote those views of success and glory, for which the young Prince, in his first enterprize, so ardently longed. But this circumstance was not the most disagreeable one. The supply was only voted by the commons. The passing that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session. A condition was thereby made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under pretext of redressing grievances, which, during this short reign, could not be very numerous; they were to proceed in regulating and controling every part of government, which displeased them: And, if the King either cut them short in this undertaking or refused compliance with their demands, he must lay his account with the want of all supply. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by

Charles

Charles at a method of treatment, which he eſteemed ſo harſh and undutiful: But his urgent neceſſities obliged him to ſubmit; and he waited with patience, obſerving to what ſide they would turn themſelves. Chap. I. 1626.

THE Duke of Buckingham, formerly obnoxious to the public, became every day more odious, by the ſymptoms, which appeared, both of his want of temper and prudence, and of the uncontroled aſcendant, which he had acquired over his maſter. Two violent attacks he was obliged this ſeſſion to ſuſtain; one from the Earl of Briſtol, another from the houſe of commons. Impeachment of Buckingham.

As long as James lived, Briſtol, ſecure of the concealed favor of that monarch, had expreſſed all duty and obedience; in expectation, that an opportunity would offer of re-inſtating himſelf in his former credit and authority. Even after Charles's acceſſion, he deſpaired not. He ſubmitted to the King's order of remaining in his country-ſeat, and of abſenting himſelf from parliament. Many trials he made to regain the good opinion of his maſter; but finding them all fruitleſs, and obſerving Charles to be intirely governed by Buckingham, his implacable enemy, he reſolved no longer to keep any meaſures with the court. A new ſpirit, he ſaw, and a new power, ariſing in the nation; and to theſe he was reſolved, for the future, to truſt for his ſecurity and protection.

WHEN the parliament was ſummoned, Charles, by a great ſtretch of prerogative, had given orders, that no writ, as is cuſtomary, ſhould be ſent to Briſtol. That Nobleman applied to the houſe of lords by petition; and craved their good offices with the King for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was ſent him; but accompanied with a letter from the Lord keeper, Coventry, commanding him, in the King's name, to abſent himſelf from parliament. This letter Briſtol conveyed to the lords, and aſked advice how to proceed in ſo delicate a ſituation. The King's prohibition was withdrawn, and Briſtol took his ſeat. Provoked at theſe repeated inſtances of vigor, which the court denominated contumacy, Charles ordered his attorney-general to enter an accuſation of high treaſon againſt him. By way of recrimination, Briſtol impeached Buckingham of high treaſon. The Earl's defence of himſelf and accuſation of the Duke both remain; and, when joined to original letters, contain the fulleſt and moſt authentic account of all the negotiations with the houſe of Auſtria. From the whole, the great imprudence of the Duke evidently appears, and the ſway of his ungovernable paſſions; but it would be difficult to collect thence any action, which, in the eye of the law, could be deemed a crime; much leſs could ſubject him to the penalty of high treaſon.

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THE impeachment of the commons was ſtill leſs dangerous to the Duke, were it eſtimated by the ſtandard of law and equity. They accuſed him, of having united many offices in his perſon; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the ſeas, inſomuch that many merchant-ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ſhips to the French King, in order to ſerve againſt the hugonots; of being employed in the ſale of honors and offices; of accepting extenſive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honor for his kindred; of adminiſtring phyſic to the late King without acquainting his phyſicians. All theſe articles appear, from comparing the accuſation and reply, to be either frivolous, or falſe, or both. The only charge, which could be regarded as important, was, that he had extorted a ſum of ten thouſand pounds from the Eaſt-India company, and that he had confiſcated ſome goods belonging to French merchants, under pretext of being the property of Spaniſh. The impeachment never came to a full determination; ſo that it is difficult for us to give a deciſive opinion with regard to theſe articles: But it muſt be confeſſed, that the Duke's anſwer, in theſe particulars, as in all the reſt, is ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that it is impoſſible to refuſe our aſſent to it. His faults and blemiſhes were, in many reſpects, very great; but rapacity and avarice were vices, with which he was intirely unacquainted.

'TIS remarkable, that the commons, tho' ſo much at a loſs to find articles of charge againſt Buckingham, never adopted Briſtol's accuſation, or impeached the Duke for his conduct in the Spaniſh treaty, the moſt blameable circumſtance of his whole life. He had reaſon to believe the Spaniards ſincere in their profeſſions; yet, in order to gratify his private paſſions, he had hurried his maſter and his country into a war pernicious to the intereſts of both. But ſo rivetted thro'out the nation were the prejudices with regard to Spaniſh deceit and falſhood, that very few of the commons ſeem, as yet, to have been convinced, that they had been ſeduced by Buckingham's narrative: A certain proof, that a diſcovery of this nature, tho' with ſome it might have influence, was not, as is imagined by ſeveral hiſtorians, the ſole or chief cauſe of ſo ſudden and ſurprizing a variation in the meaſures of the parliament *.

WHILE

* By a ſpeech of Sir Simon D'ewes, in the firſt year of the long parliament, it clearly appears, that the nation never had, even to that time, been rightly inſtructed in the tranſactions of the Spaniſh negotiation, and ſtill believed the court of Madrid to have been altogether inſincere in all their profeſſions. What reaſon, upon that ſuppoſition, had they to blame either the Prince or Buckingham for their conduct, or for the narrative delivered to the parliament? This is a capital fact, and ought to be well attended to. D'ewes's ſpeech is in Nalſon, Vol. ii. P. 368.

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WHILE the commons were thus warmly engaged againſt Buckingham, the King ſeemed deſirous of embracing every opportunity, by which he could mark a contempt and diſregard for them. No one was, at that time, ſufficiently ſenſible of the great weight, which the commons bore in the balance of the conſtitution. The hiſtory of England had never hitherto afforded an inſtance, where any great movement or revolution had proceeded from the lower houſe. And as their rank, both conſidered in a body and as individuals, was but the ſecond in the kingdom; nothing leſs than fatal experience could engage the Engliſh princes to pay a due regard to the inclinations of that formidable aſſembly.

THE Earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, dying about this time, Buckingham, tho' lying under impeachment, yet, by means of court-intereſt, was choſen in his place. The commons reſented and loudly complained of this affront; and the more to enrage them, the King himſelf wrote a letter to the univerſity, extolling the Duke, and giving them thanks for his election.

THE Lord keeper, in the King's name, commanded the houſe expreſly not to meddle with his miniſter and ſervant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finiſh, in a few days, the law, which they had begun for the ſubſidies, and to make ſome addition to them; otherwiſe they muſt expect to ſit no longer. And tho' theſe harſh commands were endeavored to be explained and mollified, a few days afterwards, by a ſpeech of Buckingham, they failed not to leave a very diſagreeable impreſſion behind them.

BESIDES a more ſtately ſtyle, which Charles, in general, affected to this parliament, than to the laſt, he went ſo far as to threaten the commons in a meſſage, if they did not furniſh him with ſupplies, that he would be obliged to try *new councils*. This language was ſufficiently clear: Yet, leſt any ambiguity ſhould remain, Sir Dudley Carleton, vice chamberlain, took care to explain it. "I pray you conſider," ſaid he, "what theſe new councils are or may be. I fear to declare thoſe that I "conceive. In all chriſtian kingdoms, you know, that parliaments were in uſe "antiently, by which thoſe kingdoms were governed in a moſt flouriſhing man-"ner; until the monarchs began to know their own ſtrength, and ſeeing the "turbulent ſpirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began "to ſtand on their prerogatives, and at laſt overthrew the parliaments, thro'out "Chriſtendom, except here only with us.——Let us be careful then to preſerve "the King's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth ſuch happineſs to this na-"tion, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this ſweetneſs between "his Majeſty and the commons; leſt we loſe the repute of a free people by our "turbulency in parliament." Theſe imprudent ſuggeſtions rather gave warning than ſtruck terror. A precarious liberty, the commons thought, which was to

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be preſerved by unlimited complaiſance, was no liberty at all. And it was neceſſary, while yet in their power, to ſecure the conſtitution by ſuch invincible barriers, that no king or miniſter ſhould ever, for the future, dare to ſpeak ſuch a language to any parliament, or even to entertain ſuch a project againſt them.

Two members of the houſe, Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment againſt the Duke, were thrown into priſon. The commons immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon buſineſs till they had ſatisfaction in their privileges. Charles alleged, for reaſon of this violent meaſure, certain ſeditious expreſſions, which, he ſaid, in their accuſation of the Duke, had dropped from theſe members. Upon inquiry, it appeared, that no ſuch expreſſions had been uſed. The members were releaſed; and the King reaped no farther benefit from this attempt than to exaſperate ſtill farther the houſe, and to ſhow his own precipitancy and indiſcretion.

Moved by this example, the houſe of peers were rouſed from their inactivity; and claimed liberty for the Earl of Arundel, who had been lately confined in the tower. After many fruitleſs ſhifts and evaſions, the King, tho' very ungracefully, was at laſt obliged to comply. And in this incident, it ſufficiently appeared, that the lords, however little inclined to popular courſes, were not wanting in a juſt ſenſe of their own dignity.

The ill humor of the commons, thus wantonly irritated by the court, and finding no gratification in the legal impeachment of Buckingham, ſought other materials, on which it might exert itſelf. The never failing cry of popery here ſerved them in ſtead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws againſt catholics; and they preſented to the King a liſt of perſons, entruſted with offices, moſt of them inſignificant, who were either convicted or ſuſpected recuſants. In this particular, they had, no doubt, ſome reaſon to blame the King's conduct. He had promiſed to the laſt houſe of commons a redreſs of this religious grievance: But he was too apt, in imitation of his father, to conſider theſe promiſes as temporary expedients, which, after the diſſolution of the parliament, he was not any farther to regard. A new odium, likeways, by theſe repreſentations, was attempted to be thrown upon Buckingham. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a profeſſed catholic; his wife was not free from ſuſpicion: And the indulgence, given to catholics, was of courſe ſuppoſed to proceed intirely from his credit and authority.

'Tis remarkable, that perſecution was here chiefly puſhed on by laymen; and that the church was willing to have granted more liberty than would be allowed by the

the commons. The reconciling doctrines too of Montague failed not anew to meet with ſevere cenſures from that zealous aſſembly. Chap. I. 1626.

THE next attack, made by the commons, had it prevailed, would have proved deciſive. They were preparing a remonſtrance againſt the levying of tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament. This article, along with the new impoſitions laid on merchandize by James, contained near a half of the crown-revenues; and by depriving the King of theſe reſources, they would have reduced him to a total ſubjection and dependance. While they retained ſuch a pledge, over and above the ſupply already promiſed, they were ſure that nothing could be refuſed them. Tho' they could fix no legal crime againſt the Duke, they juſtly regarded him as a very unable and even pernicious miniſter; and they intended to preſent a petition, which would then have been equivalent to a command, for his removal from his Majeſty's perſon and councils.

THE King was alarmed at the yoke, which he ſaw prepared for him. Buckingham's great guilt, he thought, was the being his friend and favorite. All the other complaints againſt him were mere pretexts. A little before, he was the idol of the people. No new crime had ſince been diſcovered. After the moſt diligent inquiry, prompted by the greateſt malice, the ſmalleſt appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he aſked, muſt all mankind entertain of his honor, ſhould he ſacrifice his innocent friend to pecuniary conſiderations? What farther authority would he have in the nation, were he capable, in the beginning of his reign, to give, in ſo ſignal an inſtance, ſuch matter of triumph to his enemies, and diſcouragement to his adherents? To-day, the commons pretended to wreſt his miniſter from him. To-morrow, they would attack ſome branch of his prerogative. By their remonſtrances and promiſes and proteſtations, they had engaged the crown in a war. As ſoon as they ſaw a retreat impoſſible, without waiting for new incidents, without covering themſelves with new pretexts; they immediately deſerted him, and refuſed him all reaſonable ſupply. 'Twas evident, that they deſired nothing ſo much as to ſee him plunged in inextricable difficulties, of which they intended to take advantage. To ſuch deep perfidy, to ſuch unbounded uſurpations, it was neceſſary to oppoſe proper firmneſs and reſolution. And any extremity was preferable to the contempt of ſubjects, to the inſults of mean adverſaries.

PROMPTED by theſe motives, Charles was determined immediately to diſſolve the parliament. When this reſolution was known, the houſe of peers, whoſe compliant behavior intitled them to ſome authority with him, endeavored to interpoſe; and they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to ſit ſome time

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time longer. *Not a moment longer*, cried the King haſtily; and he ſoon after ended this ſeſſion by a diſſolution.

As this meaſure was foreſeen, the commons took care to finiſh and diſperſe their remonſtrance, which they intended as a juſtification of their conduct to the people. The King, likeways, on his part, publiſhed a declaration, where he gave the reaſons of his diſagreement with the parliament, and of their ſudden diſſolution, before they had time to conclude any one act. Theſe papers furniſhed the partizans on both ſides with ample matter of apology or of recrimination. But all impartial men judged, "*That* the commons, tho' they had not violated any law, yet, by their unpliableneſs and independance, were inſenſibly changing, perhaps improving, the ſpirit and genius, while they preſerved the forms, of the conſtitution: And *that* the King was acting altogether without any plan; blindly running on in a road, ſurrounded, on all hands, with the moſt dangerous precipices, and concerting no proper meaſures, either for ſubmitting to the obſtinacy of the commons, or for ſubduing it".

AFTER a breach with the parliament, which ſeemed ſo difficult to repair, the only rational council, which Charles could purſue, was immediately to conclude a peace with Spain, and to render himſelf, as far as poſſible, independent of his people, who diſcovered ſo little inclination to ſupport him. Nothing could be more eaſy in the execution than this meaſure, nor more agreeable to his own and to national intereſt: But, beſide the treaties and engagements, which he had entered into with Holland and with Denmark, the King's thoughts were, at this time, intirely averſe to pacific councils. There are two circumſtances in his character, ſeemingly incompatible, which attended him during the whole courſe of his reign, and were the chief cauſe of all his misfortunes: He was very ſteddy and even obſtinate in his purpoſe; and he was eaſily governed, by reaſon of his facility, and of his deference to men, much inferior to himſelf both in morals and underſtanding. His great ends he inflexibly maintained: But, the means of attaining them, he readily received from his miniſters and favorites; tho' not always fortunate in his choice. The furious, impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a deſire of revenge for injuries, which himſelf had committed, and animated with a love for glory, which he had not talents to merit, had, at this time, notwithſtanding his profuſe, licentious life, acquired an invincible aſcendant over the virtuous and gentle temper of the King.

Violent meaſures of the court.

THE *new councils*, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to ſupply his neceſſities. Had he poſſeſſed any military force, on which he could depend; 'tis likely, that he had, at once, taken off the maſk, and governed without any regard to the antient laws and conſtitution:

on: So high an idea had he imbibed of kingly prerogative, and ſo contemptible a notion of the privileges of thoſe popular aſſemblies, from which, he thought, he had met with ſuch ill uſage. But his army was new levied, ill paid, and worſe diſciplined; no way ſuperior to the militia, who were much more numerous, and who were, in a great meaſure, under the influence of the country-gentlemen. It behoved him, therefore, to proceed cautiouſly, and to cover his enterprizes under the pretext of antient precedents; tho', it muſt be confeſſed, the veil could not poſſibly be thiner and more tranſparent. Chap. I. 1626.

A commiſſion was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a diſpenſation with the penal laws, enacted againſt them. By this expedient, the King both filled his coffers, and gratified his inclination of giving indulgence to theſe religioniſts: But he could not readily have employed any branch of prerogative, which would have been more diſagreeable, or would have appeared more exceptionable to his proteſtant ſubjects.

FROM the nobility, he deſired aſſiſtance: From the city, he required a loan of 100,000 pound. The former contributed ſlowly: But the latter, covering themſelves with many pretexts and excuſes, gave him at laſt a plain denial.

IN order to equip a fleet, a diſtribution, by order of the council, was made to all the maritime towns; and each of them was required, with the aſſiſtance of the adjacent counties, to arm ſo many veſſels, as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This is the firſt appearance, in Charles's reign, of ſhip-money; a taxation, which afterwards created ſuch violent diſcontents.

LOANS were by privy ſeal required of ſeveral: To others, the way of benevolence was propoſed: Methods, ſupported by precedents, condemned by poſitive laws, and always invidious even to times more ſubmiſſive and compliant. In the moſt deſpotic governments, ſuch expedients would be regarded, as irregular and diſorderly.

THESE councils for ſupply were conducted with ſome moderation; till news arrived, that a great battle was fought, betwixt the King of Denmark and Count Tilly, the imperial general; where the former was totally defeated. Money now, more than ever, became requiſite, in order to repair ſo great a breach in the alliance, and to ſupport a prince, who was ſo nearly related to Charles, and who had been engaged in the war, chiefly by the intrigues and promiſes of the Engliſh monarch. After ſome deliberation, an act of council was paſſed, importing, that, as the urgency of affairs admitted not the way of parliament, the moſt ſpeedy, equal, and convenient method of ſupply was by a GENERAL 25th of Aug.

LOAN

Chap. I. 1626.

LOAN from the ſubject, according as every man was aſſeſſed in the rolls of the laſt ſubſidy. That preciſe ſum was required, which each would have paid had the vote of four ſubſidies been paſſed into a law: But care was taken to inform the people, that the ſums exacted were not to be called ſubſidies but loans. Had any doubt remained, that forced loans were a violation of liberty, and muſt, by neceſſary conſequence, render all parliaments ſuperfluous; this was the proper expedient for opening the eyes of the whole nation.

THE commiſſioners, appointed to levy theſe loans, among other articles of ſecret inſtruction, were enjoined, "If any ſhall refuſe to lend, and ſhall make "delays or excuſes, and perſiſt in his obſtinacy, that they examine him upon "oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuſe to lend, or make an "excuſe for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what ſpeeches or per-"ſuaſions were uſed to that purpoſe? And that they ſhall alſo charge every "ſuch perſon, in his Majeſty's name, upon his allegiance, not to diſcloſe to "any one, what his anſwer was". So violent an inquiſitorial power, ſo abſurd an attempt at ſecrecy, were the objects equally of indignation and of ridicule.

THAT ſpeculative deſpotiſm might lend aſſiſtance to practical, and religious tyranny ſupport civil, ſermons were preached by Sibthrope and Manwaring, in favor of the general loan; and the court very induſtriouſly ſpred them over the kingdom. Paſſive obedience was there recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the ſtate was repreſented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of laws and conſtitutions were rejected as ſeditious and impious. So openly was this doctrine eſpouſed by the King, that Archbiſhop Abbot, a popular and virtuous prelate; becauſe he would not licence Sibthrope's ſermon, was baniſhed from London, and confined to one of his country-ſeats. Such commands, at that time, were not uſually diſputed. Abbot's principles of liberty, and his oppoſition to Buckingham, had always rendered him very ungracious at court, and had acquired him the character of a puritan. For 'tis remarkable, that that party made the privileges of the nation as much a part of their religion, as the church-party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people, who always take opinions in the lump, the whole ſyſtem and principles of the former ſect. The King ſoon found, by fatal experience, that this engine of religion, which, with ſo little neceſſity, was introduced into politics, falling into abler hands, was played with the moſt terrible ſucceſs againſt him.

THO' the nation was thus treated like a conquered province, its ſpirit was far from being ſubdued. Thro'out all England, many refuſed theſe loans, and ſome were

were even active in encouraging their neighbors to inſiſt upon their common rights and privileges. By warrant of the council, *theſe* were thrown into priſon. Moſt of them with patience ſubmitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the King, who commonly releaſed them. Five gentlemen alone, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmond Hambden, had ſpirit enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releaſement, not as a favor from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their country. No particular cauſe was aſſigned of their confinement. The ſpecial command alone of the King and council was pleaded. And by law, it was aſſerted, this was not ſufficient reaſon for refuſing bail or releaſement to the priſoners. Chap. I. 1626. 1627.

THIS queſtion was brought to a ſolemn trial, before the king's bench; and the whole kingdom were attentive to the iſſue of a cauſe, which was of much greater conſequence than the event of many battles. November.

BY the debates on this ſubject, it appeared, beyond controverſy, to the whole nation, that their anceſtors had been ſo jealous of perſonal liberty, as to ſecure it againſt arbitrary power in the crown, by ſix * ſeveral ſtatutes, and by an article † of the GREAT CHARTER itſelf, the moſt ſacred foundation of the laws and conſtitution. But the kings of England, who had not been able to prevent the enacting of theſe laws, had ſufficient authority, when the tide of liberty was ſpent, to hinder their regular execution; and, beſide the great danger of failing, they eſteemed it ſuperfluous to attempt the repeal of ſtatutes, which they found ſo many expedients and pretexts to elude. Turbulent and ſeditious times frequently occurred, when the ſafety of the people abſolutely required the confinement of factious leaders; and by the genius of the old conſtitution, the prince, of himſelf, was accuſtomed to aſſume every branch of prerogative, which was found neceſſary for the preſervation of public peace and of his own authority. Expediency, at other times, would cover itſelf under the appearance of neceſſity; and, in proportion as precedents multiplied, the will alone of the ſovereign was ſufficient to ſupply the place of expediency, of which he conſtituted himſelf the ſole judge. Tho' rebellious ſubjects had frequently, in the open field, ranged themſelves in battle againſt their prince; no perſon had been found ſo hardy, while confined and at mercy, as to ſet himſelf in oppoſition to regal power, and to claim the protection of the laws and conſtitution, againſt the arbitrary will of the ſovereign. 'Twas not till this age, when the ſpirit of liberty

* 25. Edw. III. cap. 4. 28. Edw. III. cap. 3. 37. Edw. III. cap. 18. 38. Edw. III. cap. 9. 42. Edw. III. cap. 3. 1. Rich. II. cap. 12. † Chap. 29.

Chap. I. 1627.

was univerſally diffuſed, when the principles of government were nearly reduced to a ſyſtem, that theſe five gentlemen above-mentioned, by a noble effort, ventured, in this national cauſe, to bring the queſtion to a final determination. And the King was aſtoniſhed to find, that a power, exerciſed by his predeceſſors almoſt without interruption, was proved, upon trial, to be directly oppoſite to the cleareſt laws, and ſupported by few or no undoubted precedents in courts of judicature. Theſe had ſcarcely, in any inſtance, refuſed bail upon the commitments by ſpecial command of the king; becauſe the perſons committed had ſeldom or never dared to demand it.

SIR Randolf Crew, Lord chief juſtice, had been diſplaced, as unfit for the purpoſes of the court: Sir Nicholas Hyde, eſteemed more compliant, had obtained that high office: Yet the judges, by his direction, went no farther than to remand the gentlemen to their priſons, and refuſe the bail, which was offered. Heathe, the attorney-general, inſiſted, that the court ſhould enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the King or council: But the judges wiſely forebore. The nation, they ſaw, were already, to the laſt degree, exaſperated. Their chains were now held up to them. And the moſt invidious prerogative of the crown, that of impriſoning the ſubject, was here, openly, and ſolemnly, and in numerous inſtances, exerciſed for the moſt invidious purpoſe, in order to extort loans, or rather ſubſidies, without conſent of parliament.

BUT this was not the only hardſhip, of which the nation then found reaſon to complain. The army, which had made the fruitleſs expedition to Cadiz, were billetted about the kingdom; and money was arbitrarily levied upon the counties, for the payment of their quarters.

THE ſoldiers were billetted upon private houſes, contrary to cuſtom, which required, that, in all ordinary caſes, they ſhould be quartered in inns and public houſes.

THOSE, who had refuſed or delayed the loan, were ſure to be loaded with a greater number of theſe dangerous and diſorderly gueſts.

MANY too, of low condition, who had ſhown a refractory diſpoſition, were preſſed to the ſervice, and inliſted in the fleet or army. Sir Peter Hayman, for the ſame reaſon, was diſpatched into the Palatinate: Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been obliged, during the former interval of parliament, to accept of an office in the navy.

THE ſoldiers, ill-paid and undiſciplined, committed many crimes and outrages; and increaſed extremely the public diſcontents. To prevent theſe diſorders, martial law, ſo requiſite to the ſupport of diſcipline, was exerciſed upon the ſoldiers.

By

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By a contradiction, which is very natural, when the people are exaſperated, the outrages of the army were complained of; the remedy was thought ſtill more intolerable. Tho' the expediency, if we are not rather to ſay, the neceſſity, of martial law, had formerly been eſteemed, of itſelf, a ſufficient ground for eſtabliſhing it; men, now become more jealous of liberty, and more refined reaſoners in queſtions of government, regarded, as illegal and arbitrary, every exerciſe of authority, which was not ſupported by expreſs ſtatute, or uninterrupted precedent.

It may ſafely be affirmed, that, except a few proſtituted courtiers or bigotted eccleſiaſtics, all men were highly diſcontented with this complication of grievances, under which the nation labored. Tho' antient precedents were pleaded, in favor of the King's meaſures; a great difference, upon compariſon, was obſerved betwixt the caſes. Acts of power, however irregular, might caſually and at intervals, be exerciſed by a prince, for the ſake of diſpatch or expediency; and yet liberty ſtill ſubſiſt, in ſome tolerable degree, under his adminiſtration. But where all theſe were reduced into a ſyſtem, were exerted without interruption, were ſtudiouſly ſought for, in order to ſupply the place of laws, and ſubdue the refractory ſpirit of the nation; it was neceſſary to find ſome ſpeedy remedy, or finally to abandon all hopes of preſerving the antient freedom of the conſtitution. Nor could moderate men eſteem the provocation, which the King had received, tho' great, ſufficient, in any degree, to warrant all theſe violent meaſures. The commons, as yet, had no way invaded his authority: They had only exerciſed, as beſt pleaſed them, their own privileges. Was he excuſable, becauſe, from one houſe of parliament, he had met with ſome harſh and unkind treatment, to make, in revenge, an unjuſt and illegal invaſion on the rights and liberties of the whole nation?

And to what purpoſe all theſe mighty ſtretches of prerogative, which tore and disjointed the whole fabric of the government, and exhauſted all the force of his authority? Only to ſupport Buckingham, a very unfit miniſter during ſuch critical times; and to carry on war with Spain; a war, in every reſpect, unjuſt, unneceſſary, and not recommended by the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs.

But great was at this time the ſurprize of all men, when Charles, baffled in every attempt againſt the Auſtrian dominions, embroiled with his own ſubjects, unſupplied with any treaſure but what he extorted by the moſt invidious and moſt dangerous meaſures; as if the half of Europe, now his enemy, was not ſufficient for the exerciſe of military proweſs; wantonly attacked the other great empire in his neighborhood, and engaged at once into war againſt thoſe two

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War with France.

powers, whoſe intereſt was hitherto eſteemed ſo incompatible, that they could never, it was thought, agree either in the ſame friendſhips or enmities. I ſpeak of the rupture with France, a meaſure, the moſt extraordinary, and accounted for from as extraordinary a cauſe. All authentic memoirs, both foreign and domeſtic, aſcribe this war to Buckingham, and repreſent him, as actuated by motives, which would appear incredible, were we not ſufficiently acquainted with the extreme violence and temerity of his character.

THE three great monarchies of Europe were at this time ruled by young princes, Philip, Louis, and Charles, who were nearly of the ſame age, and who had implicitely reſigned the government of themſelves and of their empires to their creatures and miniſters, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. The people, whom the moderate temper or narrow genius of their princes, would have allowed to remain for ever in tranquillity, were ſtrongly agitated by the emulation and jealouſy of the miniſters. Above all, the towering ſpirit of Richelieu, incapable of reſt, promiſed an active age, and gave indications of great revolutions thro'out all Europe.

THIS man had no ſooner, by ſuppleneſs and intrigue, got poſſeſſion of the reins of government, than he formed, at once, three mighty projects; to ſubdue the turbulent ſpirits of the great, to reduce the rebellious hugonots, and to curb the encroaching power of the houſe of Auſtria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active; no oppoſition of the French princes could withſtand his vengeance, no cabals could eſcape his penetration. His ſovereign himſelf, he held in ſubjection, while he exalted the throne. The people, while they loſt their liberties, acquired, by means of his adminiſtration, learning, order, diſcipline, and renown. That confuſed and inaccurate genius of government, which France partook in common with other European kingdoms, he changed into a ſimple monarchy; at the very time, when the incapacity of Buckingham encouraged the free ſpirit of the commons to eſtabliſh in England a regular ſyſtem of liberty.

HOWEVER unequal the compariſon betwixt theſe miniſters, Buckingham had entertained a mighty jealouſy againſt Richelieu; a jealouſy not founded on rivalſhip of power and politics, but of love and gallantry, where the Duke was as much ſuperior to the Cardinal, as he was inferior in every other particular.

AT the time, when Charles married by proxy the Princeſs Henrietta, the Duke of Buckingham was diſpatched into France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new Queen into England. The eyes of the whole French court were directed by curioſity towards that man, who had enjoyed the unlimited favor of two ſucceſſive monarchs, and who, from a private ſtation, had mounted, in the earlieſt

earlieſt youth, to the abſolute government of three kingdoms. The extreme beauty of his perſon, the gracefulneſs of his air, the ſplendor of his equipage, his fine taſte in dreſs, feſtivals, and carrouſels, correſponded to the prepoſſeſſions, entertained in his favor: The affability of his behavior, the gaiety of his manners, the magnificence of his expence, increaſed ſtill farther the general admiration, which was paid him. All buſineſs being already concerted, the time was intirely ſpent in mirth and entertainments; and, during thoſe ſplendid ſcenes, among that gay people, the Duke found himſelf in a ſituation, where he was perfectly qualified to excell. But his great ſucceſs at Paris proved as fatal as his former failure at Madrid. Encouraged by the ſmiles of the court, he dared to carry his ambitious addreſſes to the Queen herſelf; and he failed not to make impreſſion on a heart not undiſpoſed to the tender paſſions. That attachment, at leaſt, of the mind, which appears ſo delicious, and is ſo dangerous, ſeems to have been encouraged by the Princeſs; and the Duke preſumed ſo far on her good graces, that, after his departure, he ſecretly returned upon ſome pretext, and, paying a viſit to the Queen, was diſmiſſed with a reproof, which ſavored more of kindneſs than of anger. Chap. II. 1627.

INFORMATION of this correſpondence was ſoon carried to Richelieu. The vigilance of that miniſter was here farther rouzed by jealouſy. He too, either from vanity or politics, had ventured to addreſs his vows to the Queen. But a prieſt, paſt middle age, of a ſevere character, and occupied in the moſt extenſive plans of ambition or vengeance, was but an unequal match in that conteſt, with a young courtier, intirely diſpoſed to gaiety and gallantry. The Cardinal's diſappointment ſtrongly inclined him to counter-work the amorous projects of his rival. When the Duke was making preparations for a new embaſſy to Paris, a meſſage was ſent him from Louis, that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey. In a romantic paſſion, he ſwore, *That he would ſee the Queen, in ſpite of all the power of France*; and, from that moment, he was determined to engage England into a rupture with that kingdom.

HE firſt took advantage of ſome quarrels, excited by the Queen of England's attendants; and he perſuaded Charles to diſmiſs, at once, all her French ſervants, contrary to the expreſs articles of the marriage-treaty. He encouraged the Engliſh ſhips of war and privateers to ſeize veſſels, belonging to French merchants; and *theſe* he readily condemned as prizes by a ſentence of the court of admiralty. But finding, that all theſe injuries produced only remonſtrances and embaſſies, or at moſt reprizals, on the part of France; he reſolved to ſecond the intrigues of the Duke of Soubize, and to undertake at once a military expedition againſt that nation.

SOUBIZE,

Chap. I. 1627.

SOUBIZE, who, along with his brother, the Duke of Rohan, was the leader of the hugonot faction, was at that time in London, and ſtrongly ſollicited Charles to embrace the protection of theſe diſtreſſed religioniſts. He repreſented, That, after the inhabitants of Rochelle had been repreſſed by the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland, after peace was concluded with the French King under Charles's mediation, the ambitious Cardinal was ſtill meditating the deſtruction of the hugonots; that preparations were ſilently making in every province of France for the ſuppreſſion of their religion; that forts were erected in order to bridle Rochelle, the moſt conſiderable bulwark of the proteſtants; that the reformed in France caſt their eyes on Charles as the head of their faith, and conſidered him as a prince engaged by intereſt, as well as inclination, to ſupport them; that, as long as their party ſubſiſted, Charles might rely on their obedience, as much as on that of his own ſubjects; but, if their liberties were once raviſhed from them, the power of France, freed from this impediment, would ſoon become formidable to England, and to all the neighboring nations.

THO' Charles probably bore but ſmall favor to the hugonots, who ſo much reſembled the puritans, in diſcipline and worſhip, in religion and politics; he yet allowed himſelf to be gained by theſe arguments, inforced by the ſollicitations of Buckingham. A fleet of a hundred ſail and an army of 7000 men were fitted out for the invaſion of France, and both of them entruſted to the command of the Duke, who was altogether unacquainted both with land and ſea-ſervice. The

9th of July. fleet appeared before Rochelle: But ſo ill-concerted were the Duke's meaſures,

Expedition to the iſle of Rhé. that the inhabitants of that city ſhut their gates, and refuſed to admit allies, of whoſe coming they were not previouſly informed. All his military operations ſhowed equal incapacity and inexperience. Inſtead of attacking Oleron, a fertile iſland and defenceleſs, he bent his courſe to the iſle of Rhé, which was well-garriſoned and fortified: Having landed his men, tho' with ſome loſs, he followed not the blow, but allowed Toiras, the French governor, five days reſpite, during which St. Martin was victualed and provided for a ſiege: He left behind him the ſmall fort of Prie, which could at firſt have made no manner of reſiſtance: Tho' reſolved to ſtarve St. Martin, he guarded the ſea negligently, and allowed proviſions and ammunition to be thrown into it: Deſpairing to reduce it by famine, he attacked it without having made any breach, and raſhly threw away the lives of his ſoldiers: Having found, that a French army had ſtolen over in ſmall diviſions, and had landed at Prie, the fort, which he had, at firſt, overlooked,

28th of Oct. he began to think of a retreat; but made it ſo unſkilfully, that it was equivalent to a total rout: He was the laſt, of the whole army, who embarked; and he returned to England, having loſt two thirds of his land-forces; totally diſcredited

both

both as an admiral and a general; and bringing no praiſe with him, but that vulgar one of courage and perſonal bravery. Chap. I. 1627.

THE Duke of Rohan, who had taken arms as ſoon as Buckingham appeared upon the coaſt, diſcovered the dangerous ſpirit of the ſect, without being able to do any miſchief: The inhabitants of Rochelle, who had, at laſt, been induced to join themſelves to the Engliſh, haſtened the vengeance of their maſter, exhauſted their proviſions in ſupplying their allies, and were threatened with an immediate ſiege. Such were the fruits of Buckingham's expedition againſt France.

CHAP. II.

Third parliament.——Petition of right.——Prorogation.——Death of Buckingham.——New ſeſſion of parliament.——Tonnage and poundage.——Arminianiſm.——Diſſolution.

A More ſubmiſſive nation than the Engliſh would have ſhowed ſymptoms of diſcontent at theſe multiplied violences and diſaſters. Their liberties were, in a manner, raviſhed from them; illegal taxes extorted; their commerce, which had met with a ſevere check from the Spaniſh, was totally annihilated by the French war; thoſe military honors, tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors, had received a grievous ſtain, by two unſucceſsful and ill-conducted expeditions; ſcarce an illuſtrious family but mourned, from the laſt of them, the loſs of a ſon or brother; greater calamities were dreaded from the war with theſe powerful monarchies, concurring with the internal diſorders, under which the nation labored. And all theſe ills were aſcribed ſolely to Charles's obſtinacy, in adhering to the counſels of Buckingham; a man no way intituled, by his birth, age, ſervices, or merit, to that unlimited confidence, repoſed in him. To be ſacrificed to the intereſt, policy, and ambition of the great, is ſo much the common lot of the people, that they may appear unreaſonable, who would pretend to complain of it: But to be the victim of the frivolous gallantry of a favorite, and of his boyiſh caprices, ſeemed the ſubject of peculiar indignation. 1628.

IN this ſituation, it may be imagined, the King and the Duke dreaded, above all things, the aſſembling a parliament: But, ſo ſhort-ſighted had they been in their enterprizing ſchemes, that they found themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of

Chap. II. 1628.

of embracing that expedient. The money levied, or rather extorted, under pretext of prerogative, had come in very ſlowly, and had left ſuch ill-humor in the nation, that it appeared dangerous to renew the ſame meaſure. The abſolute neceſſity of ſupply, it was hoped, would engage the commons to forget all paſt injuries; and, having experienced the ill effects of former obſtinacy, they would probably aſſemble with a reſolution of making ſome reaſonable compliances. The more to ſoften them, it was concerted, by Sir Robert Cotton's advice, that Buckingham ſhould be the firſt perſon, who propoſed in council the calling a new parliament. Having laid in this ſtock of merit, he expected, that all his former miſdemeanors would be overlooked and forgiven, and that, inſtead of a tyrant and oppreſſor, he would be regarded as the firſt patriot in the nation.

Third parliament.

March 17.

THE views of the popular leaders were much more judicious and profound. When the commons aſſembled, they appeared to be men of the ſame independent ſpirit with their predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed of ſuch riches, that their property was computed to ſurpaſs three times that of the houſe of peers; they were deputed by burroughs and counties, inflamed, all of them, by the late open violations of liberty; many of the members themſelves had been caſt into priſon, and had ſuffered by the arbitrary meaſures of the court; yet, notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, which might prompt them to embrace violent reſolutions, they entered upon buſineſs with perfect temper and decorum. They conſidered, that the King, diſguſted at theſe popular aſſemblies, and educated with a contempt of their privileges, wanted but a fair pretext of breaking with them, and would ſeize the firſt opportunity offered by any indecent or undutiful behavior of the members. He had fairly told them, in his firſt ſpeech, that, "If they ſhould not do their duties, in "contributing to the neceſſities of the ſtate, he muſt, in diſcharge of his con-"ſcience, uſe thoſe other means, which God had put into his hands, in order to "ſave that which the follies of ſome particular men may otherways put in dan-"ger. Take not this for a threatening," added the King, "for I ſcorn to "threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who, by nature "and duty, has moſt care of your preſervation and proſperity." The Lord keeper, by the King's direction, ſubjoined, "This way of parliamentary ſup-"plies, as his Majeſty told you, he hath choſen, not as the only way, but as "the fitteſt; not becauſe he is deſtitute of others, but becauſe it is moſt agree-"able to the goodneſs of his own moſt gracious diſpoſition, and to the deſire and "weal of his people. If this be deferred, neceſſity and the ſword of the ene-"my make way to the others. Remember his Majeſty's admonition; I ſay, re-"member it." From theſe avowed maxims, the commons foreſaw, that, if the leaſt handle was afforded, the King would immediately diſſolve them, and thence forward

forward esteem himself justified for violating, in a manner still more open, all the antient forms of the constitution. No remedy could then be looked for, but from insurrections and civil war, of which the issue would be extremely uncertain, and which must, in all events, prove infinitely calamitous to the whole nation. To correct the late disorders in the administration required some new laws, which would, no doubt, appear harsh to a prince, so enamoured of his prerogative; and it was requisite to temper, by the decency and moderation of their debates, the rigor, which must necessarily attend their determinations. And nothing can give us a higher idea of the capacity of those men, who now guided the commons, and of the great authority, which they had acquired, than the forming and executing so judicious and so difficult a plan of operations. Chap. II. 1628.

THE decency, however, which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves, and recommended to others, hindered them not from making the loudest and most vigorous complaints against the grievances, under which the nation had lately labored. Sir Francis Symour said, "This is the great council of the kingdom, "and here with certainty, if not here only, his Majesty may see, as in a true "glass, the state of the kingdom. We are all called hither by his writs, in "order to give him faithful counsel; such as may stand with his honor: And "this we must do without flattery. We are all sent hither by the people, in or-"der to deliver their just grievances: And this we must do without fear. Let "us not act like Cambyses's judges, who, when their approbation was demanded "by the prince to some illegal measure, said, that, *Tho' there was a written law,* "*the Persian kings might follow their own will and pleasure.* This was base flatte-"ry, fitter for our reproof than our imitation; and as fear, so flattery taketh "away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both; and speak my mind "with as much duty, as any man, to his Majesty, without neglecting the pu-"blic.

"BUT how can we express our affections, while we retain our fears; or speak "of giving, till we know whether we have any thing to give. For, if his Ma-"jesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we give?

"THAT this hath been done, appeareth by the billetting of soldiers, a thing "noway advantageous to the King's service, and a burthen to the commonwealth: "By the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusing the loan, who, if they had "done the contrary for fear, had been as blameable as the projectors of that op-"pressive measure. To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preach-"ed in the pulpit, or rather prated, that *All we have is the king's by divine right.* "But when preachers forsake their own calling, and turn ignorant statesmen; we "see how willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a bishopric.

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"HE, I must confess, is no good subject, who would not, willingly and cheerfully, lay down his life, when that sacrifice may promote the interests of his sovereign and the good of the commonwealth. But he is not a good subject, he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom. By opposing these practices, we shall but tread in the steps of our forefathers, who still preferred the public before their private interest, nay before their very lives. It will in us be a wrong done to ourselves, to our posterities, to our consciences, if we forgo this claim and pretension."

"I read of a custom," said Sir Robert Philips, "among the old Romans, that, once every year, they held a solemn festival, at which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they pleased, in order to ease their afflicted minds; and, on the conclusion of the festival, the slaves severally returned to their former servitudes.

"THIS institution may, with some distinction, well set forth our present state and condition. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferance of many violent oppressions, we have now, at last, as those slaves, obtained; for a day, some liberty of speech: But shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves: For we are born free. Yet, what new illegal burthens our estates and persons have groaned under, my heart yearns to think of, my tongue falters to utter.———

"THE grievances, by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgments of lawyers against our liberty."

HAVING mentioned three illegal judgments, passed within his memory; that by which the Scotch, born after James's accession, were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects; that by which the new impositions had been warranted; and the last, by which arbitrary imprisonments were authorized; he thus proceeded.

"I can live, tho' another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, tho' burthened with impositions, beyond what at present I labor under: But to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me; to have my person, pent up in a jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged,———O! improvident ancestors! O! unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands and the liberties of parliament; and, at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes a-

"bout

" bout a conſtitution, franchiſes, property of goods, and the like? What may " any man call his own, if not the liberty of his perſon?

" I am weary of trading theſe ways; and therefore conclude to have a ſelect " committee, in order to frame a petition to his Majeſty for redreſs of theſe " oppreſſions. And this petition being red, examined, and approved, may be " delivered to the King; of whoſe gracious anſwer we have no cauſe to doubt, " our deſires being ſo reaſonable, our intentions ſo loyal, and the manner ſo du- " tiful. Neither need we fear, that this is the critical parliament, as has been " inſinuated; or that this is a way to diſtraction: But aſſure ourſelves of a hap- " py iſſue. Then ſhall the King, as he calls us his great council, find us his true " council, and own us his good council."

THE ſame topics were inforced by Sir Thomas Wentworth. After mention- ing projectors and ill miniſters of ſtate. " Theſe," ſaid he, " have introduced " a privy council, raviſhing, at once, the ſpheres of all antient government; " deſtroying all liberty; impriſoning us without bail or bond. They have ta- " ken from us——What ſhall I ſay? indeed, what have they left us? By tear- " ing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us every means of ſup- " plying the King, and of ingratiating ourſelves by voluntary proofs of our duty " and attachment towards him.

" To the making whole all theſe breaches, I ſhall apply myſelf; and, to all " theſe diſeaſes, ſhall propound a remedy. By one and the ſame thing, have the " King and the people been hurt, and by the ſame muſt they be cured. We " muſt vindicate: What? New things? No: Our antient, legal, and vital " liberties; by re-inforcing the laws, enacted by our anceſtors; by ſetting ſuch " a ſtamp upon them, that no licentious ſpirit ſhall dare henceforth to invade them. " And ſhall we think this a way to break a parliament? No: Our deſires are " modeſt and juſt. I ſpeak both for the intereſt of King and people. If we en- " joy not theſe rights, it will be impoſſible for us to relieve him. Let us never, " therefore, doubt of a favorable reception from his goodneſs."

THESE ſentiments were unanimouſly embraced by the whole houſe. Even the court-party pretended not to plead, in defence of the late meaſures, any thing but the neceſſity, to which the King had been reduced, by the obſtinacy of the for- mer parliament. A vote, therefore, was paſſed without oppoſition, againſt ar- bitrary impriſonments and forced loans. And the ſpirit of liberty having ob- tained ſome ſatisfaction by this exertion of itſelf, the King's re-iterated meſſages, who preſſed for ſupply, were attended to with better temper. Five ſubſidies were voted him; with which, tho' much inferior to his wants, he declared him- ſelf well-ſatisfied. The Duke's approbation too of this meaſure was mentioned

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by Secretary Cooke; but the conjunction of a ſubject with the ſovereign was ill received by the houſe. Tho' diſguſted with the King, the jealouſy, which they felt for his honor, was more ſenſible than that, which his unbounded confidence in the Duke would allow even himſelf to entertain.

THE ſupply, tho' voted, was not, as yet, paſſed into a law; and the commons reſolved to employ the interval, in providing firm barriers to their rights and liberties, ſo lately violated. They knew, that their own vote, declaring the illegality of the former meaſures, had not, of itſelf, ſufficient authority to ſecure the conſtitution againſt all future invaſion. Some act to that purpoſe muſt receive the ſanction of the whole legiſlature; and they appointed a committee to prepare the model of ſo important a law. By collecting into one effort all the dangerous and oppreſſive claims of his prerogative, Charles had expoſed them to the hazard of one aſſault; and had farther, by a nearer view of the conſequences attending them, rouzed the independent genius of the commons. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonment, billetting ſoldiers, martial law; theſe were the grievances complained of, and againſt theſe an eternal remedy was to be provided. The commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unuſual powers or privileges: They aimed only at ſecuring thoſe tranſmitted them from their anceſtors: And their law they reſolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT; as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the antient conſtitution, not any infringement of regal prerogative or acquiſition of new liberties.

Petition of right.

WHILE the committee was employed in framing the petition of right, the favorers of each party, both in parliament and thro'out the nation, were engaged in diſputes about this bill, which, in all likelihood, was to form a memorable aera in the Engliſh government.

THAT the ſtatutes, ſaid the partizans of the commons, which ſecure Engliſh liberty, are not become obſolete, appears hence, that the Engliſh have ever been free, and have ever been governed by law and a limited conſtitution. Privileges in particular, which are founded on the GREAT CHARTER, muſt always remain in force, becauſe derived from a ſource of never failing authority; regarded in all ages, as the moſt ſacred contract betwixt king and people. Such attention was paid to this charter by our generous anceſtors, that they got the confirmation of it re-iterated thirty ſeveral times; and even ſecured it by a law, which ſeems in execution impracticable. They enacted, *That no ſtatute, which ſhould be afterwards enacted in contradiction to any article of that charter, ſhould ever have any force or validity.* But with regard to that important article, which ſecures perſonal liberty; ſo far from attempting, at any time, any legal infringement of it; they have

corroborated

corroborated it by six statutes, and put it out of all doubt and controversy. If in practice it has often been violated, abuses can never come in place of rules; nor can any rights or legal powers be derived from injury and injustice. But the subjects title to personal liberty is not founded only on antient, and therefore, the more sacred laws: It is confirmed by the whole ANALOGY of the government and constitution. A free monarchy, in which every individual is a slave, is a glaring contradiction; and 'tis requisite, where the laws assign privileges to the different orders of the state, that it likewise secure the independance of all the members. If any difference could be made in this particular, 'twere better to abandon even life or property to the arbitrary will of the prince; nor would such immediate danger ensue, from that concession, to the laws and to the privileges of the people. To bereave of his life a man not condemned by any legal trial, is so egregious an exercise of tyranny, as must at once shock the natural humanity of princes, and convey an alarm thro' the whole commonwealth. To confiscate a man's fortune, besides being a most atrocious violence, exposes the monarch so much to the imputation of avarice and rapacity, that it will be rarely attempted in any civilized government. But confinement, tho' a less striking, is no less severe a punishment; nor is there any spirit, so erect and independent, as not to be broke by the long continuance of the silent and inglorious sufferings of a jail. The power of imprisonment, therefore, being the most natural and potent engine of arbitrary government, it is absolutely necessary to remove it from a government, which is free and legal. Chap. II. 1628.

THE partizans of the court reasoned after a different manner. The true rule of government, said they, during any period, is that to which the people, from time immemorial, have been accustomed, and to which they naturally pay a prompt obedience. A practice, which has ever struck their senses, and of which they have seen and heard innumerable precedents, has another kind of authority with them, than maxims derived from antiquated statutes and mouldy records. In vain do the lawyers establish it as a principle, that a statute can never be abrogated by opposite custom; but requires to be expresly repealed by a contrary statute: While they pretend to inculcate an axiom, peculiar to English jurisprudence, they violate the most established principles of human nature; and even, by necessary consequence, reason in contradiction to law itself, which they would represent as so sacred and inviolable. A law, to have any authority, must be derived from a legislature, which has right. And whence do all legislatures derive their right but from long custom and established practice? If a statute, contrary to public good, has, at any time, been rashly voted and assented to, either from the violence of faction, or the inexperience of senates and princes; it cannot be more effectually abrogated, than by a train of contrary precedents, which prove, that, from

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from common conſent, it has tacitly been ſet aſide, as inconvenient and impracticable. Such has been the caſe with all thoſe ſtatutes enacted during turbulent times, in order to confine royal prerogative, and cramp the ſovereign in his protection of the public, and his execution of the laws. But above all the branches of prerogative, that, which is moſt neceſſary to be preſerved, is the power of impriſonment. Faction and diſcontent, like diſeaſes, frequently ariſe in every political body; and, during theſe diſorders, 'tis by the ſalutary exerciſe alone of this diſcretionary power, that rebellions and civil wars can be prevented. To circumſcribe this power, is to deſtroy its nature: Entirely to abrogate it, is impracticable; and the attempt itſelf muſt prove dangerous, if not pernicious to the public. The ſupreme magiſtrate, in critical and turbulent times, will never, conformable either to prudence or duty, allow the ſtate to periſh, while there remains a remedy, which, however irregular, it is ſtill in his power to apply. And if, moved by a regard to public good, he employs any exerciſe of power, condemned by recent and expreſs ſtatute; how greedily, in ſuch dangerous times, will factious leaders ſeize ſuch a pretext of throwing on his government the imputation of tyranny and deſpotiſm? Were the dilemma quite neceſſary, it were ſurely much better for human ſociety to be deſtitute of liberty than to be deprived of government.

IMPARTIAL reaſoners will confeſs, that this ſubject is not, on both ſides, without its difficulties. Where a general and rigid law is enacted againſt arbitrary impriſonments, it would appear, that government cannot, in times of ſedition and faction, be conducted but by temporary ſuſpenſions of the law; and ſuch an expedient, during the age of Charles, was never thought of. The meetings of parliament were too precarious, and their determinations might be too dilatory, to ſerve in caſes of urgent neceſſity. Nor was it then conceived, that the authority of theſe aſſemblies was ever to become ſo ſovereign, that the prince muſt always conform himſelf to it, and could never have any occaſion to guard againſt *their* practices, as well as againſt thoſe of his other ſubjects.

THO' the houſe of lords were not inſenſible to the reaſons urged in favor of the pretenſions of the commons; they eſteemed the arguments, pleaded in favor of the crown, ſtill more cogent and convincing. That aſſembly ſeems, during this whole period, to have acted, in the main, a reaſonable and a moderate part; and if their byaſs inclined a little too much, as is natural, to the ſide of monarchy, they were far from entertaining any deſign of ſacrificing to arbitrary will the liberties and privileges of the nation. Aſhley, the King's ſerjeant, having aſſerted, in a pleading before the peers, that the king muſt ſometimes govern by acts of ſtate as well as by laws; this poſition gave ſuch offence, that he was immediately

mediately committed to priſon, and was not releaſed but upon his recantation and ſubmiſſion. Being, however, afraid, that the commons would go too far in their projected petition, the peers propoſed a plan of a more moderate petition, which they recommended to the conſideration of the other houſe. It conſiſted meerly in a general declaration, That the great charter, and the ſix ſtatutes, conceived to be explanations of it, ſtand ſtill in force, to all intents and purpoſes; that, in conſequence of the charter and the ſtatutes, and by the tenor of the antient cuſtoms and laws of the land, every free ſubject has a fundamental property in his goods and a fundamental liberty of his perſon; that this property and liberty are as entire at preſent as during any former period of the Engliſh government; that in all common caſes, the common law ought to be the ſtandard of proceedings: "And in caſe, that, for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon, the general ſafety "of his people, or the peaceable government of the kingdom, the King ſhall find "juſt cauſe, for reaſons of ſtate, to impriſon or reſtrain any man's perſon; he "was petitioned graciouſly to declare, that within a *convenient* time, he ſhall and "will expreſs the cauſe of the commitment or reſtraint, either general or ſpecial, "and upon a cauſe ſo expreſſed, will leave the priſoner immediately to be tried "according to the common law of the land."

Archbishop Abbot was employed by the lords to recommend, in a conference, this plan of a petition to the houſe of commons. The prelate, as was, no doubt, foreſeen from his known principles, was not extremely urgent in his applications; and the lower houſe were fully convinced, that the general declarations ſignified nothing, and that the latter clauſe left their liberties in a much worſe condition than before. They proceeded, therefore, with great zeal, in framing the model of a petition, which ſhould contain expreſſions, more preciſe, and more favorable to public freedom.

The King could eaſily ſee the conſequences of theſe proceedings. Tho' he had offered, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, to give his conſent to any law for the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the people; he had not expected, that ſuch inroads ſhould be made on what he eſteemed his prerogative. In order, therefore, to divert the commons from their intention, he ſent a meſſage, where he deſired the houſes, "Clearly to let him know, whether they will reſt upon his "royal promiſe in favor of their liberties: Which promiſe he had given at ſe"veral times, and chiefly by the Lord keeper's ſpeech made in his own pre"ſence. If they rely on it, he aſſured them, it ſhould be really and royally "performed."

Secretary

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SECRETARY Coke, who delivered this meſſage, after ſome preamble, and ſome apology for paſt grievances, proceeded in this manner. "When means "were denied his Majeſty, being a young king and newly come to the crown, "which he found engaged in a war; what could we expect in ſuch neceſſities? "His Majeſty has called this parliament to make up the breach: His Majeſty "aſſures us, that we ſhall not have like cauſe to complain: He aſſures us, that "the laws ſhall be eſtabliſhed. What can we deſire more? The important "point is, that we provide for poſterity, and prevent the like practices for the "future. Were not the ſame means provided by them before us? Can we do "more? We ſtand at preſent on the confines betwixt the liberty of the ſubject "and the prerogatives of the King. I hope, that we ſhall not pretend to add "any thing for ourſelves, in order to depreſs him. I will not divine: Yet I "think, that, in ſuch pretenſions, we ſhall find difficulty with the King; nay "perhaps, with the lords. For my part, I ſhall not, as councellor to his Majeſty, "deliver any opinion, which I will not openly declare and juſtify, here, or at the "council-board. Will we, in this neceſſity, ſtrive to bring ourſelves into a better "condition and greater liberty than our fathers enjoyed, and reduce the crown "to a worſe than ever? I dare not adviſe his Majeſty to give way to ſuch mea- "ſures. What we now deſire, if it be no innovation, is all contained in thoſe "acts and ſtatutes; and whatever more we ſhall add is a diminution to the King's "power, and an acceſſion to our own. We deal with a wiſe and valiant prince, "who hath a ſword in his hand for our good; and this good cannot be attained "without power. Do not think, that, by parliamentary debates, or even by "clauſes of ſtatutes, we can make that to be unlawful, which, by experience, "we have found to be derived from neceſſity, and from a neceſſity ſo urgent, that "it admits not of remedy from any law.———And I beſeech you to conſider, "whether thoſe, who have been in the ſame place, which I now occupy, have not "freely given warrants for commitment; and yet, no doubt, been entertained, "nor any complaint made by the ſubject."

UPON this ſpeech there aroſe a great debate in the houſe. Many reaſons were a-new urged on both ſides: But, Sir Thomas Wentworth cloſed the debate, by ſaying, "That never houſe of parliament, ſo far as regarded themſelves, truſted "more than the preſent to the goodneſs of their king: But we are ambitious," ſaid he, "that his Majeſty's goodneſs may remain to poſterity, and we are ac- "countable for a public truſt. There hath been a public violation of the laws by "the King's miniſters; and nothing can ſatisfy the nation but a public repara- "tion. Our deſire to vindicate the ſubject's right by bill will carry us no far- "ther than what is contained in former laws, with ſome modeſt proviſion for in- "ſtruction,

" ſtruction, performance, and execution." This contained ſo much the ſentiments of the houſe, that it was univerſally acquieſced in. Chap. II. 1628.

THE King, however, was not diſcouraged. By another meſſage, he attempted to divert the commons from their purpoſe. He there acknowleged paſt errors, and promiſed, that, hereafter, there ſhould be no juſt cauſe of complaint. And he added, " That the affairs of the kingdom preſs him ſo, that he could not con- " tinue the ſeſſion above a week or two longer: And if the houſe be not ready, " by that time, to do what is fit for themſelves, it ſhall be their own fault." On a ſubſequent occaſion, he aſked them, " Why demand explanations, if you " doubt not the performance of the ſtatutes, according to their true meaning. " Explanations will hazard an encroachment upon the prerogative. And it may " well be ſaid, What need a new law to confirm an old, if you repoſe confidence " in the declarations, which his Majeſty made to both houſes?" The truth is, the great charter and the old ſtatutes were ſufficiently clear in favor of liberty: But as all kings of England, had ever, in caſes of neceſſity or expediency, been accuſtomed, at intervals, to elude them; and as Charles, in a complication of inſtances, arbitrarily and without any juſt cauſe, had lately violated them; the commons judged it requiſite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded or violated, by any interpretation, conſtruction, or contrary precedent. Nor was it ſufficient, they thought, that the King promiſed to return into the way of his predeceſſors. His predeceſſors, in all times, had enjoyed, at leaſt, exerciſed, too much diſcretionary power; and by his recent abuſe of it, the whole world had reaſon to ſee the neceſſity of intirely retrenching it.

SIR Edward Coke urged on this occaſion, with the approbation of the whole houſe, " Was it ever known, that general words were a ſufficient ſatisfaction for " particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the king the word of the " ſovereign? When grievances are complained of, the parliament is to redreſs them. " Did ever the parliament rely on meſſages? They have ever put up petitions of " their grievances, and the king has ever anſwered them. The King's meſſage is " very gracious; but, what is the law of the realm, that is the queſtion. I put " no diffidence in his Majeſty; but the king muſt ſpeak by record, and in parti- " culars. Did you ever know the king's meſſage come into a bill of ſubſidies? " All ſucceeding kings will ſay, *Ye muſt truſt me as you did my predeceſſor, and ye* " *muſt have the ſame confidence in my meſſages.* But meſſages of love never come " into a parliament. Let us put up a petition of right: Not that I diſtruſt the " King; but that I cannot give truſt except in a parliamentary way."

THE King ſtill perſevered in his endeavors to elude the petition. He ſent a letter to the houſe of lords, where he went ſo far as to make a particular declaration,

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" That neither he nor his privy council ſhall or will, at any time hereafter, commit or command to priſon, or otherways reſtrain, any man for not lending money, nor for any other cauſe, which, in his conſcience, he thought not to concern the public good, and the ſafety of king and people." And he farther declared, " That he never would be guilty of ſo baſe an action as to pretend any cauſe, of whoſe truth he was not fully ſatisfied." But this promiſe, tho' inforced to the commons by the recommendation of the upper houſe, made no more impreſſion than all the former meſſages.

AMONG the other ſhifts and evaſions of the King, we may reckon the propoſal of the houſe of peers, to ſubjoin, to the intended petition of right, the following clauſe, " We humbly preſent this petition to your Majeſty, not only " with a care of preſerving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave in" tire that *ſovereign power*, with which your Majeſty is truſted for the protection, " ſafety, and happineſs of your people." Leſs penetration, than what was poſſeſſed by the leaders of this houſe of commons, could eaſily diſcover how captious this clauſe was, and how much it was calculated to elude the whole force of the petition.

THESE obſtacles, therefore, being ſurmounted, the petition of right paſſed the commons, and was ſent to the upper houſe*. The peers, who were probably

* *This petition is of ſo great importance, that we ſhall here give it at length.* Humbly ſhew unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, That, whereas it is declared and enacted, by a ſtatute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid ſhall be laid or levied by the King or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and aſſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, barons, knights, burgeſſes, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; (2) And, by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no perſon ſhould be compelled to make any loans to the king againſt his will, becauſe ſuch loans were againſt reaſon, and the franchiſe of the land; (3) And, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none ſhould be charged by any charge or impoſition called a benevolence, nor by ſuch like charge; (4) By which the ſtatutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of this realm, your ſubjects have inherited this freedom, that they ſhould not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not ſet by common conſent in parliament.

II. Yet nevertheleſs, of late divers commiſſions directed to ſundry commiſſioners in ſeveral counties, with inſtructions, have iſſued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places aſſembled, and required to lend certain ſums of money unto your Majeſty, and many of them, upon their refuſal ſo to do, have had an oath adminiſtered unto them not warrantable by the laws or ſtatutes of this realm, and have been conſtrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy council, and, in other places, and others of them, have been therefore impriſoned, confined, and ſundry other ways moleſted and diſquieted; (2) And divers other charges have been laid

bably well pleaſed in ſecret, that all their ſollicitations had been eluded by the commons, readily paſſed the petition without any material alteration; and nothing but the royal aſſent was wanting to give it the force of a law. The King accordingly came to the houſe of peers, ſent for the commons; and, being ſeated in his

laid and levied upon your people, in ſeveral counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commiſſioners for muſters, juſtices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your Majeſty, or your privy council, againſt the laws and free cuſtoms of this realm.

III. And whereas alſo, by the ſtatute called *The great charter of the liberties of England*, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or impriſoned, or be diſſeized of his freehold or liberties, or his free cuſtoms, or be outlawed or exiled, or in manner deſtroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And, in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what eſtate or condition that he be, ſhould be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſherited, nor put to death, without being brought to anſwer by due proceſs of law:

V. Nevertheleſs, againſt the tenor of the ſaid ſtatutes, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your ſubjects have of late been impriſoned without any cauſe ſhewed; (2) And when, for their deliverance, they were brought before juſtice, by your Majeſty's writs of *Habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court ſhould order, and their keepers commanded to certify the cauſes of their detainer, no cauſe was certified, but that they were detained by your Majeſty's ſpecial command, ſignified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to ſeveral priſons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make anſwer according to the law:

VI. And whereas of late great companies of ſoldiers and mariners have been diſperſed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, againſt their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houſes, and there to ſuffer them to ſojourn, againſt the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people:

VII. And whereas alſo, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man ſhould be fore-judged of life or limb againſt the form of the *Great charter* and law of the land; (2) And, by the ſaid *Great charter*, and other the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws eſtabliſhed in this your realm, either by the cuſtoms of the ſame realm, or by acts of parliament; (3) And whereas no offender, of what kind ſoever, is exempted from the proceedings to be uſed, and puniſhments to be inflicted by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm: Nevertheleſs, of late divers commiſſions, under your Majeſty's great ſeal, have iſſued forth, by which certain perſons have been aſſigned and appointed commiſſioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the juſtice of martial law, againſt ſuch ſoldiers and mariners, or other diſſolute perſons joining with them, as ſhould commit any murther, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or miſdemeanor whatſoever, and by ſuch ſummary courſe and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is uſed in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of ſuch offenders, and them to cauſe to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof ſome of your Majeſty's ſubjects have been, by ſome of the ſaid commiſſioners, put to death, when and where, if, by the laws and ſtatutes of the land, they had deſerved

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chair of ſtate, the petition was red to him. Great was now the aſtoniſhment of all men, when, inſtead of the uſual conciſe, and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles ſaid, in anſwer to the petition, "The King "willeth, that right be done according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, and "that the ſtatutes be put in due execution; that his ſubjects may have no cauſe "to complain of any wrong or oppreſſion, contrary to their juſt rights and li- "berties, to the preſervation whereof he holds himſelf in conſcience as much "obliged as of his own prerogative.

IT is ſurprizing, that Charles, who had ſeen ſo many inſtances of the jealouſy of the commons, who had himſelf ſo much rouzed that jealouſy by his frequent evaſive meſſages during this ſeſſion, could imagine, that they would reſt ſatisfied with an anſwer ſo vague and undetermined. It was evident, that the unuſual form alone of the anſwer muſt excite their attention; that the diſappointment muſt inflame

death, by the ſame laws and ſtatutes alſo they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed:

IX. And alſo ſundry grievous offenders, by color thereof claiming an exemption, have eſcaped the puniſhments due to them by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, by reaſon that divers of your officers and miniſters of juſtice have unjuſtly refuſed or forborn to proceed againſt ſuch offenders, according to the ſame laws and ſtatutes, upon pretence that the ſaid offenders were puniſhable only by martial law, and by authority of ſuch commiſſions as aforeſaid; (2) Which commiſſions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the ſaid laws and ſtatutes of this your realm:

X. They do therefore humbly pray your moſt excellent Majeſty, That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or ſuch like charge, without common conſent, by act of parliament; (2) And that none be called to make anſwer, or take ſuch oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherways moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for refuſal thereof; (3) And that no freeman, in any ſuch manner as is before mentioned, be impriſoned or detained; (4) And that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the ſaid ſoldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be ſo burthened in time to come; (5) And that the foreſaid commiſſions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; And that hereafter no commiſſions of like nature may iſſue forth, to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt, by color of them, any of your Majeſty's ſubjects be deſtroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the land.

XI. All which they moſt humbly pray of your moſt excellent Majeſty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm: and that your Majeſty would alſo vouchſafe to declare, That the awards, doings and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premiſſes, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example; (2) And that your Majeſty would be alſo graciouſly pleaſed, for the further comfort and ſafety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleaſure, That, in the things aforeſaid, all your officers and miniſters ſhall ſerve you according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, as they tender the honor of your Majeſty, and the proſperity of this kingdom. *Stat. 17. Car. cap. 14.*

inflame their anger; and that therefore it was neceſſary, as the petition ſeemed to bear hard on the royal prerogative, to come early to ſome fixed reſolution, either gracefully to comply with it, or courageouſly to reject it. Chap. II. 1628.

IT happened, as might have been foreſeen. The commons returned in very ill-humor. Uſually, when in that diſpoſition, their zeal and jealouſy for religion ran extremely high, and their enmity againſt the unfortunate catholics. But they had already, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, preſented to the King their petition of religion, and had received a ſatisfactory anſwer; tho' they expected, that the execution of the laws againſt papiſts would, for the future, be no more exact and rigid, than they had hitherto found it. To give vent to their preſent indignation, they fell, with their utmoſt force, on Dr. Manwaring.

THERE is nothing, which tends more to excuſe, if not to juſtify, the extreme rigor of the commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of ſuch general principles, as were altogether incompatible with a limited government. Manwaring had preached a ſermon, which the commons found, upon inquiry, to be printed by ſpecial command from the King; and, when this ſermon was looked into, it contained doctrines ſubverſive of all civil liberty. It taught, That, tho' property was ordinarily lodged in the ſubject, yet, whenever any exigency required ſupply, all property was transferred to the king*; that the conſent of parliament was not requiſite for the impoſition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, however irregular, which the prince ſhould make upon his ſubjects. For theſe doctrines, the commons impeached Manwaring before the peers. The ſentence, pronounced upon him, was

* It appears, from Townſhend and Sir Simon D'ewes, that this doctrine, however abſurd, had been before advanced by lawyers, and even in parliament. Serjeant Heale, in the 43d of Elizabeth, ſaid to the houſe, "That he wondered they ſtood either at the granting of a ſubſidy or time of "payment, when all we have is her Majeſty's, and ſhe may lawfully, at her pleaſure, take it from "us, and that ſhe had as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of the crown, and "that he had precedents to prove it." 'Tis certain, when the commons, in the beginning of that reign, were examining a new arbitrary impoſition of the Queen, Cecil brought them orders from her Majeſty not to meddle with that queſtion, telling them it was *Noli me tangere*, and that they muſt not inquire into the prerogative. They quietly ſubmitted to theſe orders. We are not to infer, that theſe violent and arbitrary principles, advanced by Heale, were ever the univerſal, received opinion of England: Even that houſe of commons received them with marks of contempt and diſdain. We can only conclude, that the general ideas of government approached ſo near to them as to give them ſome countenance, and ſome ſmall appearance of reaſon. Lawyers and divines, who hunted after preferment, were tempted to adopt them; and the reſt of the nation were afraid openly to oppoſe them, and had not any eſtabliſhed avowed principle of liberty, upon which they could withſtand them. Scarce even the ſlaves in eaſtern monarchies would admit of ſo wild a doctrine, except with an immediate view of flattering their pampered tyrant.

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was, That he ſhould be impriſoned during the pleaſure of the houſe, be fined a thouſand pound to the King, make ſubmiſſion and acknowlegement for his offence, be ſuſpended during three years, be incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical dignity or ſecular office, and that his book be called in and burnt.

IT may be worth notice, that, no ſooner was the ſeſſion ended, than this man, ſo juſtly diſagreeable to both houſes, received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of conſiderable value. Some years after, he was raiſed to the dignity of biſhop of St. Aſaph. If the republican ſpirit of the commons increaſed, beyond all reaſonable bounds, the monarchical ſpirit of the court; this latter, carried to ſo high a pitch, tended ſtill farther to augment the former. And thus extremes were every where affected, and the juſt medium was gradually deſerted by all men.

FROM Manwaring, the houſe of commons proceeded to cenſure the conduct of Buckingham, whoſe name, hitherto, they had cautiouſly forborne to mention. In vain, did the King ſend them a meſſage, where he told them, that the ſeſſion was drawing near a concluſion; and deſired, that they would not enter upon new buſineſs, nor caſt any aſperſions on his government and miniſtry. Tho' this meſſage was endeavored to be explained and ſoftened by a ſubſequent meſſage; as Charles was apt haſtily to correct any haſty ſtep, which he had taken; it ſerved rather to inflame than appeaſe the commons: As if the method of their proceeding had here been preſcribed to them. It was foreſeen, that a great tempeſt was ready to burſt on the Duke; and in order to divert it, the King thought proper, upon a joint application of the lords and commons, to endeavor the giving them ſatisfaction, with regard to the petition of right. He came, therefore, to the houſe of peers, and pronouncing the uſual form of words, *Let it be right as is deſired*, gave full ſanction and authority to the petition. The acclamations, with which the houſe reſounded, and the univerſal joy diffuſed over the nation, ſhowed how much this petition had been the object of all men's vows and expectations.

IT may be affirmed, without any exaggeration, that the King's aſſent to the petition of right produced ſuch a change in the government, as was almoſt equivalent to a revolution; and by circumſcribing, in ſo many articles, the royal prerogative, gave additional ſecurity to the liberties of the ſubject. Yet were the commons far from being ſatisfied with this important conceſſion. Their ill humor had been ſo much irritated by the King's frequent evaſions and delays, that it could not be preſently appeaſed by an aſſent, which he allowed to be ſo ungracefully extorted from him. Perhaps too, the popular leaders, implacable, and artful, ſaw the opportunity favorable; and turning againſt the King thoſe very

very weapons, with which he had furniſhed them, reſolved to purſue the victory. The bill, however, for five ſubſidies, which had been formerly voted, immediately paſſed the houſe; becauſe the granting that ſupply was, in a manner, tacitely contracted for, upon the royal aſſent to the petition; and had faith been here violated, no farther truſt could have ſubſiſted betwixt King and parliament. Having made this conceſſion, the commons continued to carry their ſcrutiny into every part of government. In ſome particulars, their induſtry was laudable; in ſome, it may be expoſed to cenſure. Chap. IX. 1628.

A little after writs were iſſued for ſummoning this parliament, a commiſſion had been granted to Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord keeper, the Earl of Marlborough, high treaſurer, the Earl of Mancheſter, Lord preſident of the council, the Earl of Worceſter, privy ſeal, the Duke of Buckingham, high admiral, and all the conſiderable officers of the crown, in the whole thirty three. By this commiſſion, which, from the number of perſons named in it, could be no ſecret, the commiſſioners were empowered to meet, and concert among themſelves the methods of levying money by impoſitions, or otherways; *Where form and circumſtance*, as expreſſed in the commiſſion, *muſt be diſpenſed with, rather than the ſubſtance be loſt or hazarded.* In other words, this was a ſcheme for finding expedients, which might raiſe the prerogative to an unlimited height, and render parliaments intirely uſeleſs. The commons applied for cancelling the commiſſion; and were, no doubt, deſirous, that all the world ſhould obſerve how arbitrary the King's principles were, and what little regard he was diſpoſed to pay to the liberties and privileges of his people.

A commiſſion had likeways been granted, and ſome money remitted, in order to raiſe a thouſand German horſe, and tranſport them into England. Theſe were interpreted to be levied, in order to ſupport the projected impoſitions or exciſes; tho' the number ſeems very inſufficient for ſuch a purpoſe. The houſe took notice of this deſign in very ſevere terms: And no meaſure, ſurely, could be projected more generally odious to the whole nation. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the King was ſo far right, that he had, now at laſt, fallen on the only effectual method of ſupporting and extending his prerogative. But at the ſame time, he ſhould have been ſenſible, that, till provided of a ſufficient military force, all his attempts, in oppoſition to the riſing ſpirit of the nation, muſt, in the end, prove intirely fruitleſs; and that the higher he ſcrewed up the ſprings of government, while he had ſo little real power to retain them in that forced ſituation, with more fatal violence muſt they fly out, when any accident occurred to reſtore them to their natural liberty.

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THE commons next resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct and behavior, against whom they were implacable. They agreed to present a remonstrance to the King, in which they recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumstance, which could render the whole administration despicable and odious. The compositions with catholics, they said, amounted to no less than a toleration, hateful to God, full of dishonor and disprofit to his Majesty, and of extreme scandal and grief to his good people: They took notice of the violations of liberty above-mentioned, against which the petition of right seems to have provided a sufficient remedy: They mentioned the decay of trade, the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé, the encouragement given to arminians, the commission for transporting German horse, that for levying new impositions; and all these grievances they ascribed solely to the ill conduct of the Duke of Buckingham. This remonstrance was, perhaps, not the less provoking to Charles, that, joined to the extreme acrimony of the subject, there were preserved in it, as in most of the protestations and remonstrances of that age, an affected civility and submission in the language.

Prorogation.

IT was not without good grounds, that the commons were so fierce and assuming. Tho' they had already granted the King the supply of five subsidies, they still retained a pledge in their hands, which, they thought, ensured them of success in all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully, this session, concealed their intention of invading that branch of revenue, till the royal assent had been obtained to the petition of right, which they justly esteemed of such importance. They then openly asserted, that the levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament was a palpable violation of all the antient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right, so lately granted. The King, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting this remonstrance, came suddenly to the parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation.

26th of June.

BEING freed, for some time, from the embarrassment of this assembly, Charles began to look towards foreign wars, where all his efforts were equally imprudent and unsuccessful, as in his domestic government. To the relief of Rochelle, now closely besieged by land, and threatened with a blockade by sea, was dispatched the Earl of Denbigh, brother in law to Buckingham: But he returned without effecting any thing; and declining to attack the enemy's fleet, brought on the English arms the imputation, either of cowardice or ill conduct. In order to repair this dishonor, the Duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, on which all the subsidies, given by parliament,

ament, had been expended. This ſupply had very much diſappointed the King's expectations. The ſame mutinous ſpirit, which prevailed in the houſe of commons, had diffuſed itſelf over the nation; and the commiſſioners, appointed for making the aſſeſſments, had connived at all frauds, which might diminiſh the ſupply, and reduce the crown to ſtill greater neceſſities. This national diſcontent, communicated to a deſperate enthuſiaſt, ſoon broke out in an event, which may be conſidered as very remarkable. Chap. II. 1628.

THERE was one Felton, of a good family, but of an ardent, melancholic temper, who had ſerved under the Duke, in the ſtation of a lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the iſle of Rhé, Felton had ſollicited for the company; and when diſappointed, he threw up his commiſſion, and retired in diſcontent from the army. While private reſentment was boiling in his ſullen, unſociable mind, he heard the nation reſound with complaints againſt the Duke; and he met with the remonſtrance of the commons, where his enemy was repreſented as the cauſe of every national grievance, and as the great enemy of the public. Religious fanaticiſm farther inflamed theſe vindictive reflections; and he fancied, that he would do heaven acceptable ſervice, if, at one blow, he diſpatched this dangerous foe to religion and to his country. Full of theſe dark views, he ſecretly arrived at Portſmouth, at the ſame time with the Duke, and watched for an opportunity of effecting his bloody purpoſe.

BUCKINGHAM had been engaged in converſation with Soubize and other French gentlemen; and a difference of ſentiments having ariſen, the diſpute, tho' conducted with temper and decency, had produced ſome of thoſe vehement geſticulations and lively exertions of voice, in which that nation, more than the Engliſh, are apt to indulge themſelves. The converſation being finiſhed, the Duke drew towards the door; and in that very paſſage, turning himſelf to ſpeak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a collonel in the army, he was, on the ſudden, over Sir Thomas's ſhoulder, ſtruck upon the breaſt with a knife. Without uttering other words than *The villain has killed me*; in the ſame moment, pulling out the knife, he breathed his laſt. 23d of Aug. Death of Buckingham.

No man had ſeen the blow, nor the perſon, who gave it; but in the confuſion, every one made his own conjecture; and all agreed, that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, whoſe angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been underſtood, by the byeſtanders. In the hurry of revenge, they had inſtantly been put to death, had they not been ſaved by ſome of more temper and judgment, who, tho' they had the ſame opinion of their

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their guilt, thought proper to reserve them for a judicial trial and examination.

NEAR the door, there was found a hat, in the inside of which was sowed a paper, where four or five lines were writ of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation or attempt towards a prayer. It was easily concluded, that this hat belonged to the assassin: But the difficulty still remained; *Who that person should be?* For the writing discovered not the name; and whoever he was, it was natural to believe, that he had already fled far enough, not to be found without a hat.

IN this hurry, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, *Here is the fellow, who killed the Duke*; every body ran to ask, *Which is he?* The man very sedately answered, *I am he.* The more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords: Others, more deliberate, defended and protected him: He himself, with open arms, very calmly and chearfully exposed his breast to the swords of the most enraged; being willing to fall a sudden sacrifice to their anger, rather than be reserved for that public justice, which he knew must be executed upon him.

HE was now known to be that Felton, who had served in the army. Being carried into a private room, it was thought proper so far to dissemble as to tell him, that Buckingham was only grievously wounded, but not without hopes of recovery. Felton smiled, and told them, that the Duke, he knew full well, had received a blow, which had terminated all their hopes. When asked, at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed, he answered, that they needed not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit enough with him to have disposed him to such an action; that he had not even entrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear, if his hat was found: For that, believing he would perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to write them.

WHEN the King was informed of this assassination, he received the news in public with an unmoved and undisturbed countenance; and the byestanders, who studied his looks, concluded, that secretly he was not displeased to be rid of a minister, so generally odious to the nation. But Charles's command of himself proceeded intirely from the gravity and composure of his temper. He was still, as much as ever, attached to his favorite; and, during his whole life, he retained an affection for Buckingham's friends, and a prejudice against his enemies. He urged too, that Felton should be put to the question, in order to extort from

from him a discovery of his accomplices: But the judges declared, that, tho' that practice had been formerly not unusual, it was altogether illegal. So much more punctilious reasoners, with regard to law, had they become, from the jealous scruples of the house of commons. Chap. II. 1628.

MEAN while the distress of Rochelle had risen to the utmost extremity. That vast genius of Richelieu, which made him form the greatest enterprizes, led him to attempt their execution, by means equally great and extraordinary. In order to deprive Rochdle of all succor, he had dared to project the throwing a-cross the harbour a mole of a mile's extent in that boistrous ocean; and having executed his project, he now held the town closely blockaded on all sides. The inhabitants, tho' pressed with the greatest rigors of famine, still refused to submit; being supported, partly by the lectures of their zealous preachers, partly by the daily hopes of assistance from England. After Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the Earl of Lindesey; who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break thro' the mole, and force his way into the town: But by the delays of the English, that work was now fully finished and fortified; and the Rochellers, finding their last hopes to fail them, were reduced to surrender at discretion, even in sight of the English admiral. Of 15000 persons, who had been shut up in the town, 4000 alone survived the fatigues and famine, which they had undergone. Such mighty influence had the religious spirit over that sect; and so much did it overbalance in their breasts every motive of self preservation, of duty to their prince, and of regard to their native country! 18th of Oct.

THIS was the first necessary step towards the prosperity of France. Foreign enemies, as well as domestic factions, being deprived of this resource, that kingdom began now to shine forth in its full splendor. By a steddy prosecution of wise plans, both of war and policy, it gradually gained an ascendant over the rival power of Spain; and every order of the state and every sect were reduced to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign. The victory, however, over the hugonots was, at first, pushed by the French King with great moderation. A toleration was still continued to them; the only avowed and open toleration, which, at that time, was granted in any European kingdom.

THE failure of an enterprize, where the English nation, from religious sympathy, so much interested themselves, could not but diminish the King's authority in the parliament during the approaching session: But the commons, when assembled, found many other causes of complaint. Buckingham's conduct and character, with some had been a reason, with others a pretext, for discontent against public 1629. 20. January. New session of parliament.

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public meaſures: But after his death, there wanted not new reaſons and new pretexts for general diſſatisfaction. Manwaring's pardon and promotion were taken notice of: Sibthorpe and Coſins, two clergymen, who, for like reaſons, were equally diſagreeable to the commons, had met with like favor from the King: Montague, who had been cenſured for moderation to the catholics, the greateſt of crimes, had been created biſhop of Chicheſter. They found, likeways, upon inquiry, that all the copies of the petition of right, which were diſperſed, had, by the King's orders, annexed to them the firſt anſwer, which had given ſo little ſatisfaction to the commons. A poor artifice of Charles! As if he could, by this means, perſuade the people, that he had no way receded from any of his former claims and pretenſions, or as if the prevalence of ſuch an opinion could be of any advantage to him. Selden too complained in the houſe, that one Savage, contrary to the petition of right, had been puniſhed with the loſs of his ears, by a diſcretionary or arbitrary ſentence of the ſtar-chamber. So ready were they, on their part, to ſtretch the petition into ſuch conſequences as might deprive the crown of powers, which, from immemorial cuſtom, were ſuppoſed inherent in it.

Tonnage and poundage.

BUT the great article, on which the houſe of commons ſplit with the King, and which finally created in Charles a diſguſt to all parliaments, was the claim of tonnage and poundage. On this occaſion, therefore, it is neceſſary to give an account of that controverſy.

THE duty of tonnage and poundage, in more antient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of the parliament; but, on Henry VI. and all the ſucceeding princes, it had been conferred during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. The neceſſity of levying this duty had been ſo apparent, that each king had ever claimed it from the moment of his acceſſion; and the firſt parliament of each reign had ever by vote, conferred on the prince what they found him already in poſſeſſion of. Suitable to the inaccurate genius of the old conſtitution, this abuſe, however conſiderable, was never perceived nor remedied; tho' nothing could have been eaſier than for the parliament to have prevented it. By granting this duty to each prince, during his own life, and, for a year after his deceaſe, to the ſucceſſor, all inconveniences had been obviated; and yet the duty had never, for a moment, been levied without proper authority. But contrivances of that nature were not dreamed of during thoſe rude ages: And, as ſo complicated and jealous a government as the Engliſh cannot ſubſiſt without many ſuch refinements; it is eaſy to ſee, how favorable every inaccuracy muſt formerly have proved to the royal authority,

rity, which, on all emergencies, was obliged to ſupply, by diſcretionary power, the great deficiency of the laws. Chap. II. 1629.

DURING that ſhort interval, which elapſed, betwixt Charles's acceſſion and his firſt parliament, he had followed the example of his predeceſſors; and no fault was found with his conduct in this particular. But what was moſt remarkable in the proceedings of that houſe of commons, and what proved beyond controverſy, that they had ſeriouſly formed a plan for reducing their prince to dependance, was, that, inſtead of granting this ſupply during the King's life, as it had been enjoyed by all his immediate predeceſſors, they voted it only for a year; and, after that ſhould be elapſed, reſerved to themſelves the power of renewing or refuſing the ſame conceſſion. But the houſe of peers, who ſaw that this duty was now become more neceſſary than ever to ſupply the growing neceſſities of the crown, and who approved not of this encroaching ſpirit of the commons, rejected the bill; and the diſſolution of that parliament followed ſo ſoon after, that no attempt ſeems to have been made for the obtaining tonnage and poundage in any other form *.

CHARLES, mean while, continued ſtill to levy theſe duties by his own authority; and the nation was ſo accuſtomed to this exertion of royal power, that no ſcruple was, at firſt, entertained of ſubmitting to it. But the ſucceeding parliament excited doubts in every one. The commons made there ſome ſteps towards declaring it illegal to levy tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament, and they openly ſhowed their intention of employing this engine, in order to extort from the crown conceſſions of the moſt important nature. But Charles was not yet ſufficiently tamed to compliance; and the abrupt diſſolution of the parliament, as above related, put an end, for the time, to their farther pretenſions.

THE following interval, betwixt the ſecond and third parliament, was diſtinguiſhed by ſo many open and flagrant violations of public liberty, that men had little leizure to attend to this affair of tonnage and poundage, where the abuſe of power in the crown might ſeem to be of a more diſputable nature. But after the commons, during the precedent ſeſſion, had remedied all theſe grievances by means

* The reaſon, aſſigned by Sir Philip Warwick, for this unuſual meaſure of the commons, is, that they intended to deprive the crown of the prerogative, which it had aſſumed, of laying on impoſitions, and, at the ſame time, were reſolved to cut off the new impoſitions laid on by James. Theſe were conſiderable diminutions both of revenue and prerogative; and whether they would have there ſtopt, conſidering their preſent diſpoſition, may appear ſomewhat uncertain. The King, it ſeems, and the lords were reſolved not to truſt them; nor to render a revenue once precarious, which perhaps they might never afterwards be able to get re-eſtabliſhed on the old footing.

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means of their petition of right, which was become ſo neceſſary; they afterwards proceeded to take this matter into conſideration, and they ſhowed the ſame intention of exacting, in return for the grant of this revenue, very large compliances on the ſide of the crown. Their ſudden prorogation prevented them from bringing their pretenſions to a full concluſion.

WHEN Charles opened this ſeſſion, he had foreſeen, that the ſame controverſy would ariſe; and he therefore took care, very early, among many mild and reconciling expreſſions, to inform the commons, "That he had not taken theſe duties "as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever was, and ſtill is "his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people: And that, if he had hither- "to levied tonnage and poundage, he pretended to juſtify himſelf only by the ne- "ceſſity of ſo doing, not by any right, which he aſſumed." This conceſſion, which probably proceeded from the King's moderate temper, now free'd from the impulſe of Buckingham's violent councils, might have ſatisfied the commons, had they entertained no other view, than that of aſcertaining their own rights and privileges. But they carried their pretenſions much higher. They inſiſted, as a requiſite preliminary, that the King ſhould once deſiſt from levying theſe duties; after which they were to take into conſideration, how far they would reſtore him to the poſſeſſion of a revenue, of which he had clearly diveſted himſelf. But beſides that this extreme rigor had never been exerciſed towards any of his predeceſſors, and many obvious prejudices muſt follow the intermiſſion of the cuſtoms; there were other reaſons, which deterred Charles from complying with ſo hard a condition. It was probable, that the commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reducing their prince to perpetual ſervitude; they certainly would cut off all the new impoſitions, which Mary and Elizabeth, but eſpecially James had levied, and which formed no deſpicable part of the public revenue; and they openly declared, that they had, at preſent, many important pretenſions, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance was refuſed, no ſupply muſt be expected from the commons.

IT is eaſy to ſee in what an inextricable labyrinth Charles was now engaged. By his own conceſſions, by the principles of the Engliſh government, and by the form of every bill, which had granted this duty, tonnage and poundage was derived entirely from the free gift of the people; and, by conſequence, might be withdrawn at their pleaſure. If unreaſonable in their refuſal, they ſtill refuſed nothing but what was their own. If public neceſſity required this ſupply, it alſo required the King's compliance with thoſe conditions, which were the price of acquiring it. Tho' the motive of granting it had been the enabling the King to guard the ſeas; it followed not, that, becauſe he guarded the ſeas, he was therefore entitled to this

this revenue, without any farther formality; ſince the people had ſtill reſerved to themſelves the right of judging how far that ſervice merited ſuch a ſupply. But Charles, notwithſtanding his public declaration, was far from aſſenting to this concluſion, in its full extent. The plain conſequence, he ſaw, of all theſe rigors, and refinements, and inferences, was, that he, without any public neceſſity, and without any default of his own, muſt, of a ſudden, even from his firſt acceſſion, become a magiſtrate of a very different nature from any of his predeceſſors, and muſt fall into a total dependance on ſubjects, over whom former kings, eſpecially thoſe immediately preceding, had exerciſed an authority almoſt unlimited. Entangled in a chain of conſequences, which he could not eaſily break, he was inclined to go higher, and rather deny the firſt principle, than admit of concluſions, which to him appeared ſo abſurd and unreaſonable. Suitable to the ideas hitherto entertained both by natives and foreigners, the monarch he eſteemed the eſſence and ſoul of the Engliſh government; and whatever other power pretended to annihilate or even abrige the royal authority, muſt neceſſarily, he thought, either in its nature or exerciſe, be deemed no better than an uſurpation. Willing to preſerve the antient harmony of the conſtitution, he had ever intended to comply, as far as he *eaſily* could, with the antient forms of adminiſtration: But when theſe forms appeared to him, by the inveterate obſtinacy of the commons, to have no other tendency than to diſturb that harmony, and to introduce a new conſtitution; he concluded, that, in this violent ſituation, what was ſubordinate muſt neceſſarily yield to what was principal, and the privileges of the people, for a time, give way to royal prerogative. From the rank of a monarch to be degraded into a ſlave of his inſolent ſubjects, ſeemed, of all indignities, the greateſt; and nothing, in his judgment, could exceed the humiliation attending ſuch a ſtate, but the meanneſs of tamely ſubmitting to it, without making ſome efforts to preſerve the authority tranſmitted to him by his predeceſſors. Chap. II. 1629.

THO' theſe were his reflections and reſolutions before the parliament aſſembled, he did not immediately break with them, upon their delay of voting him this ſupply. He thought, that he could better juſtify any ſtrong meaſure, which he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he allowed them to carry, to the utmoſt extremity, their attacks upon his government and prerogative. He contented himſelf for the preſent with ſolliciting the houſe by meſſages and ſpeeches. But the commons, inſtead of hearkening to his ſollicitations, proceeded to carry their cenſorial ſcrutiny into his management of religion, which was the only grievance, to which they had not, as yet, by their petition of right, applied a ſufficient remedy.

Chap. II. 1629. Arminianism.

It was not possible, that this century, so fertile in religious sects and disputes, could escape the controversy concerning fatalism and free will, which, being deeply intermingled, both with philosophy and theology, had, in all ages, thrown every school and every church into such inextricable doubt and perplexity. The first reformers in England, as in other European countries, had embraced the most rigid tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, and had composed, upon that system, all the articles of their religious creed. But these principles having met with opposition from Arminius and his sectaries, the controversy was soon brought into this island, and began there to diffuse itself. The arminians, finding more encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the church than from the fanaticism of the puritans, gradually incorporated themselves with the former; and some of that sect by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest offices and preferments in the hierarchy. But their success with the public had not been altogether answerable to that which they met with in the church and the court. Thro'out the nation, they still lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. The commons now levelled against them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious. To impartial spectators surely, if any such had been, at that time, in England, it must have given sufficient entertainment, to see a popular assembly, enflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to handle questions, for which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquillity of retreat, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution.

Amid that complication of disputes, in which men were involved, we may observe, that the appellation, *puritan*, stood for three parties, which, tho' commonly united together, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to all these, stood, the court-party, the hierarchy, and the arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced but a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favorable to the church and to monarchy. But as the controversies, on every subject, grew daily warmer, men united themselves more closely with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became quite uniform and regular.

This house of commons, which, like all the preceding ones, during the reigns of James and Charles, had been much governed by the puritanical party, thought,

thought, that they could not better ſerve their cauſe, than by ſtigmatizing and puniſhing the arminian ſect, which, introducing an innovation in the church, were the leaſt favored and leaſt powerful of all their antagoniſts. From this meaſure, it was eaſily foreſeen, that, beſide gratifying a bigotted animoſity in the doctrinal puritans, both the puritans in diſcipline and thoſe in politics would reap conſiderable advantages. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other biſhops, who were the chief ſupporters of epiſcopal government and the moſt zealous partizans of the diſcipline and ceremonies of the church, were all ſuppoſed to be tainted with arminianiſm. The ſame men and their diſciples were the ſtrenuous preachers of paſſive obedience and of unlimited ſubmiſſion to princes; and if theſe could once be cenſured, and be expelled the church and court, it was concluded, that the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be leſs rigidly inſiſted on, and the King, deprived of his moſt faithful friends, be obliged to abate thoſe high claims of prerogative, on which at preſent he inſiſted. Chap. II. 1629.

But Charles, beſide a view of the political conſequences, which muſt reſult from a compliance with ſuch pretenſions, was ſtrongly determined, from principles of piety and conſcience, to oppoſe them. Neither the diſſipation incident to youth, nor the pleaſures attending a high fortune had been able to prevent this virtuous Prince from embracing the moſt ſincere ſentiments of religion; and that character, which, in that religious age, ſhould have been of infinite advantage to him, proved, in the end, the chief cauſe of his ruin: Merely, becauſe the religion, adopted by him, was not of that preciſe mode and ſect, which began to prevail among his ſubjects. His piety, tho' remote from popery, had a tincture of ſuperſtition in it; and, being averſe to the gloomy and fanatical extravagancies of the puritans, was repreſented by them as tending towards the abominations of antichriſt. Laud too had unfortunately acquired a great aſcendant over him: And as all thoſe prelates, aimed at by the commons, were regarded as his chief friends and moſt favored courtiers; he was reſolved not to diſarm and diſhonor himſelf, by abandoning them to the reſentment of his enemies.

In the debates of the commons, which are tranſmitted to us, 'tis eaſy to diſcern ſo early ſome ſparks of that enthuſiaſtic fire, which afterwards ſet the whole nation in combuſtion. One Rouſe made uſe of an alluſion, which, tho' low, ſeems to have been borrowed, from the writings of Lord Bacon. "If a man meet a dog "alone," ſaid he, "the dog is fearful, tho' never ſo fierce by nature: But, if "the dog have his maſter with him, he will ſet upon that man, from whom he "fled before. This ſhows, that lower natures, being backed by higher, encreaſe "in courage and ſtrength; and certainly man, being backed with omnipotency, "is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are poſſible to him that believes;

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" and where all things are poſſible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, " let it be the unanimous conſent and reſolution of us all to make a vow and co- " venant from henceforth to hold faſt our God and our religion; and then " ſhall we from henceforth expect with certainty happineſs in this world."

OLIVER CROMWEL, at that time, a young man, of no account in the nation, is mentioned in theſe debates, as complaining of one, who, he was told, preached flat popery. 'Tis amuſing to obſerve the firſt words of this fanatical hypocrite correſpond ſo exactly to his character.

THE enquiries and debates concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with theſe theological or metaphyſical controverſies. The officers of the cuſtom-houſe were ſummoned before the commons to give an account by what authority they had ſeized the goods of merchants, who paid not theſe duties: The barons of the exchequer were queſtioned concerning their decrees on that head: The ſheriff of London was committed to the tower for his activity in ſupporting the officers of the cuſtom-houſe: The goods of Rolles, a merchant, and member of the houſe, being ſeized for his refuſal to pay the duties, complaints were made of this violence, as if it were a breach of privilege: Charles avowed his officers in all theſe meaſures; and the quarrel grew every day higher betwixt him and the commons. Mention was made in the houſe of impeaching Sir Richard Weſton, Lord treaſurer; and the King began to entertain thoughts of finiſhing the ſeſſion by a diſſolution.

March 2.

SIR John Elliot framed a remonſtrance againſt levying tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refuſed. He red it himſelf. The queſtion being then called for, the ſpeaker, Sir John Finch, ſaid, *That he had a command from the King to adjourn, and to put no queſtion.* Upon which he roſe and left the chair. The whole houſe was in an uproar. The ſpeaker was puſhed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Holles and Valentine, till a ſhort remonſtrance was framed, and was paſſed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papiſts and arminians were there declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Thoſe, who levied tonnage and poundage, were branded with the ſame epithet. And even the merchants, who ſhould voluntarily pay theſe duties, were denominated betrayers of Engliſh liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman-uſher of the houſe of lords, who was ſent by the King, could get no admittance, till this remonſtrance was finiſhed. By the King's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings. And a few days afterwards, the parliament was diſſolved.

Diſſolution of the parliament. March 10.

THE

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THE diſcontents of the nation ran extreme lyhigh, on account of this violent rupture betwixt King and parliament. Theſe diſcontents Charles very imprudently inflamed by his affectation of a ſeverity, which he had not power, nor, probably, will, to carry to extremity. Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, Strode, were committed to priſon, on account of the laſt tumult, which was called ſedition. With great difficulty, and after ſeveral delays, they were releaſed; and the law was generally ſuppoſed to be wreſted, in order to prolong their impriſonment. Sir John Elliot, Holles, and Valentine, were ſummoned to their trial in the king's bench, for ſeditious ſpeeches and behavior in parliament; but refuſing to anſwer before an inferior court for their conduct, as members of a ſuperior, they were condemned to impriſonment during the King's pleaſure, to find ſureties for their good behavior, and to be fined, the two former a thouſand pound a-piece, the latter five hundred. This illegal ſentence, procured by the influence of the crown, ſerved only to ſhow the King's diſregard to all the privileges of parliament, and to acquire an immenſe ſtock of popularity to the ſufferers, who had ſo bravely, in oppoſition to arbitrary power, defended the liberties of their native country. The commons of England, tho' an immenſe body, and poſſeſſed of the greateſt property of the kingdom, were naturally ſomewhat defenceleſs; becauſe of their equality and their want of leaders: But the King's ſeverity, if theſe illegal proſecutions deſerve the name, here pointed out leaders to them, whoſe reſentment was enflamed, and whoſe courage was no way daunted, by the hardſhips which they had undergone in ſo honorable a cauſe.

So much did all theſe priſoners glory in their ſufferings, that they would not condeſcend even to preſent a petition to the King, expreſſing their ſorrow for having offended him. They unanimouſly refuſed to find ſureties for their good behavior; and diſdained to accept of deliverance on ſuch eaſy terms. Nay, Holles was ſo induſtrious to continue his meritorious diſtreſs, that when one offered his bail for him, he would not yield to the rule of court, and be himſelf bound with his friend. Even Long, who had actually found ſureties in the chief juſtices chamber, declared in court, that his ſureties ſhould no longer continue. Yet becauſe Sir John Elliot happened to die, while in cuſtody, a great clamor was raiſed againſt the adminiſtration, and he was univerſally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

CHAP. III.

Peace with France.——Peace with Spain.——State of the court and miniſtry.——Character of the Queen.——Strafford.——Laud.——Innovations in the church.——Irregular levies of money.——Severities in the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion.——Ship-money.——Trial of Hanbden.

1629. THERE now opens to us a new ſcene. Charles, diſguſted with parliaments, was reſolved not to call any more, till he ſhould ſee greater ſymptoms of a compliant diſpoſition in the nation. Having loſt his great favorite, Buckingham, he became his own miniſter; and never afterwards conferred on any one ſuch unlimited confidence. As he chiefly follows his own genius and diſpoſition, his meaſures are henceforth leſs raſh and violent; tho' the general tenor of his adminiſtration ſtill wants much of being entirely legal, and more of being entirely prudent.

WE ſhall endeavor to exhibit a juſt idea of the events, which followed for ſome years; ſo far as they regard foreign affairs, the ſtate of the court, and the government of the nation. The incidents are not numerous nor illuſtrious; but the knowlege of them is quite requiſite for underſtanding the ſubſequent tranſactions, which are ſo memorable.

CHARLES, deſtitute of all ſupply, was obliged from neceſſity to embrace a meaſure, which ſhould have been the reſult of reaſon and ſound politics: He made peace with the two crowns, againſt whom he had hitherto waged a war, ſo unneceſſary and ſo inglorious. Notwithſtanding the diſtracted and helpleſs condition of England, no attempt was made, either by France or Spain, to invade their enemy; nor did they entertain any farther project than to defend themſelves againſt the feeble and ill concerted expeditions of that kingdom. Pleaſed that the jealouſies and quarrels betwixt King and parliament had diſarmed ſo formidable a power, they carefully avoided any enterprize, which might rouze either the terror or anger of the Engliſh, and diſpoſe them to domeſtic union and ſubmiſſion. The endeavors to regain the good will of the nation was carried ſo far by the Spaniard, that he generouſly releaſed and ſent home all the Engliſh priſoners, whom he had taken in the expedition againſt Cadiz. The example was imitated by France, after the retreat of the Engliſh from the iſle of Rhé. When princes were in ſuch diſpoſitions, and had ſo few pretenſions on each other, it could

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not

not be difficult to conclude a peace. The treaty was firſt ſigned with France. The ſituation of the King's affairs did not entitle him to demand any conditions for the hugonots, and they were abandoned to the will of their ſovereign. Peace was afterwards concluded with Spain; where no conditions were made in favor of the Palatine, except that Spain promiſed in general to uſe her good offices for his reſtoration. The influence of theſe two wars on domeſtic affairs, and on the diſpoſitions of King and people was of the utmoſt conſequence: But no alteration was made by them on the foreign intereſts of the kingdom. Chap. III. 1629. April 14. 1630. November 5.

NOTHING more happy can be imagined than the ſituation, in which England then ſtood with regard to foreign affairs. Europe was divided betwixt the rival families of Bourbon and Auſtria, whoſe oppoſite intereſts, and ſtill more, their mutual jealouſies, ſecured the tranquillity of this iſland. Their forces were ſo nearly counterpoized, that no apprehenſions were entertained of any event, which could ſuddenly diſturb the ballance of power betwixt them. The Spaniſh monarch, eſteemed the moſt powerful, lay at greateſt diſtance; and the Engliſh, by that means, poſſeſſed the advantage of being engaged by political motives, into a cloſer union and confederacy with the neighboring potentate. The diſperſed dominions of Spain gave great hold to the naval power of England; and kept that empire in continual dependance. France, more vigorous and more compact, was, every day, riſing in policy and diſcipline; and reached at laſt an equality of power with the houſe of Auſtria: But her progreſs, ſlow and gradual, left it ſtill in the power of England, by a timely interpoſal, to check her ſuperiority. And, thus Charles, had he happily avoided all diſſentions with his own ſubjects, was in a ſituation to make himſelf be courted and reſpected by every power in Europe; and, what ſince has ſcarce ever been attained by the princes of this iſland, he could either be active with dignity or neutral with ſecurity.

A neutrality was embraced by the King; and during the reſt of his reign, he ſeems little to have regarded foreign affairs, except ſo far as he was engaged, by honor and by friendſhip for his ſiſter and the Palatine, to endeavor the procuring ſome relief for that unhappy family. He joined his good offices to thoſe of France, and mediated a peace betwixt the Kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of engaging the former to embrace the protection of the oppreſſed proteſtants in the empire. This was the famed Guſtavus, whoſe heroic genius, ſeconded by the trueſt politics, made him, in a little time, the moſt diſtinguiſhed monarch of the age, and rendered his country, formerly unknown and neglected, of great weight in the ballance of Europe. To encourage and aſſiſt him in his projected invaſion of Germany, Charles agreed to furniſh him with ſix

thouſand

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thouſand men; but that he might preſerve the appearance of neutrality, he made uſe of the Marquis of Hamilton's name, a Nobleman allied to the crown. Hamilton entered into an engagement with Guſtavus; and inliſting theſe troops in England and Scotland at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe. The deciſive battle of Leipſic was fought ſoon after; where the conduct of Tilly and valor of the imperialiſts were overcome by the ſuperior conduct of Guſtavus and ſuperior valor of the Swedes. What remained of this hero's life was one continued ſeries of victory, for which he was leſs beholden to fortune, than to thoſe perſonal endowments, which he derived from nature and from induſtry. That rapid progreſs of conqueſt, which we ſo much admire in antient hiſtory, was here renewed in modern annals; and without that cauſe, to which, in former ages, it had ever been owing. Military nations were not now engaged againſt an undiſciplined and unwarlike people; nor heroes ſet in oppoſition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the moſt celebrated generals of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was overrun in an inſtant, by the victorious Swede. But by this extraordinary and unexpected ſucceſs of his ally, Charles failed of the purpoſe, for which he framed the alliance. Guſtavus elated by proſperity, began to form more extenſive plans of ambition; and in freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it to ſubjection under his own. The Palatine he refuſed to reſtore to his dominions but on conditions, which would have kept him in total dependance. And thus the negotiation was protracted; till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swediſh monarch periſhed in the midſt of a compleat victory, which he obtained over his enemies.

We have carried on theſe tranſactions a few years beyond the preſent period, that we might not be obliged to return to them; nor be henceforth interrupted in our account of Charles's court and kingdoms.

State of the court and miniſtry.

When we conſider Charles, as preſiding in his court, as aſſociated with his family, it is difficult to imagine a character, at once more reſpectable and more amiable. A kind huſband, an indulgent father, a gentle maſter, a ſtedfaſt friend; to all theſe eulogies, by his conduct in private life, he was fully intitled. As a monarch too, in the exterior qualities he excelled; in the eſſential, he was not defective. His addreſs and manner, tho' perhaps inclining a little towards ſtatelineſs and formality, in the main correſponded to his high rank, and gave grace to that reſerve and gravity, which were natural to him. The moderation and equity, which ſhone forth in his temper, *ſeemed* to ſecure him againſt raſh and dangerous enterprizes: The good ſenſe, which he diſplayed in his diſcourſe and converſation, *ſeemed* to warrant his ſucceſs in every reaſonable undertaking.

dertaking. Other endowments too he enjoyed, which, in a private gentleman, would have been highly ornamental, and which, in a great monarch, might have proved extremely useful to his people. He was possessed of an excellent taste in all the fine arts; and the love of painting was, in some degree, his favorite passion. Learned beyond what is common in princes, he was a good judge of writing in others, and enjoyed, himself, no mean talent in composition. In every other age, or nation, this monarch had been secure of a prosperous and a happy reign. But the high idea of his own authority, with which he had been imbued, made him incapable of submitting prudently to the spirit of liberty, which began to prevail among his subjects. His politics were not supported with such vigor and foresight as might enable him to subdue their privileges, and maintain his prerogative at the high pitch, to which he had raised it. And above all, the spirit of enthusiasm, being universally diffused over the nation, disappointed all the views of human prudence, and disturbed the operation of every motive, which usually influence society. Chap. III. 1630.

But the misfortunes, produced by these causes, were yet remote. Charles now enjoyed himself in the full exercise of his authority, in a social intercourse with his friends and courtiers, and in a moderate use of those pleasures, which he most affected.

After the death of Buckingham, who had somewhat alienated Charles from her, the Queen is to be considered as his chief friend and favorite. That rustic contempt of the fair sex, which James affected, and which, banishing them from his court, made it resemble more a fair or an exchange, than the seat of a great prince, was very wide of the disposition of this monarch. But tho' full of complaisance to the whole sex, Charles reserved all his passion for the Queen, to whom he attached himself with unshaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; tho' it is allowed, that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent councils. Her religion too, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune; since it augmented the jealousy, which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure, for the catholics, indulgences, which were generally distasteful to the nation. Character of the Queen.

In the former situation of the English government, when the sovereign was, in a great measure, independent of his subjects, the king chose his ministers, either from personal favor or from an opinion of their ability; without any regard to their parliamentary interest or talents. It has since been the maxim of princes, where-ever popular leaders encroach too much on royal authority, to confer offices on them; in expectation, that they will afterwards become more careful

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ful not to diminiſh that power, which has become their own. Theſe politics were now embraced by Charles; a ſure ſymptom, that a ſecret revolution had happened in the conſtitution, and had neceſſitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government. But the views of the King were, at this time, ſo remote from thoſe of the puritans, that the leaders, whom he gained, loſt, from that moment, all intereſt with their party, and were even purſued as traitors, with implacable hatred and reſentment. This was the caſe with Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the King created, firſt a baron, then a viſcount, and afterwards Earl of Strafford; made him preſident of the council of York and Lord lieutenant of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief miniſter and counſellor. By his eminent talents and abilities, Strafford merited all the confidence, which the King repoſed in him: His character was ſtately and auſtere; more fitted to procure eſteem than love: His fidelity to his maſter was unſhaken; but as he now employed all his councils to ſupport the prerogative, which he had formerly bent all his endeavors to diminiſh, his virtue ſeems not to have been intirely pure, but to have been ſuſceptible of ſtrong impreſſions from private intereſt and ambition. Sir Dudley Diggs was, about the ſame time, created maſter of the rolls: Noy, attorney-general: Littleton, ſollicitor-general. All theſe had been likeways parliamentary leaders; and were men very eminent in their profeſſion.

Strafford.

Laud.

In all eccleſiaſtical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, biſhop of London, had great influence on the King. This man was virtuous; if ſeverity of manners alone and abſtinence from pleaſure could deſerve that name. He was learned, if eccleſiaſtical knowlege could intitle him to that praiſe. He was diſintereſted; but with unceaſing induſtry he ſtudied to exalt the prieſtly and prelatical character, which was his own. His zeal was unrelenting in the cauſe of religion; that is, in impoſing, by the moſt rigorous meaſures, his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obſtinate puritans, who had profanely dared to oppoſe him. In proſecution of his holy purpoſes, he over-looked every human conſideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiſcretion of his temper made him neglect all views of prudence and all rules of good manners. He was, in this reſpect, happy, that all his enemies were alſo declared enemies to loyalty and true piety, and that every exerciſe of his revenge, by that means, became a merit and a virtue. This was the man, who acquired ſo great an aſcendant over Charles, and led him, by the ſuperſtition of his temper, into a conduct, which proved ſo fatal to himſelf and to his kingdoms.

Innovations in the church.

The humor of the nation ran, at that time, into the extreme oppoſite to ſuperſtition; and it was with difficulty, that the antient ceremonies, to which men

men had been accuſtomed, and which had been ſanctified by the practice of the firſt reformers, could be retained in divine ſervice: Yet was this the time, which Laud choſe for the introduction of new ceremonies and obſervances. Beſides that theſe were ſure to diſpleaſe as innovations, there lay, in the opinion of the public, another very forcible objection againſt them. Laud and the other prelates, who embraced his meaſures, were generally well inſtructed in ſacred antiquity, and had adopted all thoſe religious ſentiments, which prevailed during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries; when the chriſtian church, as is well known, was already deep ſunk into thoſe ſuperſtitions, which were afterwards continued and augmented by the policy of Rome. The revival, therefore, of the ideas and practices of that age could not fail of giving the Engliſh faith and liturgy ſome air of reſemblance to the catholic ſuperſtition, which the kingdom in general, and the puritans in particular, held in the greateſt horror and deteſtation. Men too were apt to think, that, without ſome ſecret purpoſe, ſuch inſignificant obſervances would not be impoſed with ſuch unrelenting zeal on the refractory ſpirit of the nation; and that Laud's ſcheme was to lead the Engliſh, by gradual ſteps, back to the religion of their anceſtors. They conſidered not, that the very inſignificancy of theſe ceremonies recommended them to the ſuperſtitious prelate, and made them appear the more peculiarly ſacred and religious, that they could ſerve no other purpoſe in life. Nor was the reſemblance to the Romiſh ritual any objection, but rather a merit, with Laud and his brethren; who bore a much greater kindneſs to the mother-church, as they called her, than to the ſectaries and preſbyterians, and frequently recommended her as a true chriſtian church; an appellation, which they refuſed, or at leaſt ſcrupled, to the others. So openly were theſe tenets eſpouſed, that not only the malignant and diſcontented puritans believed the church of England to be relapſing faſt into Romiſh ſuperſtition: The court of Rome itſelf entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this iſland; and, in order to forward Laud's good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a Cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. His anſwer was, as he ſays himſelf, *That ſomething dwelt within him, which would not ſuffer his compliance, till Rome was other than it is.*

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A court lady, daughter of the Earl of Devonſhire, having turned catholic, was aſked by Laud the reaſons of her converſion. *'Tis chiefly*, ſaid ſhe, *becauſe I hate to travel in a crowd.* The meaning of this expreſſion being deſired, ſhe replied, *I perceive your Grace and many others are making haſte to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you.* It muſt be confeſſed, that, tho' Laud deſerved not the appellation of papiſt, the genius of his religion was, tho' in a leſs degree, yet the ſame with that of the Romiſh: The

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ſame profound reſpect was demanded to the ſacerdotal character, the ſame ſubmiſſion required to the creeds and decrees of ſynods and councils, the ſame pomp and ceremony was affected in worſhip, and the ſame ſuperſtitious regard to days, poſtures, meats, and veſtments. No wonder, therefore, that this prelate was, every where, among the puritans, regarded with horror, as the forerunner of antichriſt.

As a ſpecimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud ſacrificed his own quiet and that of the nation, it may not be amiſs to relate thoſe, which he was accuſed of employing in the conſecration of St. Catherine's church, and which were the object of ſuch general ſcandal and offence.

On the biſhop's approach to the weſt door of the church, a loud voice cried, *Open, open, ye everlaſting doors, that the king of glory may enter in!* Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the biſhop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered theſe words: *This place is holy; the ground is holy: In the name of the father, ſon, and holy ghoſt, I pronounce it holy.*

Going towards the chancel, he, ſeveral times, took up from the floor ſome of the duſt, and threw it into the air. When he approached, along with his attendants, near to the communion-table, he bowed frequently towards it: And on their return, they went round the church, repeating as they marched along, ſome of the pſalms: And then ſaid a form of prayer, which concluded with theſe words: *We conſecrate this church, and ſeparate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uſes.*

After this, the biſhop, ſtanding near the communion-table, ſolemnly pronounced many imprecations upon ſuch as ſhould afterwards pollute that holy place by muſters of ſoldiers, or keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burthens thro' it. On the concluſion of every curſe, he bowed towards the eaſt, and cried, *Let all the people ſay, amen.*

The imprecations being all ſo piouſly finiſhed, there were poured out a number of bleſſings upon ſuch as had any hand in framing and building that ſacred and beautiful edifice, and on ſuch as had given or ſhould hereafter give to it any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utenſils. At every benediction, he, in like manner, bowed towards the eaſt, and cried, *Let all the people ſay, amen.*

The ſermon ſucceeded; after which, the biſhop conſecrated and adminiſtred the ſacrament, in the following manner:

As he approached the communion-table, he made many lowly reverences: And coming up to that part of the table, where the bread and wine lay, he bowed ſeven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the ſacramental

mental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin, in which the bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he ſuddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a ſtep or two, bowed three ſeveral times towards the bread; then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

NEXT, he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was full of wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards it. He approached again; and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, ſtarted back, and bowed as before. Then he received the ſacrament, and gave it to others. And many prayers being ſaid, the ſolemnity of the conſecration ended. The walls and floor and roof of the fabric were then ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently holy.

ORDERS were given, and rigorouſly inſiſted on, that the communion-table ſhould be removed from the middle of the area, where it hitherto ſtood in all churches, except in cathedrals. It was placed in the eaſt end, railed in, and denominated an ALTAR; as the clergyman, who officiated, received commonly the appellation of PRIEST. 'Tis not eaſy to imagine the diſcontents, excited by this innovation, and the ſuſpicions, which it gave riſe to.

THE kneeling at the altar, and the uſing of copes, a ſpecies of embroidered veſtment, in adminiſtring the ſacrament, was alſo known to be a great object of ſcandal, as being popiſh practices: But the oppoſition rather increaſed, than abated the zeal of the prelate, for the introduction of theſe ceremonies.

ALL kinds of ornament, particularly pictures, were requiſite for ſupporting that mechanical devotion, which was propoſed to be raiſed in this model of religion: But as theſe had been ſo much employed by the church of Rome, and had given riſe to ſo much ſuperſtition, or what the puritans called idolatry; it was impoſſible to introduce them into Engliſh churches, without exciting the moſt general murmurs and complaints. But Laud, poſſeſſed of preſent authority, perſiſted in his purpoſe, and made ſeveral attempts towards acquiring theſe ornaments. Some of the pictures, introduced by him, were alſo found, upon inquiry, to be the very ſame, which might be met with in the maſs-book. The crucifix too, that eternal conſolation of all pious catholics, and terror to all ſound proteſtants, was not forgot on this occaſion.

IT was much remarked, that Sherfield, the recorder of Saliſbury, was tried in the ſtar-chamber, for having careleſsly broke, with his cane, ſome cracked panes of painted glaſs; while he gave orders for repairing the windows of St. Edmond's church in that city. He was fined 500 pound, removed from his

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office, condemned to make a public acknowlegement, and be bound to his good behavior.

NOT only ſuch of the clergy, as neglected to obſerve every ceremony, were ſuſpended and deprived by the high commiſſion-court: Arbitrary oaths were, by many of the biſhops, impoſed on the church-wardens; and they were ſworn to delate any one, who acted contrary to the eccleſiaſtical canons. Such a violent ſtep, even had it not been illegal, would have given offence; as reſembling too nearly the practice of the Romiſh inquiſition.

To mark the greater alienation from the churches, reformed after the preſbyterian model, Laud adviſed, that the diſcipline and worſhip of the church ſhould be impoſed on the Engliſh regiments and trading companies abroad. All foreigners of the Dutch and Walloon congregations were commanded to attend the eſtabliſhed church; and indulgence was granted to none after the firſt deſcent. Scudamore too, the King's ambaſſador at Paris, had orders to withdraw himſelf from the communion of the hugonots. Even men of ſenſe were apt to blame this conduct, not only becauſe it gave offence in England, but becauſe, in foreign countries, it loſt the crown the advantage of being eſteemed the head and ſupport of the reformation.

UNDER pretext of pacifying diſputes, orders were iſſued from the council, forbidding, on both ſides, all preaching and printing with regard to the controverted points of predeſtination and free-will. But it was complained of, and probably with reaſon, that the impartiality was altogether confined to the orders, and that the execution of them was only meant againſt the calviniſts.

IN return to Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occaſion, the regal authority, and to treat, with the utmoſt diſdain or deteſtation, all puritanical pretenſions to a free and independent conſtitution. But, while theſe prelates were ſo liberal in raiſing the crown at the expence of public liberty, they made no ſcruple of incroaching, themſelves, on the royal rights the moſt inconteſtable; in order to exalt the hierarchy, and procure to their own order dominion and independance. All the doctrines, which the Romiſh church had borrowed from ſome of the early fathers, and which free'd the ſpiritual from ſubordination to the civil power, were now adopted by the church of England, and interwoven with her political and religious tenets. A divine and apoſtolical charter was inſiſted on, preferably to a legal and parliamentary one: The ſacerdotal character was magnified as ſacred and indefeizable: All right to ſpiritual authority, or even to private judgment in ſpiritual ſubjects, was refuſed to profane laymen: Eccleſiaſtical courts were held by the biſhops in their own name, without any notice taken of the

King's

King's authority: And Charles, tho' extremely jealous of every claim in popular aſſemblies, ſeemed rather to encourage, than repreſs, thoſe encroachments in his clergy. Having felt ſome ſenſible inconveniences from the independent ſpirit of parliaments, he attached himſelf intirely to thoſe, who profeſſed a devoted obedience to his crown and perſon; nor did he foreſee, that the eccleſiaſtical power, which he exalted, not admitting of any preciſe boundary, might in time become more dangerous to public peace, and no leſs fatal to royal prerogative, than the other. Chap. III. 1630.

So early as the coronation, Laud was the perſon, according to general opinion, who introduced a novelty, which, tho' overlooked by Charles, made a deep impreſſion on many of the byeſtanders. After the uſual ceremonies, theſe words were recited to the King: "Stand and hold faſt, from henceforth, the "place, to which you have been heir by the ſucceſſion of your forefathers, be-"ing now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the "hands of us and all the biſhops and ſervants of God. And, as you ſee the "clergy to come nearer the altar than others, ſo remember, that, in all places "convenient, you give them greater honor; that the Mediator of God and man "may eſtabliſh you on the kingly throne, to be a mediator betwixt the clergy "and the laity; and that you may reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt, the King of "kings, and Lord of lords."

THE principles, which exalted prerogative, were not entertained by the King, merely as ſoft and agreeable to his royal ears: They were alſo put in practice during all the time, when he ruled without parliament. Tho' frugal and regular in his expences, he wanted money for the ſupport of government; and he levied it, either by the revival of obſolete laws, or by violations, ſome more open, ſome more diſguiſed, of the privileges of the nation. Tho' humane and gentle in his temper, he gave way to ſeverities in the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion, which ſeemed requiſite, in order to ſupport the new model of adminiſtration, and repreſs the riſing ſpirit of liberty thro'out the kingdom. Under theſe two heads, may be reduced all the remarkable tranſactions of this reign, during ſome years: For, in peaceable and proſperous times, where a neutrality in foreign affairs is obſerved, ſcarce any thing is remarkable, but what is, in ſome degree, blamed or blameable. And, leſt the hope of relief or protection from parliament might encourage oppoſition, Charles iſſued a proclamation, where he declared, That, "whereas, for ſeveral ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged; "tho' his Majeſty has ſhown, by frequent meeting with his people, his love to "the uſe of parliaments: Yet the late abuſe having, for the preſent, driven him "unwillingly out of that courſe; he will account it preſumption for any one to

"preſcribe

Chap. III. 1630.

"prescribe to him any time for the calling that assembly." This was generally construed as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be summoned. And every measure of the King confirmed a suspicion, so disagreeable to the generality of the people.

Irregular levies of money.

TONNAGE and poundage were continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The former arbitrary impositions were still exacted. Even new impositions were laid on several kinds of merchandice.

THE custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever; in default of the payment of customs.

IN order to exercise the militia, and keep them in good order, each county, by an edict of the council, was assessed at a certain sum, for the entertainment of a muster-master, appointed for that service.

COMPOSITIONS were openly made with recusants, and the popish religion became a regular part of the revenue. This was all the persecution, which it underwent during the reign of Charles.

A commission was granted for compounding with such as were possessed of crown-lands upon defective titles; and, under this pretext, some money was exacted from the people.

THERE was a law of Edward II. *, That whoever was possessed of twenty pounds a-year in land, should be obliged, when summoned, to appear and to receive the order of knighthood. Twenty pounds, at that time, partly by the change of denomination, partly by that in the value of money, was equivalent to 200 in the sixteenth and seventeenth century; and it seemed just, that the King should not insist strictly on the letter of the law, and oblige people of so small revenue to accept of that expensive honor. Edward VI. †, and Queen Elizabeth ‡, who had both of them made use of this expedient for raising money, had summoned only those possessed of forty pounds a-year and upwards to receive knighthood, or compound for their neglect; and Charles imitated their example, in granting the same indulgence. Commissioners were appointed for fixing the rates of composition; and, to these commissioners instructions were given, not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the person, to a tax of three subsidies and a half. Nothing proves more plainly, how much indisposed the people were to the measures of the crown, than to observe that they loudly complained of an expedient founded on positive statute, and warranted by such recent precedents. The law was pretended to be obsolete; tho' only one reign had intervened, since the last execution of it.

BARNARD,

* *Statutum de militibus.* † Rymer, tom. xv. p. 124. ‡ *Id.* p. 493, 504.

Chap. III. 1630.

Severities of the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion.

BARNARD, lecturer of St. Sepulchres, London, had this expreſſion in his prayer before ſermon; *Lord, open the eyes of the Queen's Majeſty, that ſhe may ſee Jeſus Chriſt, whom ſhe has pierced with her infidelity, ſuperſtition, and idolatry.* He was queſtioned in the high commiſſion court; but, upon his ſubmiſſion, diſmiſſed. Leighton, who had wrote ſcandalous libels againſt the King, the Queen, the biſhops, and the whole adminiſtration, was condemned by a very ſevere, if not a cruel, ſentence; but the execution of it was ſuſpended for ſome time, in expectation of his ſubmiſſion *. All the ſeverities, indeed, of this reign, were exerciſed againſt thoſe, who triumphed in their ſufferings, who courted perſecution, and braved authority: And, upon that account, their puniſhment may be eſteemed the more juſt, but the leſs prudent. To have neglected them intirely, had it been conſiſtent with order and public ſafety, had been the wiſeſt meaſure, which could have been embraced; as perhaps, it had been the moſt ſevere puniſhment, which could have been inflicted on theſe zealots.

1631.

IN order to gratify the clergy with a magnificent fabric, ſubſcriptions were ſet on foot, for the repairing and rebuilding St. Pauls; and the King, by his countenance and example, encouraged this laudable undertaking. By order of the privy council, St. Gregory's church was removed, as an impediment to the project of extending and beautifying the cathedral. Some houſes and ſhops likeways were pulled down; and compenſation made to the proprietors. As there was no immediate proſpect of aſſembling a parliament, ſuch acts of power in the King became neceſſary; and in no former age would the people have entertained any ſcruple with regard to them. It muſt be remarked, that the ill-humored puritans were extremely averſe to the raiſing this ornament to the capital. It favored, as they pretended, of popiſh ſuperſtition.

AN office was erected for the ſealing of cards: A new tax, which, of itſelf, was liable to no objection; but was of the moſt dangerous conſequence, when conſidered as arbitrary and illegal.

MONOPOLIES were revived; an oppreſſive method of levying taxes, being unlimited as well as deſtructive of induſtry. The laſt parliament of James, which aboliſhed monopolies, had left a very equitable exception in favor of new inventions; and under pretext of theſe, and of erecting new companies and corporations, was this grievance now renewed. The manufacture of ſoap was given to a company, who paid a ſum for their patent. Leather, ſalt, and many other commodities, even down to linnen rags, were likeways put under reſtrictions.

'TIS

* Kennet's compleat hiſtory.

Chap. III. 1631. 'Tis affirmed by Clarendon, that ſo little benefit was reaped from theſe projects, that of 200,000 pound levied from the people, ſcarce 1500 came into the King's coffers. Tho' we ought not to ſuſpect the noble hiſtorian of exaggerations to the diſadvantage of Charles's meaſures; this fact, it muſt be owned, appears incredible. The ſame author adds, that the King's intention was to teach his ſubjects how unthrifty a thing it was to refuſe reaſonable ſupplies to the crown. A ſtrange project! to offend a whole nation, under the view of puniſhment; and to hope, by acts of violence, to break their refractory ſpirits, without being poſſeſſed of any mercenary forces to prevent reſiſtence.

1632. The council of Yorke had been firſt erected, after a rebellion, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority from parliament; and this exerciſe of power, like many others, was indulged to that arbitrary monarch. That council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, beſide ſome innovations, introduced by James, Charles thought proper, ſome time after Wentworth was made preſident, to extend their powers, and to give them a large civil juriſdiction, and that, in ſome reſpects, diſcretionary. 'Tis not improbable, that the King's intention was only to prevent inconveniences, which aroſe from the bringing every cauſe, from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, into Weſtminſter-hall: But the conſequence, in the mean time, of this meaſure, was the putting all the northern counties out of the protection of law, and the ſubjecting them to arbitrary authority. Some irregular acts of that council were, this year, complained of.

1633. The court of ſtar-chamber extended very far their authority, and encroached upon the juriſdiction of all the other courts; impoſing heavy fines and inflicting ſevere puniſhment, beyond the uſual courſe of juſtice. Sir David Foulis was fined 5000 pound, chiefly becauſe he had diſſuaded a friend from compounding with the commiſſioners of knighthood.

Prynne, a barriſter of Lincolne's-Inn, had wrote an enormous quarto of a thouſand pages, which he called *Hiſtrio-Maſtyx*. Its profeſſed purpoſe was to decry ſtage-plays, comedies, interludes, muſic, dancing; but the author likeways took occaſion to declaim againſt hunting, public feſtivals, Chriſtmas-keeping, bonefires, and May-poles. His zeal againſt all theſe levities, he ſays, was firſt moved, at obſerving, that plays ſold better than the choiceſt ſermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than the Bible itſelf. Beſide, that the players were often papiſts, and deſperately wicked; the play-houſes, he affirms, are Satan's chapels, the play-haunters little better than incarnate devils, and ſo many ſteps in a dance, ſo many paces to hell. The chief crime of Nero he repreſents

repreſents to have been, his frequenting and acting of plays; and thoſe, who nobly conſpired his death, were principally moved to it, as he affirms, by their indignation at that enormity. The reſt of his thouſand pages were of a like ſtrain. He had obtained a licence from Archbiſhop Abbot's chaplain; yet was he indicted in the ſtar-chamber as a libeller. It was thought ſomewhat hard, that general invectives againſt plays ſhould be interpreted into ſatyres againſt the King and Queen, merely becauſe they frequented theſe amuſements, and becauſe the Queen ſometimes acted a part in paſtorals and interludes, which were repreſented at court. The author, it muſt be owned, had, in plainer terms, blamed the hierarchy, the innovations in religious worſhip, and the new ſuperſtitions, introduced by Laud; and this probably, along with the obſtinacy of his behavior, was the reaſon why his ſentence was ſo ſevere. He was condemned to be put from the bar; to ſtand in the pillory in two places, Weſtminſter and Cheapſide; to loſe both his ears, one in each place; to pay 5000 pound fine to the King; and to be impriſoned during life.

THIS ſame Prynne was a great hero among the puritans; and it was chiefly with a view to mortify that ſect, that, tho' of an honorable profeſſion, the ſtar-chamber condemned him to ſo ignominious a puniſhment. The thorow-paced puritans were diſtinguiſhable by the ſowrneſs and auſterity of their manners, and by their averſion to all pleaſure and ſociety. To inſpire them with better humor, both for their own ſake and that of the public, was certainly a very laudable intention in the court; but, whether pillories, fines, and priſons, were proper expedients for that purpoſe, may admit of ſome queſtion.

ANOTHER expedient, which the King tried, in order to infuſe cheerfulneſs into the national devotion, was not much more ſucceſsful. He renewed his father's edict for allowing ſports and recreations on Sunday to ſuch as had attended public worſhip; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpoſe to be publicly red by the clergy after divine ſervice. Thoſe, who were puritanically affected, refuſed obedience, and were puniſhed by ſuſpenſion or deprivation. The differences betwixt the ſects were before ſufficiently great; nor was it neceſſary to widen them farther by theſe new inventions.

SOME encouragement and protection, which the King and the biſhops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other cheerful feſtivals of the common people, were the objects of like ſcandal to the puritans.

THIS year, Charles made a journey into Scotland, attended by his court, in order to hold a parliament there, and to paſs thro' the ceremony of his coronation. The nobility and gentry of both kingdoms rivaled each other, in expreſſing all duty and reſpect to the King, and in marking mutual friendſhip and regard to

Chap. III. 1633. each other. No one could have ſuſpected, from exterior appearances, that ſuch dreadful ſcenes were approaching.

ONE chief article of buſineſs (for it deſerves the name) which the King tranſacted in this parliament, was, beſide the obtaining ſome ſupply, to procure authority for ordering the habits of clergymen. The act paſſed not without oppoſition and difficulty. The dreadful ſurplice was before men's eyes; and they apprehended, with ſome reaſon, that, under ſanction of this law, it would ſoon be introduced among them. Tho' the King believed, that his prerogative intitled him to a general power of directing whatever belonged to the external government of the church; this was eſteemed a matter of too great importance to be ordered without the ſanction of a particular ſtatute.

IMMEDIATELY after the King's return to England, he heard of Archbiſhop Abbot's death: And, without delay, he conferred that dignity on his favorite, Laud; who, by this acceſſion of authority, was now enabled to maintain eccleſiaſtical diſcipline with greater rigor, and to aggravate the general diſcontent of the nation.

THE biſhopric of London, Laud obtained for his friend, Juxon; and, about a year after Portland's death, had intereſt enough to have that prelate made Lord high treaſurer. Juxon was a perſon of great integrity, mildneſs, and humanity, and endued with a good underſtanding: Yet did this laſt promotion give general diſcontent. His birth and character were too obſcure for a man raiſed to one of the higheſt offices of the crown. And the clergy, it was thought, were already too much elated by former inſtances of the King's attachment to them, and needed not this farther encouragement to inſult and tyrannize over the laity. The puritans, likeways, were much diſſatisfied with Juxon, notwithſtanding all his eminent virtues; becauſe he was a lover of profane field-ſports and hunting,

1634. SHIP-MONEY was now introduced. The firſt writs of this kind had been only directed to ſeaport-towns: But ſhip-money was at this time levied from the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular ſum, which was afterwards aſſeſſed upon individuals. The amount of the whole tax was very moderate, little exceeding 200,000; it was diſtributed upon the people with juſtice and equality; and this money was intirely expended upon the navy, to the great honor and advantage of the kingdom: Yet all theſe circumſtances could not reconcile the people to the impoſition. It was intirely arbitrary: By the ſame right, any other tax might be impoſed: And men eſteemed a powerful fleet, tho' very deſireable, but a poor recompence for all their liberties, which were thus ſacrificed to the obtaining it.

Ship-money.

ENGLAND

Chap. III. 1634.

ENGLAND, it must be owned, was, in this respect, very unhappy in its situation, that the King had entertained a very different idea of the constitution, from that which began, in general, to prevail amongst his subjects. He did not regard the privileges of the people as so sacred and inviolable, that nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify an infringement of them. He considered himself as the supreme magistrate, to whose care heaven, by his birth-right, had committed his people, whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, and who was vested with very ample discretionary powers for that salutary purpose. If the observance of the antient laws and customs was consistent with the present convenience of government, he esteemed himself obliged to comply with that rule; as the easiest, the safest, and what procured the most prompt and willing obedience. But when a change of circumstances, especially if derived from the obstinacy of the people, required a new plan of administration; all national privileges, he thought, must yield to supreme power; nor could any order of the state oppose any right to the will of the sovereign, directed to the good of the public. That these principles of government were derived from the uniform tenor of the English laws, it would be rash to affirm. The fluctuating nature of the constitution, the impatient humor of the people, and the variety of events, had, no doubt, in different ages, produced many exceptions and contradictions. These observations only may be established on both sides, *that* the appearances were sufficiently strong in favor of the King to apologize for his following such maxims, and *that* public liberty must be so precarious under this exorbitant prerogative as to render an opposition, not only excusable, but laudable, in the people.

SOME laws had been enacted, during the reign of Henry VII. against depopulation, or the converting arable lands into pasture. By a decree of the star-chamber, Sir Anthony Roper was fined 4000 pound for an offence of this nature. This severe sentence was intended to terrify others into composition; and above 30,000 pound was levied by that expedient. Like compositions, or in default of them, heavy fines, were required for encroachments on the king's forrests; whose bounds, by decrees, esteemed arbitrary, were extended much beyond what was usual. The bounds of one forrest, that of Rockingham, were increased from six miles to sixty *. The same humor, which made the people refuse to the King voluntary supplies, disposed them, with much better reason, to murmur against these irregular methods of taxation.

MORLEY was fined 10,000 pound, for reviling, challenging, and striking, in the court of White-hall, Sir George Theobald, one of the King's servants.

* Strafford's letters and dispatches, vol. ii. p. 117.

Chap. III. 1634. This fine was esteemed exorbitant; but whether it was compounded, as was usual in fines imposed by the star-chamber, we are not informed.

ALLINSON had reported, that the Archbishop of Yorke had incurred the King's displeasure, by asking a limited toleration to the catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this slander against the Archbishop, he was condemned in the star-chamber to a fine of 1000 pound, to be committed to prison, bound to his good behavior during life, to be whipped, to be set on the pillory at Westminster, and in three other towns of England. Robins, who had been an accomplice in the guilt, was condemned by a sentence equally severe. Such events are rather to be considered as rare and detached instances, collected by the severe scrutiny of historians, than as proofs of the prevailing genius of the King's administration.

1635. CHARLES had imitated the example of Elizabeth and James, and had issued proclamations forbidding the landed gentlemen and the nobility to live idly in London, and ordering them to retire to their country-seats. For disobedience to this edict, many were indicted by the attorney-general, and were fined in the star-chamber. This occasioned discontents, and the sentences were complained of, as illegal. But if proclamations had authority, of which no body pretended to doubt; must they not be put in execution? In no instance, I must confess, does it more evidently appear, what confused and uncertain ideas were, during that age, entertained concerning the English constitution.

RAY, having transported fuller's earth, contrary to the King's proclamation, beside the pillory, was condemned in the star-chamber to a fine of 2000 pound. Like fines were levied on Terry, Eman, and others, for disobeying a proclamation, which forbad the exportation of gold. In order to account for the subsequent convulsions, even these incidents are not to be overlooked, as frivolous or contemptible. Such severities as these were afterwards magnified into the greatest enormities.

THERE remains a proclamation of this year, forbidding hackney-coaches to stand in the street. We are told, that there were not above twenty coaches of that kind in London. There are, at present, above a thousand.

1636. THE effects of ship-money began now to appear. A formidable fleet of sixty sail, the greatest, which England had ever known, was equipped under the Earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack the herring-busses of the Dutch, which fished in what were called the British seas. The Dutch were contented to pay 30,000 pound for a licence during this year. They openly denied, however, this

this claim of dominion in the seas, beyond the friths, bays, and shores; and it must be owned, that the laws of nations do not warrant any farther pretension. Chap. III. 1636.

BURTON a divine, and Bastwick a physician, were tried in the star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels, and were condemned to the same punishment, which had been inflicted on Prynne. Prynne himself was tried for a new offence; and, along with another fine of 5000 pound, was condemned to lose what remained of his ears. Beside, that these writers had attacked, with great severity, and even an intemperate furious zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and government of the church; the very answers, which they gave in to the court, were so full of contumacy and of invectives against the prelates, that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigors however, which they underwent, being so unworthy men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still farther the indignation of the public. The severity of the star-chamber, which was generally ascribed to Laud's vindictive disposition, was, perhaps, in itself, somewhat blameable; but will naturally, to us, appear enormous, who enjoy, to the full, that liberty of the press, which is so necessary in every monarchy, confined by legal limitations. But as these limitations were not regularly fixed during the age of Charles, nor at any time before; so was the freedom of speech totally unknown, and was generally esteemed, as well as religious toleration, incompatible with all good government. No age nor nation, among the moderns, had ever set an example of such indulgences: And it seems unreasonable to judge of the measures, embraced during one period, by the maxims which prevail in another. 1637.

BURTON in his book, complaining of innovations, mentioned among others, that a certain Wednesday had been appointed for a fast, and that the fast was ordered to be celebrated without any sermons. The intention, as he pretended, of that novelty was, by the example of a fast without sermons, to suppress all the Wednesday's lectures in London. 'Tis observable, that the church of Rome and that of England, being, both of them, lovers of form and ceremony and order, are more friends to prayer than preaching; while the puritanical sectaries, who find, that the latter method of address, being directed to a numerous audience present and visible, is more inflaming and animating, have always regarded it as the chief part of divine service. Such circumstances, tho' minute, it may not be improper to transmit to posterity; that those, who are curious of tracing the history of the human mind, may remark, how far its several extravagancies and singularities concur in different ages.

CERTAIN

Chap. III. 1637.

CERTAIN zealots had erected themſelves into a ſociety for buying in of impropriations, and transferring them to the church; and great ſums of money had been left to the ſociety for theſe pious purpoſes. But it was ſoon obſerved, that the only uſe which they made of their funds, was to eſtabliſh lecturers in all the conſiderable churches; men, who, without ſubjection to epiſcopal authority, employed themſelves entirely in preaching and in ſpreading the fire of puritaniſm. Laud took care, by a decree, which was paſt in the court of exchequer, and which was much complained of, to aboliſh this ſociety, and to ſtop their progreſs. It was, however, ſtill obſerved, that, thro'out England, the lecturers were, all of them, puritanically affected: and from them the clergymen, who contented themſelves with reading prayers and homilies to the people, commonly received the reproachful appellation of *dumb dogs*.

THE puritans, reſtrained in England, ſhipped themſelves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government, which poſſeſſed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themſelves deprived in their native country. But their enemies, unwilling that they ſhould any where enjoy eaſe and contentment, and dreading, perhaps, the dangerous conſequences of ſo diſaffected a colony, prevailed with the King to iſſue a proclamation, debarring theſe devotees acceſs even into thoſe inhoſpitable deſarts. Eight ſhips, lying in the Thames, and ready to ſail, were ſtayed by order of the council; and in theſe were embarked Sir Arthur Hazelrig, John Hambden, and Oliver Cromwel *, who had reſolved for ever to abandon their native country, and fly to the other extremity of the globe; where they might enjoy lectures and diſcourſes of any length or form which pleaſed them. The King had afterwards full leizure to repent this exerciſe of his authority.

THE biſhop of Norwich, by the rigorous inſiſting on uniformity, had baniſhed many induſtrious tradeſmen from that city, and chaced them into Holland. The Dutch began to be more intent on commerce than on orthodoxy; and thought that uſeful arts and obedience to the laws formed a good citizen; tho' attended with errors in ſubjects, where it is not allowable for human nature to expect any poſitive truth or certainty.

COMPLAINTS about this time were made, that the petition of right was, in ſome inſtances, violated, and that, upon a commitment by the King and council, bail or releaſements had been refuſed to Jennings, Pargiter, and Danvers.

Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, a man of great ſpirit and learning, and a very popular prelate, who had been Lord keeper, was fined 10,000 pound, committed to the tower during the King's pleaſure, aud ſuſpended from his office. This ſevere

* Mather's Hiſtory of New-England, book 1. Dugdale, Bates.

severe sentence was founded on very frivolous pretexts, and was more ascribed to Laud's vengeance, than to any guilt of the bishop. Laud, however, had owed his first promotion entirely to the good offices of that prelate with King James. But so implacable was the haughty primate, that he raised up a new prosecution against Williams, on the strangest pretext imaginable. In order to levy the fine, some officers had been sent to seize all the furniture and books of his episcopal palace of Lincoln; and in rummaging the house, they found in a corner some neglected letters, which had been thrown by, as useless. These letters were wrote by one Osbaldistone, a schoolmaster, and were directed to Williams. Mention was there made of a *little great man*; and in another passage, the same person was denominated *a little urchin*. By inferences and constructions, these epithets were applied to Laud; and on no better foundation was Williams tried anew, as having received scandalous letters, and not discovering that private correspondence. For this offence, another fine of 8000 pound was levied on him by a sentence of the star-chamber: Osbaldistone was likeways brought to trial, and condemned to a fine of 5000 pound, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school. He saved himself by flight; and left a note in his study, where he said, "That he was gone beyond Canterbury." Chap. III. 1637.

In a former trial, which Williams underwent, (for these two were not the first) there was mentioned, in court, a story, which, as it marks the genius of parties, may be worth reciting. Sir John Lambe, urging him to prosecute the puritans, the prelate asked, what sort of people these same puritans were? Sir John replied, "That to the world they seemed to be such as would not swear, "whore, nor be drunk; but they would lye, cozen, and deceive: That they "would frequently hear two sermons a-day, and repeat them too, and that some-"times they would fast all day-long." This character must be conceived to be satyrical; but yet, it may be allowed, that that sect was more averse to such irregularities as proceed from the excess of gaiety and pleasure, than to those enormities, which are the most destructive of society. The former were opposite to the very genius and spirit of their religion; the latter were only a transgression of its precepts: And it was not difficult for a gloomy enthusiast to convince himself, that a strict observance of the one would attone for any violation of the other.

In 1632, Lord treasurer Portland had insisted with the vintners, that they should submit to a tax of a penny a-quart, upon all the wine which they retailed. But this they utterly refused. In order to punish them, a decree suddenly, without enquiry or examination, passed in the star-chamber, forbidding them to sell or dress victuals in their houses. Two years after, they

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were queſtioned for breach of this decree; and in order to avoid puniſhment, they agreed to lend the King ſix thouſand pound. Being threatened, during the ſubſequent years, with fines and proſecutions, they at laſt compounded the matter, and ſubmitted to pay half the duty, which was at firſt demanded of them. It required little foreſight to perceive, that the King's right of iſſuing proclamations muſt, if proſecuted, draw on a power of taxation.

LILBURNE was accuſed before the ſtar-chamber, of publiſhing and diſperſing ſeditious pamphlets. He was ordered to be examined; but refuſed to take the oath, uſual in that court, that he would anſwer interrogatories, by which he might be led to accuſe himſelf. For this contempt, as it was interpreted, he was condemned to be whipped, pilloried, and impriſoned. While he was whipped at the cart, and ſtood on the pillory, he harangued the populace, and declaimed violently againſt the tyranny of biſhops. From his pockets too he ſcattered pamphlets, ſaid to be ſeditious; becauſe, I ſuppoſe, they attacked the hierarchy. The ſtar-chamber, who were ſitting at that very time, ordered him immediately to be gagged. He ceaſed not however, tho' both gagged and pilloried, to ſtamp with his foot and geſticulate, in order to ſhow the people, that, if he had it in his power, he would ſtill harangue them. He was brought to his trial anew, and condemned to be impriſoned in a dungeon, and to be loaded with irons. It was found very difficult to break the ſpirits of men, who placed both their honor and their conſcience in ſuffering.

THE jealouſy of the church appeared in another inſtance leſs tragical. Archy, the King's fool, who, by his office, had the privilege of jeſting on his maſter, and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud, who was too ſacred a perſon to be played with. News having arrived from Scotland of the firſt commotions excited by the liturgy, Archy, ſeeing the primate paſs by, called to him, *Who's fool now, my Lord.* For this offence, Archy was ordered, by ſentence of the council, to have his coat pulled over his head, and to be diſmiſſed the King's ſervice.

HERE is another inſtance of that rigorous ſubjection, in which all men were held by Laud. Some young gentlemen of Lincolns inn, heated by their cups, having drank confuſion to the Archbiſhop, at his inſtigation were cited before the ſtar-chamber. They applied to the Earl of Dorſet for protection. *Who bears witneſs againſt you?* ſaid Dorſet. *One of the drawers*, they replied. *Where did he ſtand, when you were ſuppoſed to drink this health?* ſubjoined the Earl. *He was at the door*, they replied, *going out of the room. Tuſh!* cried he; *the drawer was miſtaken: You drank to the confuſion of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's enemies; and the fellow was gone before you pronounced the laſt word.* This hint ſup-

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plied the young gentlemen with a new way of defence: And being adviſed by Dorſet to behave with great humility and ſubmiſſion to the primate; the modeſty of their carriage, the ingenuity of their apology, along with the patronage of that noble Lord, ſaved them from any ſeverer puniſhment than a reproof and admonition, with which they were diſmiſſed. Chap. III. 1637.

THIS year, John Hambden deſervedly acquired, by his ſpirit and courage, univerſal popularity thro'out the nation, and has merited great renown with poſterity for the bold ſtand, which he made, in defence of the laws and conſtitution of his country. After the laying on of ſhip-money, Charles, in order to diſcourage all oppoſition, had propoſed the queſtion to the judges; "Whether, in "a caſe of neceſſity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impoſe this "taxation, and whether he was not ſole judge of the neceſſity?" Theſe guardians of law and liberty replied, with great complaiſance, "That in a caſe of ne-"ceſſity he might impoſe that taxation, and that he was ſole judge of the ne-"ceſſity." Mr. Hambden had been rated at twenty ſhillings for an eſtate, which he held in the county of Buckingham: Yet notwithſtanding this declared opinion of the judges, notwithſtanding the great power, and ſometimes rigorous maxims of the crown, notwithſtanding the little proſpect of relief from parliament; he reſolved, rather than tamely ſubmit to ſo illegal an impoſition, to ſtand a legal proſecution, and expoſe himſelf to all the indignation of the court. The caſe was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, every circumſtance of this celebrated trial. The event was eaſily foreſeen: But the principles and reaſonings and behavior of all the parties, engaged in the trial, were much canvaſſed and enquired into; and nothing could equal the favor paid to the one ſide, except the hatred, which attended the other. Trial of Hambden.

IT was urged by Hambden's council, that the plea of neceſſity was in vain introduced into a trial of law; ſince it was the nature of neceſſity to aboliſh all law, and, by irreſiſtible violence, to diſſolve all the weaker and more artificial ties of human ſociety. Not only the prince, in caſes of extreme diſtreſs, is exempted from the ordinary rules of adminiſtration: All orders of men are then levelled; and any individual may conſult the public ſafety by any expedient, which his ſituation enables him to employ. But to produce ſo violent an effect, and ſo hazardous to every community, an ordinary danger or difficulty is not ſufficient; much leſs, a neceſſity, which is merely factitious and pretended. Where the peril is urgent and extreme, it will be palpable to every member of the ſociety; and tho' all antient rules of government are in that caſe abrogated, men will readily, of themſelves, ſubmit to that irregular authority, which is exerted for

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their preſervation. But what is there in common betwixt ſuch ſuppoſitions, and the preſent condition of the nation? England enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbors: And what is more, all her neighbors are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themſelves, and by their mutual enmities farther enſure her tranquillity. The very writs themſelves, which are iſſued for the levying of ſhip-money, contradict the ſuppoſition of neceſſity, and pretend only, that the ſeas are infeſted with pyrates; a ſlight and temporary inconvenience, which may well wait a legal ſupply from parliament. The writs likeways allow ſeveral months for equipping the ſhips; which marks a very calm and deliberate ſpecies of neceſſity, and one that admits of delay much beyond the forty days requiſite for ſummoning that aſſembly. 'Tis ſtrange too, that an extreme neceſſity, which is always apparent, and uſually comes to a ſudden criſis, ſhould now have continued, without interruption, for near four years, and ſhould have remained, during ſo long a time, inviſible to the whole kingdom. And as to the pretenſion, that the King is ſole judge of the neceſſity; what is this, but to ſubject all the privileges of the nation to his arbitrary will and pleaſure? To expect that the public will be convinced by ſuch reaſoning, muſt aggravate the general indignation; by adding, to violence againſt men's perſons and their property, ſo cruel a mockery of their underſtanding.

In moſt national debates, tho' the reaſons may not be equally ballanced, yet are there commonly ſome plauſible topics, which may be pleaded even in favor of the weaker ſide; ſo complicated are all human affairs, and ſo uncertain the conſequences of every public meaſure: But it muſt be confeſſed, that, in the preſent caſe, nothing of weight can be thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. The impoſition of ſhip-money, is apparently the moſt avowed and moſt dangerous invaſion of national privileges, not only which Charles was ever guilty of, but which the moſt arbitrary princes in England, ſince any liberty had been aſcertained to the people, had ever ventured upon. In vain, were precedents of antient writs produced: Theſe writs, when examined, were only found to require the ſea-ports, ſometimes at their own charge, ſometimes at the charge of the counties, to ſend their ſhips for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to iſſue ſuch writs, was aboliſhed, and its exerciſe almoſt entirely diſcontinued, from the time of Edward III. and all the authority, which remained or was afterwards exerted, was to preſs ſhips into the public ſervice, to be payed for by the public. How wide were theſe precedents from a power of arbitrarily obliging the people, at their own charge, to build new ſhips, to victual and pay them, for the public; nay to furniſh money to the crown for that purpoſe? What ſecurity either againſt the farther extenſion of this claim,

claim, or againſt employing to other purpoſes the public money, ſo levied? The plea of neceſſity would warrant any other taxation as well as that of ſhip-money; and it was difficult to conceive the kingdom in a ſituation, where that plea could be urged with leſs plauſibility than at preſent. And if ſuch maxims and ſuch practices prevail; what has become of national liberty? What authority is left to the great charter, to the ſtatutes, and to that very petition of right, which, in the preſent reign, had been ſo ſolemnly enacted, by the concurrence of the whole legiſlature?

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe reaſons, the proſtituted judges, four excepted, gave ſentence in favor of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained by the trial the end, for which he had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his ſafety and his quiet: The people were rouzed from their lethargy, and ſaw plainly the chains, which were prepared for them. Theſe national queſtions were canvaſſed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many, that the conſtitution was totally ſubverted, and an unuſual and arbitrary authority exerciſed over the kingdom. Slaviſh principles, they ſaid, concurred with illegal practices; eccleſiaſtical tyranny gave aid to civil uſurpation; iniquous taxations were ſupported by arbitrary puniſhments; and the whole rights of the nation, tranſmitted thro' ſo many ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by the blood of ſo many heroes and patriots, now lay proſtrate at the feet of the monarch. What tho' public peace and national induſtry encreaſed the commerce and opulence of the kingdom? This advantage was temporary, and due alone, not to any encouragement given by the crown, but to the ſpirit of the Engliſh, the remains of their antient freedom. What tho' the perſonal character of the King, amid all his miſguided councils, might merit indulgence, or even praiſe? He was but one man; and the privileges of the nation, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be ſacrificed to his prejudices and miſtakes. Such, or more ſevere, were the ſentiments promoted by a great party in the nation: And to redreſs theſe grievances, a parliament was impatiently longed for; or any other incident, however calamitous, which might ſecure the people againſt thoſe oppreſſions, which they felt, or the greater ills, which they apprehended, from the combined encroachments of church and ſtate.

CHAP. IV.

Diſcontents in Scotland.——Introduction of the canons and liturgy.——A tumult at Edinburgh.——The covenant.——A general aſſembly.——Epiſcopacy aboliſhed.——War.——A pacification.——Renewal of the war.——Fourth Engliſh parliament.——Diſſolution.——Diſcontents in England.——Rout at Newburn.——Treaty at Rippon.——Great council of the peers.

1637. THE grievances, under which the Engliſh labored, when conſidered in themſelves, ſcarce deſerve the name; nor were they either burthenſome on the people's revenues, or any way ſhocking to the natural humanity of mankind. Even the taxation of ſhip-money, independent of the conſequences, was rather an advantage to the public; by the judicious uſe, which the King made of the money, levied by that expedient. And tho' it was juſtly apprehended, that ſuch precedents, if patiently ſubmitted to, would end in a total diſuſe of parliaments, and in the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary authority; Charles dreaded no oppoſition from the people, who are not commonly much affected with conſequences, and require ſome ſtriking motive, to engage them into reſiſtance of eſtabliſhed government. All eccleſiaſtical affairs were ſettled by law and uninterrupted precedent; and the church was become a conſiderable barrier to the power, both legal and illegal, of the crown. Peace too, induſtry, commerce, opulence, along with juſtice and lenity of adminiſtration: All theſe were fully enjoyed by the people; and every other bleſſing of government, except liberty, or rather the preſent exerciſe of liberty and its proper ſecurity. It ſeemed probable, therefore, that affairs might long have continued on the ſame footing in England; had it not been for the neighborhood of Scotland; a country more turbulent, and leſs diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion and obedience. It was from thence the commotions firſt aroſe; and 'tis therefore time for us to return thither, and to give an account of the ſituation of that country.

Diſcontents in Scotland. THO' the pacific, and not unſkilful, government of James, and the great authority, which he had acquired, had much allayed the feuds among the great families, and had eſtabliſhed law and order thro'out the whole kingdom; the nobility were ſtill poſſeſſed of the chief power and influence over the people.

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Their property was very extenſive; their hereditary juriſdictions and the feudal tenures increaſed their authority; and the attachment of the gentry to the heads of families eſtabliſhed a kind of voluntary ſervitude under the cheiftains. Beſide that long abſence had much looſened the King's connexion with the nobility, who reſided chiefly in the country; they were, in general, at this time, tho' from ſlight cauſes, very much diſguſted with the court. Charles, from the natural piety or ſuperſtition of his temper, was extremely attached to the eccleſiaſtics: And as it is natural for men to perſuade themſelves, that their intereſt lies in conformity to their inclination; he had eſtabliſhed it as a fixed maxim of policy, to increaſe the power and authority of that order. The prelates, he thought, eſtabliſhed regularity and diſcipline among the clergy; the clergy inculcated obedience and loyalty among the people: And as that rank of men had no ſeparate authority, and no dependance but on the crown; the royal power, it would ſeem, might, with the greateſt ſafety, be entruſted in their hands. Many of the prelates, therefore, he raiſed to the chief dignities of the ſtate: Spotiſwood, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, was created chancellor: Nine of the biſhops were privy counſellors: The biſhop of Roſs aſpired to the office of treaſurer: Some of the prelates poſſeſſed places in the exchequer: And it was even endeavored to revive the firſt inſtitution of the college of juſtice, and to ſhare equally betwixt the clergy and laity the whole judicative authority. Theſe advantages, which were poſſeſſed by the church, and which the biſhops did not always enjoy with ſuitable modeſty, diſguſted the haughty nobility, who, eſteeming themſelves ſo much ſuperior in rank and quality to this new order of men, were diſpleaſed to find themſelves inferior in power and influence. Intereſt joined itſelf to ambition; and begot a jealouſy, leſt the epiſcopal ſees, which, at the reformation, had been pillaged by the nobles, ſhould again be enriched at their expence. By a moſt uſeful and beneficent law, the impropriations had already been raviſhed from the great men: Power had been given to aſſign, to the impoveriſhed clergy, competent livings from the tythes of each pariſh: And what remained, the proprietor of the land was impowered to purchaſe at a low valuation. The King too, warranted by antient law and practice, had declared for a general reſumption of all crown-lands, alienated by his predeceſſors; and tho' he took no ſtep towards the execution of this project, the very pretenſion to ſuch power had excited jealouſy and diſcontent.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the tender affection, which Charles bore to the whole church, he had been able in Scotland, to acquire only the affection of the ſuperior rank among the clergy. The miniſters, in general, equalled, if not exceeded the nobility, in their prejudices againſt the court, againſt the prelates, and

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and againſt epiſcopal authority. Tho' the eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy might ſeem advantageous to the inferior clergy, both as it erected dignities, to which all of them might aſpire, and as it beſtowed a luſtre on the whole body, and allured men of family into it; theſe views had no influence on the Scotch eccleſiaſtics. In the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, there was another circumſtance, which drew conſideration, and counter-ballanced power and riches, the uſual foundations of diſtinction among men; and that was, the fervor of piety, and the rhetoric, however barbarous, of religious lectures and diſcourſes. Checked by the prelates in the licence of preaching, the clergy regarded epiſcopal juriſdiction both as a tyranny and an uſurpation, and maintained a parity among paſtors to be a divine privilege, which no human law could alter or infringe. While ſuch ideas prevailed, the moſt moderate exerciſe of authority would have given diſguſt; much more, that unbounded power, which the King's indulgence encouraged the prelates to aſſume. The juriſdiction of preſbyteries, ſynods, and other democratical courts was, in a manner, aboliſhed by the biſhops; and the general aſſembly itſelf had not been ſummoned for ſeveral years. A new oath was arbitrarily exacted of intrants, in which they ſwore to obſerve the articles of Perth, and ſubmit to the liturgy and canons. And in a word, the whole ſyſtem of church government, during a courſe of thirty years, had been changed, by means of the innovations introduced by James and Charles.

The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the diſcontents, which prevailed among theſe two orders; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary. The ſame horror againſt popery, with which the Engliſh puritans were poſſeſſed, was obſervable among the populace in Scotland; and among theſe, as being more uncultivated and uncivilized, ſeemed rather to be inflamed into a higher degree of ferocity. The genius of religion, which prevailed with the court and prelacy, was of an oppoſite nature; and having ſome affinity with the Romiſh ſuperſtition, led them to mollify, as much as poſſible, theſe ſevere prejudices, and to ſpeak of the catholics in more charitable language, and with more reconciling expreſſions. From this foundation, a panic fear of popery was eaſily raiſed; and every new ceremony or ornament, introduced into divine ſervice, was part of that great myſtery of iniquity, which, from the encouragement of the King and the biſhops, was to overſpread the nation. The few innovations, which James had made, were conſidered as preparatives to this grand deſign; and the farther alterations, attempted by Charles, were repreſented as a plain declaration of his intentions. And thro' the whole courſe of this reign, nothing had

had a more fatal influence, in both kingdoms, than this groundleſs apprehenſion, which, with ſo much induſtry, was propagated, and with ſo much credulity, was embraced, by all ranks of men.

AMIDST theſe dangerous complaints and terrors of religious grievances, the civil and eccleſiaſtical privileges of the nation were imagined, and with ſome reaſon, not to be altogether free from invaſion.

THE eſtabliſhment of the high-commiſſion by James, without any authority of law, was an evident and a very conſiderable encroachment of the crown; and erected the moſt dangerous and arbitrary of all courts, in a manner equally dangerous and arbitrary. All the ſteps towards the ſettlement of epiſcopacy had indeed been taken with conſent of parliament: The articles of Perth were confirmed in 1621: In 1633, the King had obtained a general ratification of every eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment: But all theſe laws had leſs authority with the nation, that they were known to have paſſed contrary to the ſentiments even of thoſe who voted for them, and were in reality extorted by the authority and importunity of the ſovereign. The means, however, which both James and Charles had employed, in order to influence the parliament, were intirely regular; and no reaſonable pretext had been afforded for repreſenting theſe laws as null or invalid.

BUT there prevailed among the greateſt part of the nation another principle, of the moſt important and moſt dangerous conſequence, and which, if admitted, deſtroyed intirely the validity of all ſuch ſtatutes. The eccleſiaſtical authority was ſuppoſed to be totally independent of the civil; and no act of parliament, nothing but the conſent of the church itſelf, was repreſented as ſufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worſhip or diſcipline. And tho' James had obtained the vote of aſſemblies for receiving epiſcopacy and his new rites; it muſt be confeſſed, that ſuch irregularities had prevailed in conſtituting theſe eccleſiaſtical courts, and ſuch violences in conducting them, that there were ſome grounds for denying the authority of all their acts. Charles, ſenſible, that an extorted conſent, attended with ſuch invidious circumſtances, would rather be prejudicial to his meaſures, had intirely laid aſide the uſe of aſſemblies, and was reſolved, in conjunction with the biſhops, to govern the church by an authority, which, in all things, he was apt to extend beyond its proper bounds, and which, in eccleſiaſtical affairs, he believed abſolutely uncontrolable.

THE King's great aim was to compleat the work, ſo happily begun by his father; to eſtabliſh diſcipline upon a regular ſyſtem of canons, to introduce a liturgy into public worſhip, and to render the eccleſiaſtical government of all his kingdoms intirely regular and uniform. Some views of policy might move him

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to this undertaking: But his chief motives were derived from principles of piety and conſcience.

Introduction of the canons and liturgy.

THE canons for eſtabliſhing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction were promulgated in 1635; and by the nation were received, tho' without much appearing oppoſition, yet with great inward diſcontent and apprehenſion. Men felt diſpleaſure, at ſeeing the royal authority ſo highly exalted by them, and repreſented as abſolute and uncontrolable. They ſaw theſe ſpeculative principles of deſpotiſm reduced to practice, and a whole body of eccleſiaſtical laws eſtabliſhed, without any previous conſent either of church or ſtate: They dreaded, that, by a parity of reaſon, like arbitrary authority, from like pretexts and principles, would be aſſumed in civil matters: They remarked, that the delicate boundaries, which ſeparate church and ſtate, were already paſſed, and many civil ordinances eſtabliſhed by the canons, under pretext of eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions: And they were apt to deride the negligence, with which theſe important edicts had been compiled; when they found, that the new liturgy or ſervice-book was every where, under ſevere penalties, enjoined by them, tho' it had not yet been compoſed or publiſhed. It was, however, ſoon expected; and in the reception of it, as the people are always moſt affected by what is external and expoſed to the ſenſes, it was apprehended, that the chief difficulty would conſiſt.

THE liturgy, which the King, from his own arbitrary authority, impoſed on Scotland, was copied from that of England: But leſt a ſervile imitation might ſhock the pride of his antient kingdom, a very few alterations, in order to ſave appearances, were made upon it; and in that ſhape it was tranſmitted to the biſhops at Edinburgh. But the Scotch had univerſally entertained a notion, that, tho' riches and worldly glory had been ſhared out to them with a ſparing hand, they could boaſt of ſpiritual treaſures more abundant and more genuine, than were enjoyed by any nation under heaven. Even their ſouthern neighbors, they thought, tho' ſeparated from Rome, ſtill retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution; and their liturgy was repreſented as a ſpecies of maſs, tho' with ſome leſs ſhow and embroidery. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained againſt it, even conſidered in itſelf; much more, when regarded as a preparative, which was ſoon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery. And as the very few alterations, which diſtinguiſhed the new liturgy from the Engliſh, ſeemed to approach nearer the doctrine of the real preſence; this circumſtance was eſteemed an undoubted confirmation of every ſuſpicion, with which the people were poſſeſſed.

BY proclamation, Eaſter-day was appointed for the firſt reading of the ſervice in Edinburgh: But in order to judge more ſurely of men's diſpoſitions, the coun-

cil

cil delayed the matter, till the 23d of July; and they even gave warning, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the uſe of the new liturgy. As no conſiderable ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared, they thought, that they might ſafely proceed in their purpoſe; and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Gyles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his ſurplice, began the ſervice; the biſhop himſelf and many of the privy council being preſent. But no ſooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the meaneſt ſort, moſt of them women, clapping their hands, curſing, and crying out, *A pope! a pope! antichriſt! ſtone him!* raiſed ſuch a tumult, that it was impoſſible to proceed with the ſervice. The biſhop, mounting the pulpit, in order to appeaſe the populace, had a ſtool thrown at him: The council were inſulted: And it was with difficulty, that the magiſtrates, partly by authority, partly by force, were able to expel the rabble, and to ſhut the doors againſt them. The tumult, however, ſtill continued without: Stones were thrown at the doors and windows: And when the ſervice was ended, the biſhop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly eſcaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the Lord privy ſeal, becauſe he carried the biſhop in his coach, was ſo pelted with ſtones, and hooted at with execrations, and preſſed upon by the eager populace, that, if his ſervants, with ſwords drawn, had not kept them off, the biſhop had run the utmoſt hazard of his life.

Chap. IV. 1637.

A tumult at Edinburgh.

Tho' it was violently ſuſpected, that the low rabble, who alone appeared, had been inſtigated by ſome of higher condition, yet no proofs of it could ever be produced; and every one ſpoke with diſapprobation of the licentiouſneſs of the giddy multitude. It was not thought ſafe, however, to hazard a new inſult by any new attempt to read the liturgy; and the populace ſeemed, for the time, to be appeaſed and ſatisfied. But it being known, that the King ſtill perſevered in his intentions of impoſing that mode of worſhip, men fortified themſelves ſtill farther in their prejudices againſt it; and great multitudes reſorted to Edinburgh, in order to oppoſe the introduction of ſo hated a novelty. It was not long before they broke out into the moſt violent diſorder. The biſhop of Galloway was attacked in the ſtreets, and chaced into the chamber, where the privy council was ſitting. The council themſelves were beſieged and violently attacked: The town-council met with the ſame fate: And nothing could have ſaved the lives of all of them, but their application to ſome popular lords, who protected them, and diſperſed the multitude. In this ſedition, the actors were of ſome better condition than in the former; tho' no body of rank ſeemed, as yet, to countenance them.

18th of Oct.

Chap. IV. 1637.

ALL men, however, began to unite and to encourage each other, in oppoſition to the religious innovations, introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were ſigned and preſented by perſons of the higheſt quality: The women took party, and, as is uſual, with great violence: The clergy, every where, loudly declaimed againſt popery and the liturgy, which they repreſented as the ſame: The pulpits rang with vehement invectives againſt antichriſt: And the populace, who firſt oppoſed the ſervice, was often compared to Balaam's aſs; an animal, in itſelf, ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, but whoſe mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world. In ſhort, religion mingling with faction, private intereſt with the ſpirit of liberty, ſymptoms appeared, on all hands, of the moſt dangerous inſurrection and diſorder.

THE primate, a man of wiſdom and moderation, who was all along averſe to the introduction of the liturgy, repreſented to the King the ſtate of the nation: The Earl of Traquaire, Lord treaſurer, went to London, in order to lay the matter more fully before him: Every circumſtance, whether the condition of England or of Scotland was conſidered, ſhould have engaged him to deſiſt from ſo hazardous an attempt: Yet was Charles inflexible. In his whole conduct of this affair, there appear no marks of the good ſenſe, with which he was undoubtedly endowed: A lively inſtance of that ſpecies of character, ſo frequently to be met with; where there are found parts and judgment in every diſcourſe and opinion; in many actions, indiſcretion and imprudence. Men's views of things are the reſult of their underſtanding alone: Their conduct is regulated by their underſtanding, their temper, and their paſſions.

1638. 19th of Feb.

To ſo violent a combination of a whole kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppoſe but a proclamation; where he pardoned all paſt offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to ſubmit peaceably to the liturgy. This proclamation was in the inſtant encountered publicly with a proteſtation, preſented by the Earl of Hume and Lord Lindeſey: And this was the firſt time, that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of oppoſition. But this proved a criſis. The inſurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and ſlow progreſs, now blazed out at once. No diſorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One conſiſted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, a fourth of burgeſſes. The table of gentry was divided into many ſubordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were iſſued by them, and every where obeyed, with the utmoſt regularity.

And

And among the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT. Chap. IV. 1638.

THIS famous covenant consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of the most furious and most virulent invectives, with which any human beings had ever inflamed their breast to an unrelenting animosity against their fellow creatures. There followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatever: And all this, for the greater glory of God, and the greater honor and advantage of their king and country. All ranks and conditions, all ages and sexes, flocked to the subscription of this covenant: Few, in their judgment, disapproved of it; and still fewer dared openly to condemn it. The King's ministers and counsellors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general contagion. And none but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would withdraw themselves from so salutary and so pious a combination. The covenant.

THE treacherous, the cruel, the unrelenting Philip, accompanied with all the terrors of a Spanish inquisition, was scarcely, during the preceding century, opposed in the low countries with more determined fury, than was now, by the Scotch, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy.

THE King began to apprehend the consequences. He sent the Marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He required the covenant to be renounced and recalled: And he thought, that on his part he had made very satisfactory concessions, when he offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, till, in a fair and legal way, they could be received; and so to model the high commission, that it should no longer give offence to his subjects. Such general declarations could not well give content to any, much less to those who carried so much higher their pretensions. The covenanters found themselves seconded by the zeal of the whole nation. Above sixty thousand people were assembled in a tumultuous manner about Edinburgh. Charles possessed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms. And the discontents in England, tho' secret, were believed so violent, that the King, it was thought, would find it very difficult to employ in such a cause the power of that nation. The more, therefore, the popular leaders in Scotland considered their situation, the less apprehensions did they entertain of royal power, and the more rigorously did they insist on intire satisfaction. In answer to Hamilton's demand of renouncing the covenant, they plainly told him, that they would sooner renounce their baptism: And the ministers invited the commissioner himself to subscribe it; June.

Chap. IV. 1633.

by informing him, "With what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts "of all God's people; what reſolutions and beginnings of reformation of man- "ners were ſenſibly perceived in all parts of the nation, above any meaſure "they had ever before found or could have expected; how great glory the "Lord had received thereby; and what confidence they had, that God would "make Scotland a bleſſed kingdom".

HAMILTON returned to London: Made another fruitleſs journey, with new conceſſions, to Edinburgh: Returned again to London; and was immediately ſent back with ſtill more ſatisfactory conceſſions. The King was now willing

17th of Sep.

intirely to aboliſh the canons, the liturgy, and the high commiſſion-court: He was even reſolved to limit extremely the power of the biſhops, and was content, if, on any terms, he could retain that order in the church of Scotland. And to enſure all theſe gracious offers, he gave Hamilton authority to ſummon firſt an aſſembly, then a parliament, where every national grievance might be redreſſed and remedied. Theſe ſucceſſive conceſſions of the King, which yet came ſtill ſhort of the riſing demands of the malecontents, diſcovered his own weakneſs, encouraged their inſolence, and gave no ſatisfaction. The offer, however, of an aſſembly and a parliament, in which they expected to be intirely maſters, was very willingly embraced by all the covenanters.

CHARLES, perceiving what advantage his enemies had reaped from their covenant, reſolved to have a covenant on his ſide; and he ordered one to be drawn up for that purpoſe. It conſiſted of the ſame violent renunciation of popery above-mentioned; which, tho' the King did not approve it, he thought it ſafeſt to adopt, in order to remove all the ſuſpicions, entertained againſt him. As the covenanters, in their bond of mutual defence againſt all oppoſition, had been careful not to except the King; Charles had formed a bond, which was annexed to this renunciation, and which expreſſed the ſubſcribers duty and loyalty to his Majeſty. But the covenanters, perceiving, that this new covenant was only meant to weaken and divide them, received it with the utmoſt ſcorn and deteſtation. And without delay, they proceeded to the modelling the future aſſembly, from which ſuch great atchievements were expected.

A general aſſembly.

THE genius of that religion, which prevailed in Scotland, and which, every day, was ſecretly gaining ground in England, was far from inculcating deference and ſubmiſſion to the eccleſiaſtics, merely as ſuch: Or rather, by nouriſhing in every individual, the wildeſt raptures and extaſies of devotion, it conſecrated, in a manner, every individual, and, in his own eyes, beſtowed a character on him, much ſuperior to what forms and ceremonious inſtitutions could alone confer. The clergy of Scotland, tho' ſuch tumult was excited about religious

religious worſhip and diſcipline, were both poor, and in ſmall numbers; nor are they, in general, to be conſidered, at leaſt in the beginning, as the ring-leaders of the ſedition, which was raiſed on their account. On the contrary, the laity, apprehending, from ſeveral inſtances, which occurred, a ſpirit of moderation in that order, reſolved to domineer intirely in the aſſembly, which was ſummoned, and to hurry on the eccleſiaſtics by the ſame furious zeal, with which they were themſelves tranſported. Chap. IV. 1638.

It had been uſual, before the eſtabliſhment of prelacy, for each preſbytery to ſend to the aſſembly, beſide two or three miniſters, one lay-commiſſioner; and, as all the burroughs and univerſities ſent likeways commiſſioners, the lay-members, in that eccleſiaſtical court, very nearly equalled the eccleſiaſtics. Not only this inſtitution, which James, apprehenſive of lay-zeal, had aboliſhed, was now revived by the covenanters: They alſo introduced an innovation, which ſerved ſtill farther to reduce the clergy to ſubjection. By an edict of the tables, whoſe authority was ſupreme, a lay-elder, from each pariſh, was ordered to attend the preſbytery, and to give his vote in the choice both of the commiſſioners and miniſters, who ſhould be deputed to the aſſembly. As it is not uſual for the miniſters, who are put in the liſt of candidates, to claim a vote, the whole elections, by that means, fell into the hands of the laity: The moſt furious of all ranks were choſen: And the more to overawe the clergy, a new device was fallen upon, of chuſing, to every commiſſioner, four or five lay-aſſeſſors, who, tho' they could have no vote, yet might interpoſe with their counſel and authority in the aſſembly.

The aſſembly met at Glaſgow: And, beſide an infinite concourſe of people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or intereſt, were preſent, either as members, aſſeſſors, or ſpectators; and it was apparent, that the reſolutions, taken by the covenanters, could here meet with no manner of oppoſition. A firm determination had been entered into, of utterly aboliſhing epiſcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the preſbytery of Edinburgh, and ſolemnly red in all the churches of the kingdom, an accuſation againſt the biſhops, as guilty, all of them, of hereſy, ſimony, bribery, perjury, cheating, inceſt, adultery, fornication, common ſwearing, drunkenneſs, gaming, breach of the ſabbath, and every other crime, which had occurred to the accuſers. The biſhops ſent a proteſt, declining the authority of the aſſembly; the commiſſioner too proteſted againſt that court, as illegally conſtituted and elected; and, in his Majeſty's name, diſſolved it. This meaſure was foreſeen, and little regarded. The court ſtill continued to ſit, and to finiſh their buſineſs. The whole acts of aſſembly, ſince the acceſſion of James to the crown 21ſt of Nov.

of

Chap. IV. 1638. of England, were, upon pretty reaſonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The acts of parliament, which affected eccleſiaſtical affairs, were ſuppoſed on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus epiſcopacy, the high-commiſſion, the articles of Perth, the canons, and the liturgy, were abo-liſhed and declared unlawful: And the whole fabric, which James and Charles, in a long courſe of years, had been rearing with ſuch care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant too was ordered to be ſigned by every one, under pain of excommunication.

Epiſcopacy aboliſhed.

THE independance of the eccleſiaſtical upon the civil power was the old preſbyterian principle, which had been zealouſly adopted at the reformation, and which, tho' James and Charles had obliged the church publicly to diſclaim it, had ſecretly been adhered to by all ranks of people. It was commonly aſked, whether Chriſt or the King was ſuperior: And as the anſwer ſeemed obvious, it was inferred, that the aſſembly, being Chriſt's council, were ſuperior, in all ſpiritual matters, to the parliament, who were only the King's. But as the covenanters were ſenſible, that this conſequence, tho' it ſeemed to them irrefragable, would not be aſſented to by the King; it became requiſite to main-

1639. tain their religious tenets by military force, and not to truſt intirely to ſupernatural aſſiſtance, of which, however, they held themſelves well aſſured. They caſt their eyes on all ſides, abroad and at home, whence-ever they could expect any aid or ſupport.

AFTER France and Holland had entered into a league againſt Spain, and framed a treaty of partition, by which they were to conquer and to divide betwixt them the low-country-provinces, England was invited, to preſerve a neutrality betwixt the contending parties, while the French and Dutch ſhould attack the maritime towns of Flanders. But the King replied to d'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador, who opened the propoſal, that, he had a ſquadron ready, and would croſs the ſeas, if neceſſary, with an army of 15,000 men, in order to prevent theſe projected conqueſts. This anſwer, which proves, that Charles, tho' he expreſſed his mind with an imprudent candor, had, at laſt, acquired a juſt idea of national intereſt, irritated extremely Cardinal Richelieu; and in revenge, that politic and enterprizing miniſter carefully fomented the firſt commotions in Scotland, and ſecretly ſupplied the covenanters with money and arms, in order to fortify them in their oppoſition againſt their ſovereign.

BUT the chief reſource of the Scotch malecontents, was in themſelves, and in their own vigor and ability. No regular eſtabliſhed commonwealth could take juſter meaſures, or execute them with greater promptitude, than did this tumultuous

tuous combination, inflamed with bigotry for religious trifles, and faction without a reaſonable object. The whole kingdom was, in a manner, engaged; and the men of greateſt ability, ſoon acquired the aſcendant, which their family-intereſt enabled them to maintain. The Earl of Argyle, tho' he long ſeemed to temporize, had, at laſt, embraced the covenant; and he became the chief leader of that party: A man equally ſupple and inflexible, cautious and determined, and entirely qualified to make a figure during a factious and turbulent period. The Earls of Rothes, Caſſils, Montroſe, Lothian, the Lords Lindeſey, Loudon, Yeſter, Balmerino, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in that party. Many Scotch officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Guſtavus; and theſe were invited over to aſſiſt their country in her preſent neceſſity. The command was entruſted to Leſly, a ſoldier of experience and ability. Forces were regularly inliſted and diſciplined. Arms were commiſſioned and imported from foreign countries. A few caſtles, which belonged to the King, being unprovided of victuals, ammunition, and garriſons, were ſoon ſeized on. And the whole country, except a ſmall part, where the Marqueſs of Huntley ſtill adhered to the King, being in the covenanters hands, was, in a very little time, put into a tolerable poſture of defence. Chap. IV. 1639. War.

The fortifications of Leith were begun and carried on with great rapidity. Beſide the inferior ſort, and thoſe who labored for pay, incredible numbers of volunteers, even noblemen and gentlemen, put their hand to the work, and eſteemed the moſt abject occupation to be dignified by the ſanctity of the cauſe. Women too, of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their ſex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the loweſt rabble; and carried, on their ſhoulders, the rubbiſh, requiſite for compleating the fortifications *.

We muſt not omit another auxiliary of the covenanters, and no inconſiderable one; a propheteſs, who was much followed and admired by all ranks of people. Her name was Michelſon, a woman full of whimſies, partly hyſterical, partly religious; and inflamed with a zealous concern for the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline of the preſbyterians. She ſpoke but at certain times, and had often interruptions of days and weeks: But when ſhe began to renew her ecſtaſies, warning of the happy event was conveyed over the whole country, thouſands crowded about her houſe, and every word, which ſhe uttered, was received with veneration, as the moſt ſacred oracles. The covenant was her perpetual theme. The true, genuine covenant, ſhe ſaid, was ratified in heaven: The King's covenant was an invention of Satan: When ſhe ſpoke of Chriſt, ſhe commonly called him by the name of the covenanting Jeſus. Rollo, a popular preacher, and

* Guthry's Memoirs.

Chap. IV. 1639.

and zealous covenanter, was her great favorite; and payed her, on his part, no leſs veneration. Being deſired by the ſpectators to pray with her, and ſpeak to her, he anſwered; "That he durſt not, and that it would be ill manners in him "to ſpeak, while his maſter Chriſt was ſpeaking in her *."

CHARLES had agreed to reduce epiſcopal authority ſo much, that it would no longer have been of any ſervice to ſupport the crown; and this ſacrifice of his own intereſt he was willing to make, in order to obtain public peace and tranquillity. But he could not conſent entirely to aboliſh an order, which he eſteemed as eſſential to the being of a chriſtian church, as his Scotch ſubjects thought it incompatible with that ſacred inſtitution. This narrowneſs of mind, if we would be impartial, we muſt either blame or excuſe equally on both ſides; and thereby anticipate, by a little reflection, that judgment, which time, by introducing new ſuperſtitions, will undoubtedly render quite familiar to poſterity.

So great was Charles's averſion to violent and ſanguinary meaſures, and ſo ſtrong his affection to his native kingdom, that, it is probable, the conteſt in his breaſt would be nearly equal betwixt theſe laudable paſſions, and his attachment to the hierarchy. The latter affection, however, prevailed for the time, and made him haſten thoſe military preparations, which he had projected for ſubduing the refractory ſpirits of the Scotch nation. By regular oeconomy, he had not only payed all the debts contracted during the Spaniſh and French wars; but had amaſſed a ſum of 200,000 pound, which he reſerved for any ſudden exigency. The Queen had great intereſt with the catholics, both from the ſympathy of religion, and from the favors and indulgences, which ſhe had been able to procure them. She now employed her credit, and perſuaded them, that it was reaſonable to give large contributions, as a mark of their duty to the King, during this urgent neceſſity. A conſiderable ſupply was gained by this means, to the great ſcandal of the puritans, who were mightily offended at ſeeing the King on ſuch good terms with the papiſts, and repined, that others ſhould give what they themſelves were diſpoſed to refuſe him.

Charles's fleet was formidable and well ſupplied. Having put 5000 land-forces on board, he entruſted it to the Marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to ſail to the frith of Forth, and to cauſe a diverſion in the forces of the malecontents. An army was levied of near 20,000 foot, and above 3000 horſe, and was put under the command of the Earl of Arundel, a Nobleman of great family, but celebrated neither for military nor political abilities. The Earl of Eſſex, a man of ſtrict honor, and extremely popular, eſpecially among the ſoldiery, was appointed lieutenant-general: The Earl of Holland was general of the horſe. The

* King's declaration at large; Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.

Chap. IV. 1639.

The King himſelf joined the army, and had ſummoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a ſplendid court, rather than of a military armament; and in this ſituation, carrying more ſhow than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwic. 29. of May.

THE Scotch army was as numerous as that of the King, but inferior in cavalry: The officers had more reputation and experience; and the ſoldiers, tho' undiſciplined and ill armed, were animated, as well by the national averſion to England and the dread of becoming a province to their old enemy, as by an unſurmountable fervor of religion. The pulpits had extremely aſſiſted the officers in levying recruits, and had thundered out anathemas upon all thoſe *who went not out to aſſiſt the Lord againſt the mighty*. Yet ſo prudent were the leaders of the malecontents, that they immediately ſent very ſubmiſſive meſſages to the King, and craved leave to be admitted to a treaty.

CHARLES knew, that the force of the covenanters was conſiderable, their ſpirits high, their zeal furious; and as they were not yet daunted by any ill ſucceſs, no reaſonable terms could be expected from them. With regard therefore to a treaty, great difficulties occurred on both ſides. Should he ſubmit to the pretenſions of the malecontents; beſide that the prelacy muſt be ſacrificed to their religious prejudices; ſuch a check would be given to regal authority, which had, very lately, and with much difficulty, been thorowly eſtabliſhed in Scotland, that he muſt expect, for ever after, to retain, in that kingdom, no more than the appearance of majeſty. The great men, having proved, by ſo ſenſible a trial, the impotence of law and prerogative, would return to their former licentiouſneſs: The preachers would retain their innate arrogance; and the people, unprotected by juſtice, would recognize no other authority, than that which they found to domineer over them. England too, it was much to be feared, would imitate ſo bad an example; and having already a ſtrong propenſity towards republican and puritanical factions, would expect, by the ſame ſeditious practices, to attain the ſame indulgence. To advance ſo far, without bringing the rebels to a total ſubmiſſion, at leaſt to reaſonable conceſſions, was to promiſe them, in all future time, an impunity for rebellion.

ON the other hand, Charles conſidered, that Scotland was never before, under any of his anceſtors, ſo united, and ſo animated in its own defence; and yet had often been able to foil or elude the force of England, combined heartily in one cauſe, and enured by long practice to the uſe of arms. How much greater difficulty would he find, at preſent, to ſubdue by violence a people, enflamed by religious prejudices; while he could only oppoſe to them a nation, enervated by long peace, and lukewarm in his ſervice; or what was more to be feared, ma-

Chap. IV. 1639.

ny of them engaged in the ſame party with the enemy. Should the war be only protracted beyond a ſummer; and who could expect to finiſh it in that period? his treaſure would fail him, and, for ſupply, he muſt have recourſe to an Engliſh parliament, who, by fatal experience, he had ever found more ready to encroach on the prerogatives, than to aid the neceſſities, of the crown. And what if he receive a defeat from the rebel army? This misfortune was far from impoſſible. They were engaged in a national cauſe, and ſtrongly actuated by miſtaken principles. His army was retained entirely by pay, and looked on the quarrel with the ſame indifference, which naturally belongs to mercenary troops, without poſſeſſing the diſcipline, by which ſuch troops are commonly diſtinguiſhed. And the conſequence of a battle loſt, while Scotland was enraged and England diſcontented, was ſo dreadful, that no motive ſhould perſuade him to venture it.

It is evident, that Charles, by his precipitation and overſights, had brought himſelf to ſuch a ſituation, that, whichever ſide he embraced, his errors muſt be dangerous: No wonder, therefore, he was in great perplexity. But he did infinitely worſe, than embrace the worſt party: For, properly ſpeaking, he embraced no party at all. He concluded a ſudden pacification, where it was ſtipulated, That he ſhould withdraw his fleet and army; that, within eight and forty hours, the Scotch ſhould diſmiſs their forces; that the King's forts ſhould be reſtored to him; his authority acknowleged; and a general aſſembly and a parliament be immediately ſummoned, in order to compoſe all differences. What were the *reaſons*, which engaged the King to admit ſuch ſtrange articles of peace, it is in vain to enquire: For there could be none. The *cauſes* of that event may admit of a more eaſy explication.

The malecontents had been very induſtrious, in repreſenting to the Engliſh, the grievances, under which Scotland labored, and the ill councils, which had been ſuggeſted to their ſovereign. Their liberties, they ſaid, were invaded: The prerogatives of the crown extended beyond all former precedents: Illegal courts erected: The hierarchy exalted at the expence of national privileges: And ſo many new ſuperſtitions introduced by the haughty tyrannical prelates, as begot a juſt ſuſpicion, that a project was ſeriouſly formed for the reſtoration of popery. The King's conduct, ſurely, in Scotland, had been, in every thing, except in eſtabliſhing the eccleſiaſtical canons, much more legal and juſtifiable, than in England; yet was there ſuch a general reſemblance in the complaints of both kingdoms, that the Engliſh readily aſſented to all the repreſentations of the Scotch malecontents, and believed that nation to have been driven, by oppreſſion, into the violent councils, which they had embraced. So far, therefore, from

from being willing to second the King in subduing the free spirits of the Scotch; they rather pitied that unhappy people, who had been reduced to those extremities: And they thought, that the example of such neighbors, as well as their assistance, might, some time, be advantageous to England, and encourage her to recover, by a vigorous effort, her violated laws and liberties. The gentry and nobility, who, without attachment to the court, without command in the army, attended in great numbers the English camp, greedily seized, and propagated, and gave authority to these sentiments: A retreat, very little honorable, which the Earl of Holland, with a considerable detachment of the English forces, had made before a detachment of the Scotch, caused all these humors to blaze up at once: And the King, whose character was not sufficiently vigorous nor decisive, and who was apt, from facility, to embrace hasty councils, suddenly assented to a measure, which was recommended by all about him, and which favored his natural propension to lenity and moderation towards the misguided subjects of his native kingdom. Chap. IV. 1639.

CHARLES, having so far advanced in pacific measures, ought, with a steddy resolution, to have prosecuted them, and have submitted to every tolerable condition, demanded by the assembly and parliament; nor should he have recommenced hostilities, but on account of such enormous and unexpected pretensions, as would have justified his cause, if possible, to the whole English nation. So far, indeed, he adopted this plan, that he agreed, not only to confirm his former concessions, of rescinding the canons, the liturgy, the high commission, and the articles of Perth; but also to abolish the order itself of bishops, for which he had so zealously contended. But this concession was gained by the utmost violence, which he could impose on his disposition and prejudices: He even secretly retained an intention of seizing favorable opportunities, in order to recover the ground, which he had lost: And one step farther he could not prevail with himself to advance. The assembly, when it met, payed not due deference to the King's prepossessions, but gave full indulgence to their own. They voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: He was willing to allow it contrary to the constitutions of that church. They stigmatised the liturgy and canons, as popish: He agreed simply to abolish them. They denominated the high commission, tyranny: He was content to set it aside. The parliament, who sat after the assembly, advanced pretensions, which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch; and what probably affected Charles much more, they were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly, when, by the King's instructions, Traquaire, the commissioner, prorogued them. And on account of these claims, August 17th.

Chap. IV. 1639. War renewed.

which might eaſily have been foreſeen, was the war renewed; with great advantages on the ſide of the covenanters, and diſadvantages on that of the King.

No ſooner had Charles concluded the pacification without conditions, than the neceſſity of his affairs, and his want of money, obliged him to diſband his army; and, as they had been held together by none but mercenary views, it was not poſſible, without great trouble, and expence, and loſs of time, again to aſſemble them. The more prudent covenanters had concluded, that their pretenſions being ſo contrary to the intereſt, and ſtill more to the inclinations, of the King, it was likely, that they would again be obliged to ſupport their cauſe by arms; and they were therefore careful, in diſmiſſing their troops, to preſerve nothing but the appearance of a pacific diſpoſition. The officers had orders to be ready on the firſt ſummons: The ſoldiers were warned not to eſteem the nation ſecure from an Engliſh invaſion: And the religious zeal, which animated all ranks of men, made them immediately fly to their ſtandards, as ſoon as the trumpet was ſounded by their ſpiritual and temporal leaders. The credit, which, in their laſt expedition, they had acquired, by obliging their ſovereign to depart from all his pretenſions, gave courage to every one, in undertaking this new enterprize.

1640.

The King with great difficulty, made ſhift to draw together an army: But ſoon found, that, all ſavings being gone, and great debts contracted, his revenues would be inſufficient to ſupport them. An Engliſh parliament, therefore, formerly ſo unkind and intractable, muſt now, after above eleven years intermiſſion, after trying many irregular methods of taxation, after multiplied diſguſts given to the puritanical party, be ſummoned to aſſemble, amidſt the moſt preſſing neceſſities of the crown.

April 13th.

4th Engliſh parliament.

The Earl of Traquaire, had intercepted a letter, wrote to the King of France by the Scotch malecontents; and had conveyed this letter to the King. Charles, partly repenting of the large conceſſions which he had made to the Scotch, partly diſguſted at their freſh inſolences and pretenſions, ſeized this opportunity of breaking with them. He had thrown into the tower, the Lord Loudon, commiſſioner from the covenanters; one of the perſons who had ſigned the treaſonable letter: And he now laid the matter before the parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the reſentment, and alarm by the danger, of this application to a foreign power. By the mouth of the Lord keeper, Finch, he opened up his wants, and informed them, that he had been able to aſſemble his army, and to ſubſiſt them, not by any revenue which he poſſeſſed, but by means of a large debt of above 300,000 pound, which he had contracted, and for which he had

had given ſecurity upon the crown-lands. He repreſented, That it was neceſſary to grant ſupply for the immediate and urgent demands of his military armaments; that the ſeaſon was far advanced, the time precious, and none of it muſt be loſt in deliberation; that tho' his coffers were empty, they had not been exhauſted by unneceſſary pomp, or ſumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence; that whatever ſupplies had been levied from his ſubjects, had been employed for their advantage and preſervation, and like vapors ariſing out of the earth, and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in ſweet and refreſhing ſhowers on the ſame fields from which they had, at firſt, been exhaled; that tho' he deſired ſuch immediate aſſiſtance as might prevent, for the time, a total diſorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them of their right to inquire into the ſtate of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the redreſs of their grievances; that as much as was poſſible of this ſeaſon ſhould be afterwards allowed them for that purpoſe; that as he expected only ſuch ſupply at preſent as the current ſervice neceſſarily required, it would be requiſite to aſſemble them again next winter, when they would have full leiſure to conclude whatever buſineſs had, this ſeaſon, been left imperfect and unfiniſhed; that the parliament of Ireland had twice put ſuch truſt in his good intentions as to grant him, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, a very large ſupply, and had ever experienced good effects of the confidence repoſed in him; and that, in every circumſtance, his people ſhould find his conduct ſuitable to a juſt, pious, and gracious king, and ſuch as was calculated to promote an intire harmony betwixt prince and parliament. Chap. IV. 1640.

HOWEVER plauſible theſe topics, they made little impreſſion on the houſe of commons. By ſeveral illegal, and ſtill more ſuſpicious and imprudent meaſures of the crown, and by the courageous oppoſition, which particular perſons, amidſt dangers and hardſhips, had made to them; the minds of men, thro'out the nation, had taken ſuch a turn as to aſcribe every honor to the refractory oppoſers of the King and the miniſters. Theſe were the only patriots, the only lovers of their country, the only heroes, and, perhaps too, the only true chriſtians. A reaſonable compliance with the court, was ſlaviſh dependance; a regard to the King, ſervile flattery; a confidence in his promiſes, ſhameful proſtitution. This general caſt of thought, which has, more or leſs, prevailed in England, during a century and a half, and which has been the cauſe of much good and much ill in public affairs, never predominated more than during the reign of Charles. The preſent houſe of commons, being compoſed intirely of country-gentlemen, who came into parliament with all their native prejudices about them, was ſure to contain a majority of theſe ſtubborn patriots.

AFFAIRS

Chap. IV. 1640.

AFFAIRS too, by means of the Scots inſurrection, and the general diſcontents in England, were drawing ſo near a criſis, that the leaders of the houſe, ſagacious and penetrating, began to foreſee the conſequences, and to hope, that the time, ſo long wiſhed for, was now come, when royal authority muſt fall into a total ſubordination to popular aſſemblies, and when public liberty muſt acquire a full aſcendant. By reducing the crown to neceſſities, they had hitherto found, that the King had been puſhed into violent councils, which had ſerved extremely the purpoſes of his adverſaries: And by multiplying theſe neceſſities, it was foreſeen, that his prerogative, undermined on all ſides, muſt, at laſt, ſuccumb, and be no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people. Whatever, therefore, tended to compoſe the differences betwixt King and parliament, and to preſerve the government uniformly in its preſent channel, was zealouſly oppoſed by theſe popular leaders; and their paſt conduct and ſufferings gave them credit ſufficient to effect all their purpoſes.

'TIS the ſituation which decides intirely of the fortunes and characters of men. The King, it muſt be owned, tho' laudable in many reſpects, was not endowed with that maſterly genius, which might enable him to perceive, in their infancy, the changes that aroſe in national manners, and know how to accommodate his conduct to them. He had not perceived, that his beſt policy was not, by oppoſition, much leſs by invaſions and encroachments, to enrage the republican ſpirit of the people; but that he ought, by gently departing from ſome branches of his hereditary authority, to endeavor, as far as poſſible, to preſerve the reſt from the inroads of his jealous ſubjects. Still tenacious of his prerogative, he found, that he could not preſerve the old claims of the crown without aſſuming new ones: A principle ſimilar to that which many of his ſubjects ſeem to have formed with regard to the liberties of the people.

THE houſe of commons, therefore, moved by theſe and many other obvious reaſons, inſtead of taking notice of the King's complaints againſt his Scotch ſubjects, or his application for ſupply, entered immediately upon grievances; and a ſpeech, which Pym made them on that ſubject, was much more hearkened to, than that which the Lord keeper had delivered them in the name of their ſovereign. The ſubject matter of it has been ſufficiently explained above; where we gave an account of all the grievances, real in the ſtate, and imaginary in the church, of which the nation, at that time, ſo loudly complained. The houſe began with declaring, a breach of privilege, the behavior of the ſpeaker the laſt day of the former parliament; when he refuſed, on account of the King's command, to put the queſtion. They proceeded next to examine into the impriſonment and proſecution of Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine: The affair of ſhip-money was canvaſſed:

canvaſſed: And plentiful ſubject of inquiry was ſuggeſted on all hands. Grievances were regularly claſſed under three heads; thoſe with regard to the privileges of parliament, the property of the ſubject, and religion. The King, ſeeing a large and inexhauſtible field opened, preſſed them again for ſupply; and finding his meſſage ineffectual, he came to the houſe of peers, and deſired their good offices with the commons. The peers were very ſenſible of the King's urgent neceſſities; and thought, that ſupplies, on this occaſion, ought, both in reaſon and in decency, to go before grievances. They ventured to repreſent their ſenſe of the matter to the commons; but their interceſſion did harm. The commons had always claimed, as their peculiar province, the furniſhing money; and, tho' the peers had gone no farther than offering advice, they immediately thought proper to vote ſo unuſual and unprecedented an interpoſal to be a breach of privilege. Charles, in order to bring the matter of ſupply to ſome iſſue, ſollicited the houſe with new meſſages: And finding, that the buſineſs of ſhip-money gave great alarm and diſguſt; beſide informing them, that he never intended to make a conſtant revenue of it, that all the money levied had been regularly, along with other great ſums, expended on equipping the navy; he now went ſo far as to offer the aboliſhing intirely that impoſition, by any law which the commons ſhould think proper to preſent to him. In return, he aſked only for his urgent neceſſities, a ſupply of twelve ſubſidies, about 600,000 pounds, and that payable in three years; but, at the ſame time, he let them know, that, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs, a delay were equivalent to a denial. The King, tho' the majority was againſt him, never had more friends in any houſe of commons; and the debate was carried on for two days, with great zeal and warmth on both ſides. Chap. IV. 1640.

It was urged by the partizans of the court, That the happieſt occaſion, which the fondeſt wiſhes could ſuggeſt, was now preſented, of compoſing all diſguſts and jealouſies betwixt King and people, and of reconciling their ſovereign, for ever, to the uſe of parliaments. That if they, on their part, laid aſide all enormous claims and pretenſions, and provided, in a reaſonable manner, for the public neceſſities; they needed entertain no ſuſpicion of any inſatiable ambition or illegal uſurpation in the crown. That tho' due regard had not always been paid, during this reign, to the ſacred rights of the people, yet no invaſion of them had been altogether deliberate and voluntary; much leſs, the reſult of wanton tyranny and injuſtice; and ſtill leſs, of a formed deſign to ſubvert the conſtitution. That to repoſe a reaſonable confidence in the King, and generouſly ſupply his preſent wants, which proceeded neither from prodigality nor miſconduct, would be the true way to gain on his generous nature, and to extort, by a gentle violence, ſuch conceſſions as were requiſite for the eſtabliſhment of public liberty.

That

Chap. IV. 1640. That he had promiſed, not only on the word of a prince, but alſo on that of a gentleman (the expreſſion which he had been pleaſed to uſe), that, after the ſupply was granted, the parliament ſhould ſtill have liberty to continue their deliberation: Could it be ſuſpected, that any man, any prince, much leſs ſuch a one, whoſe word was, as yet, ſacred and inviolate, would, for ſo ſmall a motive, forfeit his honor, and, with it, all future truſt and confidence, by breaking a promiſe, ſo public and ſo ſolemn? That even if the parliament ſhould be deceived by repoſing in him this confidence, they neither loſt any thing, nor ran any manner of riſk; ſince it was evidently neceſſary, for the ſecurity of public peace, to ſupply him with money, in order to ſuppreſs the Scotch rebellion. That he had ſo far ſuited his firſt demands to their prejudices, that he only aſked a ſupply for a few months, and was willing, after ſo ſhort a truſt, to fall again into dependance, and to truſt them for his farther ſupport and ſubſiſtence. That if he now ſeemed to deſire ſomething farther, he alſo made them, in return, a conſiderable offer, and was willing, for the future, to depend on them for a revenue, which was quite requiſite for public honor and ſecurity. That the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution ſuppoſed a mutual confidence betwixt king and parliament: And if they ſhould refuſe it on their part, eſpecially with circumſtances of ſuch outrage and indignity; what could be expected but a total diſſolution of government, and violent factions, followed by the moſt dangerous convulſions and inteſtine diſorders?

In oppoſition to theſe arguments, it was urged by the malecontent party, That the court had diſcovered, on their ſide, but few ſymptoms of that mutual truſt and confidence, to which they now ſo kindly invited the commons. That eleven years intermiſſion of parliaments, the longeſt which was to be found in the whole Engliſh annals, was a ſufficient indication of the jealouſy entertained againſt the people; or rather of deſigns formed for the ſuppreſſion of all their liberties and privileges. That the miniſters might well plead neceſſity; nor could any thing, indeed, be a ſtronger proof of ſome invincible neceſſity, than their embracing a meaſure, againſt which they had conceived ſo violent an averſion, as the aſſembling of an Engliſh parliament. That this neceſſity, however, was purely miniſterial, not national: And if the ſame grievances, eccleſiaſtical and civil, under which they themſelves labored, had puſhed the Scotch to extremities; was it requiſite, that the Engliſh ſhould forge their own chains, by impoſing chains on their unhappy neighbors? That the antient and uninterrupted practice of all parliaments was to give grievances the precedency of ſupply; and that this order, ſo carefully obſerved by their anceſtors, was founded on a jealouſy inherent in the conſtitution, and was never interpreted as any particular diffidence of the preſent

preſent ſovereign. That a practice, which had been upheld, during times the moſt favorable to liberty, could not, in common prudence, be departed from, where ſuch undeniable reaſons for ſuſpicion had been afforded. That it was ridiculous to plead the advanced ſeaſon, and the urgent occaſion for ſupply; when it plainly appeared, that, in order to afford a pretext for this topic, and to ſeduce the commons, great political contrivance had been employed. That the writs for elections were iſſued early in the winter; and if the meeting of the parliament had not purpoſely been delayed, till ſo near the commencement of military operations, there had been leiſure ſufficient to have redreſſed all national grievances, and to have proceeded afterwards to an examination of the King's occaſion for ſupply. That the intention of ſo groſs an artifice was to engage the commons, under pretext of neceſſity, to violate the regular order of parliament; and a precedent of that kind being once eſtabliſhed, no inquiry into public meaſures would ever afterwards be permitted. That no argument, more unfavorable, could be pleaded for ſupply, than an offer to aboliſh ſhip-money; a taxation, the moſt illegal and the moſt dangerous, which had ever, in any reign, been impoſed upon the nation. That, by bargaining for the remiſſion of that duty, the commons would, in a manner, ratify the right, by which it had been levied; or, at leaſt, give encouragement for advancing new pretenſions of a like nature, in hopes of reſigning them on like advantageous conditions.

THESE reaſons, joined to ſo many occaſions of ill humor, ſeemed to ſway with the greater number: But to make the matter worſe, Sir Harry Vane, the ſecretary, told the commons, without any authority from the King, that nothing leſs than twelve ſubſidies would be accepted as a recompence for the abolition of ſhip-money. This aſſertion, proceeding from the indiſcretion, if we are not rather to call it, the treachery of Vane, diſpleaſed the houſe, by marking a ſtiffneſs and rigidity in the King, which, in a claim ſo ill grounded, ſeemed inexcuſable. We are informed likeways, that ſome men, who were thought to underſtand the ſtate of the nation, affirmed in the houſe, that the amount of twelve ſubſidies was a greater ſum than could be found in all England. Such were the happy ignorance and inexperience of thoſe times, with regard to taxes.

THE King was in great doubt and perplexity. He ſaw, that his friends in the houſe, were out-numbered by his enemies, and that the ſame councils were ſtill prevalent, which had ever bred ſuch oppoſition and diſturbance. Inſtead of hoping, that any ſupply would be given him, to carry on war againſt the Scotch, whom the majority of the houſe regarded as their beſt friends and firmeſt allies; he expected every day, that they would preſent him an addreſs for making

Chap. IV. 1640.

making peace with thoſe rebels. And if the houſe met again, a vote, he was informed, would certainly paſs, to blaſt his revenue of ſhip-money; and thereby renew all the oppoſition, which, with ſo much difficulty, he had ſurmounted, in levying that taxation. Where great evils lie on all ſides, it is very difficult to follow the beſt counſels; nor is it any wonder, that the King, whoſe capacity was not equal to ſituations of ſuch extreme delicacy, ſhould haſtily have formed and executed a reſolution of diſſolving this parliament: A meaſure, however, of which he ſoon after repented, and which the ſubſequent events, more than any convincing reaſons, inclined every one to condemn. The laſt parliament, which had ended with ſuch rigor and violence, had yet, at firſt, covered their intentions with greater appearance of moderation than this parliament had hitherto aſſumed.

Diſſolution.

An abrupt and violent diſſolution muſt neceſſarily excite great diſcontents among the people, who uſually put intire confidence in their repreſentatives, and expect from them the redreſs of all grievances. As if there were not already ſufficient grounds of complaint, the King perſevered ſtill in theſe miſguided councils, which, from experience, he might have been ſenſible, were ſo dangerous and deſtructive. Bellaſis and Sir John Hotham were ſummoned before the council; and refuſing to give any account of their conduct in parliament, were committed to priſon. From Crew, chairman to the committee on religion, all the petitions and complaints, which had been ſent to the committee, were demanded; and on his refuſal to deliver them, he was ſent to the tower. The ſtudies and even the pockets of the Earl of Warwic and Lord Broke, before the expiration of privilege, were ſearched, in expectation of finding treaſonable papers. 'Tis hard to ſay, whether the imprudence or illegality of theſe meaſures, was moſt egregious. But the King never reſpected ſufficiently the privileges of the parliament; and, by his example, he farther confirmed their reſolution, when they acquired power, to pay like diſregard to the prerogatives of the crown.

Tho' the parliament was diſſolved, the convocation was ſtill allowed to ſit; a practice, of which, ſince the reformation, there were but few examples *, and which was, for that reaſon, ſuppoſed by many to be irregular. Beſide granting to the King a ſupply from the ſpirituality, and framing many canons, the convocation, jealous of like innovations with thoſe, which had taken place in Scotland, impoſed an oath on the clergy, and the graduates in the univerſities, by which every one ſwore to maintain the eſtabliſhed government of the church by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, chapters, &c. Theſe ſteps, in the preſent diſcontented

* There was one in 1586, See hiſtory of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 80.

contented humor of the nation, were commonly esteemed illegal; because not ratified by consent of parliament, in whom all authority was supposed to be centered. And nothing, besides, could afford greater matter of ridicule, than an oath, which contained an *et cætera* in the midst of it. Chap. IV. 1640.

The people, who generally abhorred the convocation as much as they adored the parliament, could scarce be kept from insulting and abusing this assembly; and the King was obliged to set guards, in order to protect them. An attack too was made in the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above 500 persons; and he found it necessary to fortify himself for his defence. A multitude of two thousand sectaries entered St. Pauls, where the high commission then sat; tore down all the benches; and cried out, *No bishops, no high commission.* All these instances of discontent were presages of some great revolution; had the court possessed sufficient skill to discern the danger, or sufficient power to provide against it. Discontents in England.

In this disposition of men's minds, it was in vain, that the King issued a declaration, in order to convince his people of the necessity, which he lay under, of dissolving the last parliament. The chief topic, on which he insisted, was, that the commons imitated the bad example of all their predecessors of late years, in making continual encroachments on his authority, in censuring his whole administration and conduct, in discussing every circumstance of public government, and in their indirect bargaining and contracting with their king for supply; as if nothing ought to be given him but what he should purchase, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his revenue. These practices, he said, were contrary to the maxims of their ancestors; and these practices were totally incompatible with monarchy.

It must be confessed, that the King here touched upon that circumstance in the English constitution, which it is most difficult, or rather altogether impossible, to regulate by laws, and which must be governed by certain delicate ideas of propriety and decency, rather than by any exact rule or prescription. To deny the parliament all right of remonstrating against what they esteem grievances, were to reduce that assembly to a total insignificancy, and to deprive the people of every advantage, which they could reap from popular councils. To complain of the parliament's employing the power of taxation, as the means of extorting concessions from their sovereign, were to expect, that they would intirely disarm themselves, and renounce the sole expedient, provided by the constitution, for ensuring to the kingdom a just and legal administration. In all periods of English story, there occur instances of their remon-

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ſtrating with their princes in the freeſt manner, and of their refuſing ſupply, when diſguſted with any circumſtance of public conduct. 'Tis, however, certain, that this power, tho' eſſential to parliaments, may eaſily be abuſed, as well by the frequency and the minuteneſs of their remonſtrances, as by their intruſion into every part of the king's councils and determinations. Under color of advice, they may give diſguiſed orders; and in complaining of grievances, they may draw to themſelves every power of government. Whatever meaſure is embraced, without conſulting them, may be pronounced an oppreſſion of the people; and till corrected, they may refuſe the moſt neceſſary ſupplies to their indigent ſovereign. From the very nature of this parliamentary liberty, 'tis evident, that it muſt be left unbounded by law: For who can foretell, how frequently grievances may occur, or what part of adminiſtration may be affected by them? From the nature too of the human frame, it may be expected, that this liberty would be exerted in its full extent, and no branch of authority be allowed to remain unmoleſted in the hands of the prince: For, will the weak limitations of reſpect and decorum be ſufficient to reſtrain human ambition, which ſo frequently breaks thro' all the preſcriptions of law and juſtice?

BUT here it is obſervable, that the wiſdom of the Engliſh conſtitution, or rather, the concurrence of accidents, has provided, in different periods, certain irregular checks to this privilege of parliament, and thereby maintained, in ſome tolerable meaſure, the dignity and authority of the crown.

IN the antient conſtitution, before the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, the meetings of parliament were precarious, and were not frequent. The ſeſſions were very ſhort; and the members had no leiſure, either to get acquainted with each other, or with public buſineſs. The ignorance of the age made men more ſubmiſſive to that authority, which governed them. And above all, the large revenues of the crown, with the ſmall expence of government during that period, rendered the prince almoſt independent, and taught the parliament to preſerve a proper ſubmiſſion and duty towards him.

IN our preſent conſtitution, many accidents, which have rendered government, every where, as well as in Britain, much more burthenſome than formerly, have thrown into the hands of the crown the diſpoſal of a very large revenue, and have enabled the king, by the private intereſt and ambition of the members, to reſtrain the public intereſt and ambition of the body. While the oppoſition, (for we muſt ſtill have an oppoſition, open or diſguiſed) endeavors to draw every branch of adminiſtration under the cognizance of parliament, the courtiers reſerve a part to the diſpoſal of the crown; and the royal prerogative, tho'

tho' diminiſhed of its antient powers, ſtill maintains a due weight in the ballance of the conſtitution. Chap. IV. 1640.

It was the fate of the houſe of Stuart to govern England at a period, when the former ſource of authority was already much diminiſhed, and before the latter began to flow in any tolerable abundance. Without a regular and fixed foundation, the throne continually tottered; and the prince ſat upon it anxiouſly and precariouſly. Every expedient, uſed by James and Charles, in order to ſupport their dignity, we have ſeen attended with ſenſible inconveniences. The majeſty of the crown, derived from antient powers and prerogatives, procured reſpect; and checked the approaches of inſolent intruders: But it engendered in the king ſo high an idea of his own rank and ſtation, as made him incapable of ſtooping to popular courſes, or ſubmitting, in any degree, to the control of parliament. The alliance with the hierarchy ſtrengthened law by the ſanction of religion: But it enraged the puritanical party, and expoſed the prince to the attacks of enemies, numerous, furious, and implacable. The memory too of theſe two kings, from like cauſes, has been attended, in ſome degree, with the ſame infelicity, which purſued them during the whole courſe of their lives. Tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that their ſkill in government was noway proportioned to the extreme delicacy of their ſituation; a ſufficient indulgence has not been given them, and all the blame, by ſeveral hiſtorians, has been unjuſtly thrown on *their* ſide. Their violations of law, particularly thoſe of Charles, are palpable, and obvious, and were, generally ſpeaking, tranſgreſſions of a plain limit, which was marked out to royal authority. But the encroachments of the commons, tho' leſs poſitive and determinate, are no leſs diſcernible by good judges, and were equally capable of deſtroying the juſt ballance of the conſtitution. While they exerciſed the powers, tranſmitted to them, in a manner more independent, and leſs compliant, than had ever before been practiſed; the kings were, imprudently, but, as they imagined, from neceſſity, tempted to aſſume powers, which had ſcarce ever been exerciſed or claimed by the crown. And from the ſhock of theſe oppoſite pretenſions, aroſe all the factions, convulſions, and diſorders, which attended that period.

In this digreſſion, I have here thought proper to indulge myſelf. The philoſophy of government, accompanying a narration of its revolutions, may render hiſtory more intelligible as well as inſtructive. And nothing will tend more to abate the acrimony of party-diſputes, than to ſhow men, that thoſe events, which they impute to their adverſaries as the deepeſt crimes, were the natural,

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if not the neceſſary reſult of the ſituation, in which the nation was placed, during any period. We now return to our ſubject.

The King diſappointed of parliamentary ſubſidies, was obliged to have recourſe to other expedients, in order to ſupply his urgent neceſſities. The eccleſiaſtical ſubſidies ſerved him in ſome ſtead; and it ſeemed but juſt, that the clergy ſhould contribute to a war, which was, in a great meaſure, of their own raiſing. He borrowed money from his miniſters and courtiers; and ſo much was he beloved among them, that above 300,000 pound was ſubſcribed in a few days: Tho' nothing ſurely could be more diſagreeable to a prince, full of dignity, than to lie a burthen on his friends, inſtead of being a ſupport to them. Some attempts were made towards forcing a loan from the citizens; but ſtill repelled by the ſpirit of liberty, which was now become unconquerable. About 40,000 pound was borrowed from the Spaniſh merchants, who had bullion in the tower, expoſed to the attempts of the King. Coat and conduct-money for the ſoldiery was levied on the counties; an antient practice, but ſuppoſed to be aboliſhed by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the eaſt-India-company upon truſt, and ſold, at great diſcount, for ready money. Such were the ſhifts, to which Charles was reduced. The freſh difficulties, which, amid the preſent diſtreſſes, were, every day, raiſed, with regard to the payment of ſhip-money, obliged him to exert continual acts of authority, augmented extremely the diſcontents of the people, and increaſed his indigence and neceſſities.

THE preſent expedients, however, enabled the King, tho' with great difficulty, to march his army, conſiſting of 19,000 foot and 2000 horſe. The Earl of Northumberland was appointed general: The Earl of Strafford, who was called over from Ireland, lieutenant-general: Lord Conway, general of the horſe. A very ſmall fleet was thought ſufficient to ſerve the purpoſes of this expedition.

So great are the effects of zeal and unanimity, that the Scotch army, tho' ſomewhat ſuperior, were ſooner ready than the King's; and advanced to the borders of England. To engage them to paſs, beſide their general knowlege of the diſcords of that kingdom, Lord Saville had forged a letter, in the name of ſix noblemen, the moſt conſiderable of England, in which the Scotch were invited to aſſiſt their neighbors, in procuring a redreſs of their grievances. Notwithſtanding theſe warlike preparations and hoſtile attempts, the covenanters ſtill preſerved the moſt pacific and moſt ſubmiſſive language; and entered England, as they ſaid, with no other view, than to obtain acceſs to the King's preſence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn upon Tyne, they were oppoſed by a detachment of 4500 men under Conway, who ſeemed reſo-

20th of Aug.

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late to diſpute with them the paſſage of the river. The Scotch firſt entreated them, with great civility, not to ſtop them in their march to their gracious ſovereign; and then attacked them with great bravery, killed ſeveral, and chaced the reſt from their ground. Such a panic ſeized the whole Engliſh army, that the forces at Newcaſtle fled immediately to Durham; and not yet thinking themſelves ſafe, they deſerted that town, and retreated into Yorkſhire. Chap. IV. 1640. 28th of Aug. Rout at Newburn.

THE Scotch took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle; and tho' ſufficiently elated with their victory, they preſerved exact diſcipline, and perſevered in their reſolution of paying for every thing, in order to maintain ſtill the appearance of an amicable correſpondence with England. They alſo diſpatched meſſengers to the King, who was arrived at Yorke; and they took care, after the advantage, which they had obtained, to redouble their expreſſions of loyalty, duty, and ſubmiſſion to his perſon, and even made apologies, full of ſorrow and contrition, for their late victory.

CHARLES was in a very diſtreſſed ſituation. The nation was univerſally and highly diſcontented. The army was diſcouraged, and began likeways to be diſcontented, both from the contagion of general diſguſt, and as an excuſe for their miſbehavior, which they were deſirous of repreſenting rather as want of will than of courage to fight. The treaſury too was quite exhauſted, and every expedient for ſupply had been tried to the uttermoſt. No event had happened, but what might have been foreſeen as neceſſary, or at leaſt, very probable; yet was there no proviſion made, nor reſolution taken, againſt ſuch an exigency.

IN order to prevent the advance of the Scotch upon him, the King agreed to a treaty, and named ſixteen Engliſh Noblemen, who met with eleven Scotch commiſſioners at Rippon. The Earls of Hertford, Bedford, Saliſbury, Warwic, Eſſex, Holland, Briſtol, and Berkſhire, the Lords Kimbolton, Wharton, Dunſmore, Paget, Broke, Saville, Paulet, and Howard of Eſcric, were choſen by the King; all of them popular men, and conſequently ſuppoſed noway averſe to the Scotch invaſion, nor unacceptable to that nation. Treaty at Rippon.

AN addreſs arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament; the great point, to which all men's projects at this time tended. Twelve Noblemen preſented a petition to the ſame purpoſe. But the King contented himſelf with ſummoning a great council of the peers to Yorke; a meaſure, which had formerly been taken in caſes of ſudden emergency, but which, at preſent, could ſerve no manner of purpoſe. Perhaps, the King, who dreaded, above all things, the houſe of commons, and who never ſufficiently reſpected the conſtitution, thought, that, in his preſent urgent diſtreſſes, he might be enabled to levy ſubſidies

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ſidies by the authority of the peers alone. But the employing, ſo long, a plea of neceſſity, which was evidently falſe and ill grounded, rendered it impoſſible for him to avail himſelf of a neceſſity, which was now at laſt become real and inevitable.

By Northumberland's ſickneſs, the command of the army had devolved on Strafford. That Nobleman poſſeſſed more vigor of mind than the King or any of the council. He adviſed Charles rather to put all to hazard, than ſubmit to ſuch unworthy terms as were likely to be impoſed upon him. The loſs, ſuſtained at Newburn, he ſaid, was inconſiderable; and tho a panic had, for the time, ſeized the army, that was nothing ſtrange among new levied troops; and the Scotch, being in the ſame condition, would, no doubt, be liable, in their turn, to a like accident. His opinion, therefore, was, that the King ſhould puſh forward, and attack the Scotch, and bring the affair to a quick deciſion; and, if ever ſo unſucceſsful, nothing worſe could befal him, than what, from his inactivity, he would certainly be expoſed to. To ſhow how eaſy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an aſſault to be made on ſome of the Scotch quarters, and he gained an advantage over them. No ceſſation of arms had, as yet, been agreed to, during the treaty at Rippon; yet great clamor prevailed, on account of this act of hoſtility. And when it was known, that the officer, who conducted the attack, was a papiſt, a violent outcry was raiſed againſt the King, for employing that hated ſect, in the murder of his proteſtant ſubjects.

It may be worthy of remark, that ſeveral mutinies had ariſen among the Engliſh troops, when marching to join the army; and ſome officers had been murdered, merely on the ſuſpicion of their being papiſts. The petition of right had aboliſhed all courts-martial; and by an inconvenience, which naturally attended the plan, as yet, new and unformed, of regular and rigid liberty; it was found abſolutely impoſſible for the generals to govern the army, by all the authority, which the King could legally confer upon them. The lawyers had declared, that martial law could not be exerciſed, except in the very preſence of an enemy; and becauſe it had been found requiſite to execute a mutineer, the generals thought it requiſite, for their ſafety, to apply for a pardon from the crown. This weakneſs, however, was carefully concealed from the army; and Lord Conway ſaid, that, if any lawyer was ſo imprudent as to diſcover the ſecret to the ſoldiers, it would be requiſite inſtantly to refute him, and to hang the lawyer himſelf, by ſentence of a court-martial.

An army new levied, undiſciplined, frightened, ſeditious, ill-paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withſtanding a victorious and high

high ſpirited enemy, and retaining in ſubjection a diſcontented and zealous nation. Chap. IV. 1640.

CHARLES, in deſpair of being able to ſtem the torrent, at laſt reſolved to yield to it: And as he foreſaw, that the great council of the peers would adviſe him to call a parliament, he told them, in his firſt ſpeech, that he had already taken that reſolution. He informed them likeways, that the Queen, in a letter, which ſhe had wrote to him, had very earneſtly recommended that meaſure. This good Prince, who was extremely attached to his conſort, and who paſſionately wiſhed to render her popular in the nation, forgot not, amid all his diſtreſs, the intereſt of his domeſtic tenderneſſes. 24th of Sept. Great council of the peers.

IN order to ſubſiſt both armies (for the King was obliged, in order to ſave the northern counties, to pay his enemies) Charles wrote to the city, deſiring a loan of 200,000 pound. And the lords commiſſioners for the treaty, whoſe authority was now much greater than that of their ſovereign, joined in the ſame requeſt. So low was this Prince already fallen, in the eyes of his own ſubjects!

AS many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scotch, it was propoſed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London: A propoſal willingly embraced by the Scotch, who were now ſure of treating with advantage, in a place, where the King, they foreſaw, would be, in a manner, a priſoner, in the midſt of his implacable enemies and their determined friends.

CHAP. V.

Meeting of the long parliament.——Strafford and Laud impeached.——Finch and Windbank fly.——Great authority of the commons.——The biſhops attacked.——Tonnage and poundage.——Triennial bill.——Strafford's trial.——Bill of attainder.——Execution of Strafford.——High-commiſſion and ſtar-chamber aboliſhed.——King's journey to Scotland.

1640. THE cauſes of diſguſt, which had, every day, been multiplying in England for above thirty years, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with ſome great revolution or convulſion. The uncertain and undefined limits of prerogative and privilege had been eagerly diſputed during that whole period; and in every controverſy betwixt prince and people, the queſtion, however doubtful, had always been decided by each party, in favor of its own pretenſions. Too lightly moved by the appearance of neceſſity, the King had even aſſumed powers, altogether incompatible with the principles of limited government, and had rendered it impoſſible for his moſt zealous partizans to juſtify his conduct, except by topics ſo odious, that they were more fitted to inflame, than appeaſe, the general diſcontent. Thoſe great ſupports of public authority, law and religion, had likeways, by the unbounded compliance of judges and prelates, loſt much of their influence over the people; or rather, had, in a great meaſure, gone over to the ſide of faction, and authorized the ſpirit of oppoſition and rebellion. The nobility too, whom the King had no means of retaining by ſuitable offices and preferments, had been ſeized with the general diſcontent, and unwarily threw themſelves into the ſcale, which began already too much to preponderate. Senſible of the encroachments, which had evidently been made by royal authority, men entertained no jealouſy of the commons, whoſe enterpriſes for the acquiſition of power, had ever been covered with the appearance of public good, and had hitherto gone no farther than ſome diſappointed efforts or endeavors. The progreſs of the Scotch malecontents reduced the crown to an entire dependance for ſupply: Their union with the popular party in England, brought great acceſſion of authority to the latter: The near proſpect of ſucceſs, rouzed all the latent murmurs and pretenſions of the nation, which had hitherto been held in ſuch violent conſtraint: And the torrent of general

neral inclination and opinion ran ſo ſtrong againſt the court, that the King was in no ſituation to refuſe any reaſonable pretenſions of the popular leaders, either for defining or limiting the powers of his prerogative. Even many exorbitant claims, in the preſent ſituation, would probably be made, and muſt neceſſarily be complied with. Chap. V. 1640.

THE triumph of the malecontents over the church was not yet ſo immediate or certain. Tho' the political and religious puritans mutually lent aſſiſtance to each other, there were many who joined the former, and yet declined all manner of connexion with the latter. The hierarchy had been eſtabliſhed in England ever ſince the reformation: The Romiſh church, in all ages, had carefully maintained that form of eccleſiaſtical government: The antient fathers too bore teſtimony to epiſcopal juriſdiction: And tho' parity ſeems at firſt to have had place among chriſtian paſtors, the period, during which it prevailed, was ſo ſhort, that few undiſputed traces of it remained in hiſtory. The biſhops and their more zealous partizans inferred thence the divine indefeizable right of prelacy: Others regarded that inſtitution as venerable and uſeful: And, if the love of novelty led ſome to adopt the new rites and diſcipline of the puritans; the reverence to antiquity retained many in their attachment to the liturgy and government of the church. It behoved, therefore, the zealous innovators in parliament, to proceed with ſome caution and reſerve. By puſhing all meaſures, which reduced the exorbitant powers of the crown, they hoped to diſarm the King, whom they juſtly regarded, from principle, inclination, and policy, to be the determined patron of the hierarchy. By declaiming againſt the ſuppoſed encroachments and tyranny of the prelates, they endeavored to carry the nation, from a hatred of their perſons, to an oppoſition againſt their office and character. And when men were inliſted in party, it would not be difficult, they thought, to lead them by degrees into many meaſures, for which they formerly entertained the greateſt averſion. Tho' the new ſectaries compoſed not, at firſt, the majority of the nation, they were inflamed, as is uſual among innovators, with extreme zeal for their opinions. Their unſurmountable paſſion, diſguiſed to themſelves, as well as to others, under the appearance of holy fervors, was well qualified to make proſelites, and ſeize the minds of the ignorant multitude. And one furious enthuſiaſt was able, by his active induſtry, to ſurmount the indolent efforts of many ſober and reaſonable antagoniſts.

WHEN the nation, therefore, was ſo generally diſcontented, and little ſuſpicion was entertained of any deſign to ſubvert the church and monarchy; no wonder, that almoſt all elections ran in favor of thoſe, who, by their high pretenſions to piety and patriotiſm, had foſtered and encouraged the national pre-

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judices. 'Tis a uſual compliment to regard the king's inclination in the choice of a ſpeaker; and Charles had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important truſt: But ſo little intereſt did the crown, at that time, poſſeſs thro' the nation, that Gardiner was diſappointed of his election, not only in London, but in every other place, where it was attempted: And the King was obliged to make the choice of ſpeaker fall on Lenthal, a lawyer of ſome character, but not ſufficiently qualified for ſo high and difficult an office.

Meeting of the long parliament. November 3.

THE eager expectations of men with regard to a parliament, ſummoned at ſo critical a juncture, and during ſuch general diſcontents; a parliament, which, from the ſituation of public affairs, could not be abruptly diſſolved, and which was to execute every thing left unfiniſhed by former parliaments; theſe views, ſo important and intereſting, engaged the attendance of all the members; and the houſe of commons was never obſerved to be, from the beginning, ſo numerous and frequent. Without any interval, therefore, they immediately entered upon buſineſs, and by unanimous conſent they ſtruck a blow, which may, in a manner, be regarded as deciſive.

THE Earl of Strafford was conſidered as chief miniſter of ſtate, both on account of the credit, which he poſſeſſed with his maſter, and of his own great and uncommon vigor and capacity. By a concurrence of accidents, this man labored under the ſevere hatred of all the three nations, which compoſed the Britiſh monarchy. The Scotch, whoſe authority ran extremely high, looked on him as the capital enemy of their country, and one whoſe councils and influence they had moſt reaſon to apprehend. He had engaged the parliament of Ireland to advance great ſubſidies, in order to ſupport a war againſt them: He had levied an army of 9000 men, with which he had menaced all their weſtern coaſt: He had obliged the Scotch, who lived under his government, to renounce the covenant, their national idol: He had in Ireland proclaimed the Scotch covenanters rebels and traitors, even before the King had iſſued any ſuch declaration againſt them in England: And he had ever diſſuaded his maſter againſt the late treaty and ſuſpenſion of arms, which he regarded as dangerous and diſhonorable. So avowed and violent were the Scotch in their reſentment of all theſe meaſures, that they had refuſed to ſend commiſſioners to treat at Yorke, as was firſt propoſed; becauſe, they ſaid, the lieutenant of Ireland, their capital enemy, being general of the King's forces, had there the chief command and authority.

STRAFFORD, firſt as deputy, then as Lord lieutenant, had governed Ireland during eight years with great vigilance, activity, and prudence, but with very little popularity. In a nation ſo averſe to the Engliſh government and religion,

gion, these very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. The manners too and character of this great man, tho' to all full of courtesy, and to his friends full of affection, were, at bottom, haughty, rigid, and severe. His authority and influence, during the time of his government, had been unlimited; but no sooner did adversity seize him, than the concealed aversion of the nation blazed out at once, and the Irish parliament used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him. Chap. V. 1640.

The universal discontent, which prevailed in England against the court, was all pointed towards the Earl of Strafford; tho' without any particular reason, but because he was the minister of state, whom the King most favored and most trusted. His family was honorable, his paternal fortune considerable: Yet envy attended his sudden and great elevation. And his former associates in popular councils, finding, that he owed his advancement to the desertion of their cause, represented him as the great apostate of the commonwealth, whom it behoved them to sacrifice, as a victim to public justice.

Strafford, sensible of the load of popular prejudices, under which he labored, would gladly have declined attendance on the parliament; and he begged the King's permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, or at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkeshire; where many opportunities, he hoped, would offer, by reason of his distance, to elude the attacks of his enemies. But Charles, who had intire confidence in the Earl's capacity, thought, that his councils would be extremely useful, during the critical session, which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of appearing amid so many enraged enemies, the King, little apprehensive, that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament.

No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him in the house of commons. Pym, in a long, studied discourse, divided into many heads after his manner, enumerated all the grievances, under which the nation labored; and, from a complication of such oppressions, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed of changing the intire frame of government, and subverting the antient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Could any thing, he said, increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution had been endangered by the worst of ministers, and that the virtues of the King had been seduced by wicked and pernicious councils. We must inquire, added he, from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and tho' doubtless many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavors, 11th of Nov. Strafford impeached.

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endeavors, yet is there one, who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, a nd who, by his courage, enterprize, and capacity, is intitled to the firſt place among theſe betrayers of their country. He is the Earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and preſident of the council of Yorke, who, in both places, and in all other provinces, where he has been entruſted with authority, has raiſed ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a ſurvey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary council. Some inſtances of imperious expreſſions, as well as actions, were given by Pym; who afterwards entered into a more perſonal attack of that miniſter, and endeavored to expoſe his whole character and manners. The auſtere genius of Strafford, occupied in the purſuits of ambition, had not rendered his breaſt altogether inacceſſible to the tender paſſions, or ſecured him from the dominion of the fair; and in that ſullen age, when the irregularities of pleaſure were more reproachful than the moſt odious crimes, theſe weakneſſes were thought worthy of being mentioned, along with his treaſons, before ſo great an aſſembly. And upon the whole, the orator concluded, that it belonged to the houſe to provide a remedy proportionable to the diſeaſe, and prevent the farther miſchiefs, juſtly to be apprehended from the influence, which this man had acquired over the meaſures and councils of their ſovereign.

Sir John Clotworthy an Iriſh gentleman, Sir John Hotham of Yorkeſhire, and many others, entered into the ſame topics: And after ſeveral hours, ſpent in bitter invective, when the doors were locked, in order to prevent all diſcovery of their purpoſe; it was moved, in conſequence of the reſolution ſecretly taken, that Strafford ſhould immediately be impeached of high treaſon. This motion was received with univerſal approbation; nor was there, in all the debate, one perſon, who offered to ſtop the torrent by any teſtimony in favor of the Earl's conduct. Lord Falkland alone, tho known to be his enemy, modeſtly deſired the houſe to conſider, whether it would not better ſuit the gravity of their proceedings, firſt to digeſt, by a committee, many of thoſe particulars, which had been mentioned, before they ſent up an accuſation againſt him. By Pym it was ingenuouſly anſwered, That ſuch a delay might probably blaſt all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed any farther in the proſecution: That when Strafford ſhould learn, that ſo many of his enormities were diſcovered, his conſcience would dictate his condemnation; and ſo great was his power and credit, he would immediately procure the diſſolution of the parliament, or attempt ſome other deſperate meaſure for his own preſervation: That the commons were only accuſers, not judges; and it was the province of the peers to determine, whether ſuch a complication of enormous crimes, in one perſon, did not

not amount to the higheſt crime known by the law. Without farther debate, the accuſation was voted: Pym was choſen to carry up the impeachment: Moſt of the houſe accompanied him on ſo agreeable an errand: And Strafford, who had juſt entered the houſe of peers, and little expected ſo haſty a proſecution, was immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into cuſtody with ſeveral ſymptoms of violent prejudice in his judges, as well as in his proſecutors. Chap. V. 1640.

In the inquiry concerning grievances and the cenſure of paſt meaſures, Laud could not long eſcape the ſevere ſcrutiny of the commons; who were led too, in their accuſation of that prelate, as well by their prejudices againſt his whole order, as by the extreme antipathy, which his intemperate zeal had drawn upon him. After a deliberation, which ſcarce laſted half an hour, an impeachment for high treaſon was reſolved on againſt this ſubject, the firſt, both in rank and in favor, thro'out the kingdom. Tho' this incident, conſidering the example of Strafford's impeachment and the preſent diſpoſition of the nation and parliament, needed be no ſurprize to him; yet was he betrayed into ſome paſſion, when the accuſation was preſented. *The commons themſelves*, he ſaid, *tho' his accuſers, did not believe him guilty of the crime, with which they charged him*: An indiſcretion, which, next day, upon more mature deliberation, he deſired leave to retract; but ſo little favorable were the peers, that they refuſed him this advantage or indulgence. Laud was immediately, upon the general charge, ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody. Laud impeached.

The capital article, inſiſted on againſt theſe two great men, was the deſign, which the commons ſuppoſed to have been formed for ſubverting the laws and conſtitution of England, and introducing arbitrary and unlimited authority into the kingdom. Of all the King's miniſters, no one was ſo obnoxious in this reſpect as the Lord keeper, Finch. He it was, who, being ſpeaker in the King's third parliament, had left the chair, and refuſed to put the queſtion, when ordered by the houſe. The extrajudicial opinion of the judges in the caſe of ſhip-money had been procured by his intrigues, perſuaſions, and even menaces. In all unpopular and illegal meaſures, he was ever moſt active; and he was even believed to have declared publicly, that, while he was keeper, an order of the council ſhould always with him be equivalent to a law. To appeaſe the riſing diſpleaſure of the commons, he deſired to be heard at their bar. He proſtrated himſelf with all humility before them; but availed himſelf nothing. An impeachment was reſolved on; and in order to eſcape their fury, he thought proper ſecretly to withdraw, and to retire into Holland. As he was not eſteemed equal to Strafford or even to Laud, either in capacity or in fidelity to his maſter; it was generally believed, that his eſcape had been connived at by the popular leaders, Lord keeper Finch flies.

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leaders. His impeachment, however, in his abſence, was carried up to the houſe of peers.

SIR Francis Windebank, the ſecretary, was a creature of Laud; and that was ſufficient reaſon, for his being extremely obnoxious to the commons. He was ſecretly ſuſpected too of the crime of popery; and it was known, that, from complaiſance to the Queen, and indeed in compliance with the King's maxims of government, he had granted many indulgences to catholics, and had ſigned warrants for the pardon of prieſts, and their delivery from confinement. By Grimſtone, a popular haranguer, he was called, in the houſe, the very pander and broker to the whore of Babylon. Finding, that the ſcrutiny of the commons was pointing towards him, and being ſenſible, that England was no longer a place of ſafety for men of his character, he ſuddenly made his eſcape into France.

Secretary Windebank flies.

THUS, in a few weeks, this houſe of commons, not oppoſed or rather ſeconded by the peers, had produced ſuch a revolution in the government, that the two moſt powerful and moſt favored miniſters of the King were thrown into the tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life: Two other miniſters, by flight alone, had ſaved themſelves from a like fate: All the King's ſervants ſaw evidently, that no protection could be given them by their maſter: A new juriſdiction was erected, in the nation; and before that tribunal all thoſe trembled, who had before exulted moſt in their credit and authority.

WHAT rendered the power of the commons the more formidable, was the extreme prudence, with which it was conducted. Not contented with the authority, which they had acquired by attacking theſe great miniſters; they were reſolved to render the moſt conſiderable bodies of the nation obnoxious to them. Tho' the idol of the people, they wiſely determined to fortify themſelves likeways with terrors, and to overawe thoſe, who might ſtill be inclined to ſupport the falling ruins of monarchy.

Great authority of the commons.

DURING the late military operations, ſeveral powers had been exerted by the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of the counties: And the powers, tho' quite requiſite for the defence of the nation, and even warranted by all former precedents, yet being unauthorized by ſtatute, were now voted to be illegal; and the perſons, who had aſſumed them, declared *delinquents*. This term was newly come into vogue, and expreſſed a degree and ſpecies of guilt, not exactly known or aſcertained. In conſequence of that determination, many of the nobility and prime gentry of the nation, while only exerting, as they imagined, the lawful rights of magiſtracy, unexpectedly found themſelves involved in the crime of delinquency. And the commons reaped this multiplied advantage

vantage by their vote: They disarmed the crown; they established the maxims of rigid law and liberty; and they spred the terror of their own authority.

The writs for ship-money had been directed to the sheriffs, who were required, and even obliged under severe penalties, to assess the sums upon individuals, and to levy them by their authority: Yet were all the sheriffs, and all those employed in that illegal service, by a very rigorous sentence, voted to be delinquents. The King, by the maxims of law, could do no wrong: His ministers and servants, of whatever degree, in case of any violations of the constitution, were alone culpable.

All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed, during so many years, in levying tonnage and poundage and the new impositions, were likeways declared criminal, and were afterwards glad to compound for a pardon by paying a fine of 150,000 pound.

Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber and high commission; courts, which, from their very constitution, were arbitrary; underwent a severe scrutiny: And all those, who had any hand in such sentences, were voted to be liable to the penalties of law. No minister of the King, no member of the council, but what found himself exposed by this determination.

The judges, who had given their voices against Hambden in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance. Berkeley, one of the judges of king's bench, was seized by order of the house, even when sitting in his tribunal; and all men saw with astonishment the irresistible authority of their jurisdiction.

The sanction of the lords and commons, as well as that of the King, was declared requisite for the confirmation of all ecclesiastical canons: And this judgment, it must be confessed, however reasonable, at least useful, it would have been difficult to justify by any precedent. But the present was no time for question or dispute. That decision, which abolished all legislative power except that of parliament, was altogether requisite for compleating the new plan of liberty, and rendering it quite uniform and systematical. Almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convocation, found themselves exposed, by these new principles, to the imputation of delinquency.

The most unpopular of all Charles's measures, the most impolitic, the most oppressive, and even, excepting ship-money, the most illegal, was the revival of monopolies, so solemnly abolished, after re-iterated endeavors, by a recent act of parliament. Sensible of this unhappy measure, the King had, of himself, recalled,

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recalled, during the time of his firſt expedition againſt Scotland, many of theſe deſtructive patents, and the reſt were now annihilated by authority of parliament, and every one concerned in them declared delinquents. The commons carried ſo far their deteſtation of this odious meaſure, that they aſſumed a power unknown to all their predeceſſors, and expelled all their members, who were monopoliſts or projectors. An artifice too, by which, beſide increaſing their own privileges, they weakened ſtill farther the very ſmall party, which the King ſecretly retained in the houſe. Mildmay, a notorious monopoliſt, yet having aſſociated himſelf with the ruling party, was ſtill allowed to keep his ſeat. In all queſtions indeed of elections, no rule of deciſion was obſerved; and nothing farther was regarded than the affections and attachment of the parties. Men's paſſions were too much heated to be ſhocked with any inſtance of injuſtice, which ſerved ends ſo popular as thoſe purſued by this houſe of commons.

THE whole ſovereign power being thus, in a manner, transferred to the commons, and the government, without any ſeeming violence or diſorder, changed, in a moment, from a monarchy, almoſt abſolute, to a pure democracy; the popular leaders ſeemed willing, for ſome time, to ſuſpend their active vigor, and to conſolidate their authority, 'ere they proceeded to any ſtrong exerciſe of it. Every day produced ſome new harangue on paſt grievances. The deteſtation of former uſurpations, was farther enlivened: The jealouſy of liberty rouzed: And ſuitable to the true ſpirit of free government, an equal indignation was excited, by the view of a violated conſtitution, as by the ravages of the moſt enormous tyranny.

Now was the time, when genius and capacity of all kinds, free'd from the reſtraint of authority, and nouriſhed by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themſelves, and be diſtinguiſhed by the public. Then was celebrated the ſagacity of Pym, more fitted for uſe than ornament; matured, not chilled, by his advanced age and long experience: Then was diſplayed the mighty ambition of Hambden, taught diſguiſe, not moderation, from former conſtraint; ſupported by courage, conducted by prudence, embelliſhed by modeſty; but whether animated by a love of power or zeal for liberty, is ſtill, from his untimely end, left doubtful and uncertain: Then too were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John; the impetuous ſpirit of Hollis, violent and ſincere, open and intire in his enmities and in his friendſhips; the enthuſiaſtic genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends, which he purſued, ſagacious and profound in the means, which he employed; incited by the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.

So

So little apology could be made for paſt meaſures, ſo contagious the general ſpirit of diſcontent, that even men of the moſt moderate tempers, and the moſt attached to the church and monarchy, exerted themſelves with the utmoſt vigor in the redreſs of grievances, and in proſecuting the authors of them. The lively and animated Digby diſplayed his eloquence on this occaſion, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modeſt and candid Palmer. In this liſt too of patriot-royaliſts are found the virtuous names of Hyde and Falkland. Tho' in their ultimate views and intentions, theſe men differed widely from the former; in their preſent actions and diſcourſes, an intire concurrence and unanimity was obſerved.

By the daily harangues and invectives againſt illegal uſurpations, not only the houſe of commons inflamed themſelves with the higheſt animoſity towards the court: The nation caught new fire from their popular leaders, and ſeemed now to have made the firſt diſcovery of the many diſorders of the government. While the law, in many inſtances, was openly violated, they went no farther than ſome ſecret and calm murmurs; but mounted up into rage and fury, as ſoon as the conſtitution was reſtored to its former integrity and vigor. The capital eſpecially, being the ſeat of parliament, was highly animated with the ſpirit of mutiny and diſſaffection. Tumults were daily raiſed; ſeditious aſſemblies encouraged; and every man, neglecting his own buſineſs, was wholly intent on the defence of liberty and religion. By ſtronger contagion, the popular affections were communicated from breaſt to breaſt, in this place of general rendezvous and ſociety.

The harangues of members, now firſt publiſhed and diſperſed, kept alive the diſcontents againſt the King's adminiſtration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily ſettled in all the conſiderable churches, rung with faction and fanaticiſm. Vengeance was fully taken for that long ſilence and conſtraint, in which, by the authority of Laud and the high commiſſion, theſe preachers had been retained. The preſs, free'd from all fear or reſerve, ſwarmed with productions, dangerous by their ſeditious zeal and calumny, more than by any art or eloquence of compoſition. Noiſe and fury, cant and hypocriſy, formed the ſole rhetoric, which, during this tumult of various prejudices and paſſions, could be heard or attended to.

The ſevere ſentence, which had been executed againſt Prynne, Baſtwic, and Burton, now ſuffered a reviſal from parliament. Theſe outrageous libellers, far from being tamed by the rigorous puniſhment, which they had undergone, ſhowed ſtill a diſpoſition of repeating their offence; and the miniſters were afraid, leſt new ſatyres ſhould iſſue from their priſons, and inflame ſtill farther the

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partizans of these holy martyrs and confessors. By an arbitrary order, therefore, of council, they had been removed to remote prisons; Bastwic to Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pen, ink and paper, was refused them. The sentence for these additional punishments was immediately reversed by the commons: Even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal; and the judges, who passed it, were ordered to make reparation to the sufferers. When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended with a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, the whole inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed their reception with shouts and acclamations. Their train still increased, as they drew near to London. Several miles from the city, the zealots of their party, in great multitudes, met them, and attended their triumphal entrance: Boughs were carried by this tumultuous procession; the roads strowed with flowers; and amid the highest exultations of joy, were intermingled loud and virulent invectives against the prelates, who had so cruelly persecuted such godly personages. The more ignoble and infamous these men were, the more sensible was the insult upon royal authority, and the more dangerous was the spirit of disaffection and mutiny, which it marked among the people.

LILBURNE, Leighton, and every one, who had been punished for seditious libels during the precedent administration, now recovered their liberty, and were decreed damages on the judges and ministers of justice.

NOT only the present disposition of the nation ensured impunity to all libellers: A new method of framing and dispersing libels was invented by the leaders of the popular frenzy. Petitions to parliament were drawn, craving redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions were procured, the petitions were presented to the commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints, which they contained.

'TIS pretended by historians favorable to the royal cause, * and even asserted by the King himself in a declaration, † that a most disingenuous or rather criminal practice prevailed, in conducting many of these petitions. A petition was first framed; moderate, reasonable, such as men of character willingly subscribed. The names were afterwards torne off, and affixed to another petition, which served

* Dugdale, Clarendon. † Husb. Coll. p. 536.

ſerved better the purpoſes of the popular faction. We may judge of the wild fury, which prevailed thro'out the nation, when ſo ſcandalous an impoſture, which affected ſuch numbers of people, could be openly practiſed, without drawing infamy and ruin upon the managers. Chap. V. 1640.

So many grievances were offered, both by the members, and by petitions without doors, that the houſe was divided into above forty committees, charged, each of them, with the examination of ſome particular violation of law and liberty, which had been complained of. Beſide the general committees of religion, trade, privileges, laws; many ſubdiviſions of theſe were framed, and a ſtrict ſcrutiny every where carried on. 'Tis to be remarked, that, before the beginning of this century, when the parliament aſſumed leſs influence and authority, complaints of grievances were uſually preſented to the houſe, by any members, who had had particular opportunity of obſerving them. Theſe general committees, which were a kind of inquiſitorial courts, had not then been eſtabliſhed; and we find, that the King, in a former declaration *, complains loudly of this innovation, ſo little favorable to royal authority. But never was ſo much multiplied, as at preſent, the uſe of theſe committees; as indeed, there ſeldom had before been ſo much occaſion for ſuch ſevere remedies.

From the reports of their committees, the houſe daily paſſed votes, which mortified and aſtoniſhed the court, and enflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the ſentence againſt Hambden cancelled; the court of Yorke aboliſhed; compoſitions of knighthood ſtigmatized; the enlargement of the forreſts condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late meaſure of the adminiſtration treated with reproach and obloquy. To day, a ſentence of the ſtar-chamber was exclaimed againſt: To morrow, a decree of the high commiſſion was complained of. Every diſcretionary act of council was repreſented as arbitrary and tyrannical: And the general inference was ſtill inculcated, that a formed deſign had been laid to ſubvert the whole laws and conſtitution of the kingdom.

From neceſſity, the King remained entirely paſſive during all theſe violent operations. The few ſervants, who continued faithful to him, were ſeized with aſtoniſhment at the rapid progreſs made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their inactive and inoffenſive behavior, to compound for impunity. The torrent riſing to ſo dreadful and unexpected a height, deſpair ſeized all thoſe, who, from intereſt or habits, were moſt attached to monarchy. And as for thoſe, who maintained their duty to the King, merely from their regard to the conſtitution, they ſeemed, by their concurrence, to ſwell that inundation,

* Publiſhed on diſſolving the third parliament.

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dation, which began already to deluge every thing. "You have taken the whole "machine of government in pieces", ſaid Charles in a diſcourſe to the parliament; "a practice frequent with ſkilful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the "wheels from any ruſt, which may have grown upon them. The engine", continued he, "may again be reſtored to its former uſe and motions, provided it be "put up entire; ſo as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons. The machine, they thought, with ſome reaſon, was encumbered with many wheels and ſprings, which retarded and croſſed its operations, and deſtroyed its ſimplicity. Happy! had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented, in their preſent plenitude of power, to remove ſuch parts only as might juſtly be deemed ſuperfluous and incongruous.

In order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, the commons, beſide confounding and overawing their opponents, judged it requiſite to inſpire courage into their friends and adherents; particularly into the Scotch, and the religious puritans, to whoſe aſſiſtance and good offices they were already ſo much beholden.

No ſooner were the Scotch maſters of the northern counties, than they laid aſide their firſt profeſſions, which they had not indeed means to ſupport, of paying for every thing; and in order to prevent the deſtructive expedient of plunder and free quarter, the country conſented to give them a regular contribution of 850 pounds a-day, in full of their ſubſiſtence. The parliament, that they might relieve the northern counties from ſo grievous an oppreſſion, agreed to remit pay to the Scotch, as well as to the Engliſh army; and becauſe ſubſidies would be levied too ſlowly for ſo urgent an occaſion, money was borrowed from the citizens upon the ſecurity of particular members. Two ſubſidies, a very ſmall pittance *, were at firſt voted; and as the intention of this ſupply was to indemnify the members, who, by their private, had ſupported public credit, this pretext was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treaſury, but into commiſſioners appointed by parliament: A practice, which, as it diminiſhed the authority of the crown, was very willingly embraced, and was afterwards continued by the commons, with regard to every branch of revenue which they granted to the King. The invaſion of the Scotch had evidently been the cauſe of aſſembling the parliament: The preſence of their army reduced the King to that total ſubjection in which he was now held: The commons, for this reaſon, very openly profeſſed their intention of retaining theſe invaders till all their enemies ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and all their purpoſes effected.

We

* It appears, that a ſubſidy was now fallen to 50,000 pounds.

We cannot yet ſpare the Scotch, ſaid Strode plainly in the houſe; *the ſons of Zerviah are ſtill too ſtrong for us:* An alluſion to ſome paſſage of the Bible, according to the mode of that age. Eighty thouſand pounds a-month was requiſite for the ſubſiſtence of the two armies; a ſum much greater than the kingdom had ever been accuſtomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And tho' ſeveral ſubſidies, along with a poll-tax, were, from time to time, voted to anſwer the charge; the commons took care ſtill to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the ſeſſion the more requiſite.

THE Scotch being ſuch uſeful allies to the malecontent party in England, no wonder they were courted with the moſt unlimited complaiſance and the moſt important ſervices. The King, in his firſt ſpeech, having called them *rebels*, obſerved, that he had given great offence to the parliament; and he was immediately obliged to ſoften, and even retract that expreſſion. The Scotch commiſſioners, of whom the moſt conſiderable were the Earl of Rothes and Lord Loudon, found every advantage in conducting their treaty; and yet made no haſte in bringing it to an iſſue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correſpondence, as well with the magiſtrates, who were extremely diſaffected, as with the popular leaders in both houſes. St. Antholine's church was aſſigned them for their devotions; and their chaplains, here, began openly to practiſe the preſbyterian form of worſhip, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed any indulgence or toleration. So violent was the general propenſity towards this new religion, that multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. Thoſe, who were ſo happy as to find acceſs early in the morning, kept their places the whole day: Thoſe, who were excluded, clung to the doors or window, in hopes of catching, at leaſt, ſome diſtant murmurs or broken phraſes of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the ſpirit of liberty, and employed in ſuch important intereſts, was not attended to with ſuch inſatiable avidity, as were theſe lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbariſm and of ignorance.

THE moſt effectual expedient for paying court to the zealous Scotch was to promote the preſbyterian diſcipline and worſhip thro'out England; and to this innovation, the popular leaders among the commons, as well as their moſt devoted partizans, were, of themſelves, ſufficiently inclined. The puritanical party, whoſe progreſs, tho' ſecret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the preſent diſorders, began openly to profeſs their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the eſtabliſhed religion. The prevalence of that ſect in the parliament diſcovered itſelf, from the beginning, by inſenſible, but deciſive

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ſymptoms. Marſhall and Burgeſs, two puritanical clergymen, were choſen to preach before them, and entertained them with diſcourſes ſeven hours in length. It being the cuſtom of the houſe always to take the ſacrament before they enter upon buſineſs, they ordered, as a requiſite preliminary, that the communion-table ſhould be removed from the eaſt end of St. Margaret's into the middle of the area. The name of the *ſpiritual lords* was commonly left out in acts of parliament; and the laws ran in name of the king, lords, and commons. The clerk of the upper houſe, in reading of bills, turned his back on the bench of biſhops; nor was his inſolence ever taken notice of. On a day appointed for a ſolemn faſt and humiliation, the whole orders of temporal peers, contrary to former practice, in going to church, took place of the ſpiritual; and the Lord Spencer remarked, that the humiliation, that day, ſeemed confined alone to the prelates.

The biſhops attacked.

EVERY meeting of the commons produced ſome vehement harangue againſt the uſurpations of the biſhops, againſt the high commiſſion, againſt the late convocation, againſt the new canons. So diſguſted were all lovers of civil liberty at the ſlaviſh doctrines promoted of late by the clergy, that theſe invectives were received without control; and no diſtinction, at firſt, appeared betwixt ſuch as deſired only to repreſs the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and ſuch as pretended totally to annihilate epiſcopal juriſdiction. Encouraged by theſe favorable appearances, petitions againſt the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom. The epithet of the ignorant and vicious prieſthood was commonly applied to all churchmen, addicted to the eſtabliſhed diſcipline and worſhip; tho' the epiſcopal clergy in England, during that age, ſeen to have been, as they are at preſent, ſufficiently learned and examplary. To the committee of religion an addreſs againſt epiſcopacy was preſented by twelve clergymen, and pretended to be ſigned by many hundreds of the puritanical perſuaſion. But what made moſt noiſe was the city petition for a total alteration of church government; a petition, to which 15,000 ſubſcriptions were annexed, and which was preſented by Alderman Pennington, the city-member. 'Tis remarkable, that, among the many eccleſiaſtical abuſes, there complained of, an allowance, given by the licencers of books, to publiſh a tranſlation of Ovid's Art of Love, is not forgot by theſe ruſtic cenſors.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favorable diſpoſition of the people, the leaders in the houſe reſolved to proceed with caution. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exerciſe of any civil office. As a conſequence, the biſhops were deprived of their ſeats in the houſe of peers; a meaſure not unacceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who obſerved, with regret, the devoted attachment of that order to the will of the monarch. But when this bill was preſented

preſented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority: The firſt check which the commons had received in their popular carreer, and a prognoſtic of what they might afterwards expect from the upper houſe, whoſe inclinations and intereſt could never be totally ſeparated from the throne. But to ſhow how little they were diſcouraged, the puritans immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of epiſcopacy; tho' they thought proper to let that bill ſleep at preſent, in expectation of a more favorable opportunity for reviving it.

AMONG other acts of regal, executive power, which the commons were every day aſſuming, they iſſued orders for the demoliſhing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of theſe orders was committed, removed all croſſes even out of ſtreets and markets; and from his abhorrence to that ſuperſtitious figure, would not any where allow two pieces of wood or ſtone to lie over each other at right angles.

THE biſhop of Ely and other clergymen were attacked on account of innovations. Cozens, who had long been obnoxious, was expoſed to new cenſures. This perſon, who was dean of Peterborow, was extremely zealous for eccleſiaſtical ceremonies: And ſo far from permitting the communicants to break the ſacramental bread with their fingers; a privilege on which the puritans very ſtrenuouſly inſiſted; he would not ſo much as allow it to be cut with an ordinary houſhold inſtrument. A conſecrated knife muſt perform that ſacred office, and muſt never afterwards be profaned by any vulgar ſervice.

COZENS too was accuſed of having ſaid, *The king has no more authority in eccleſiaſtical matters, than the boy who rubs my horſe's heels.* The expreſſion was violent: But 'tis certain, that all thoſe high churchmen, who were ſo induſtrious in bringing the laity's necks under the King's feet, were extremely fond of their own privileges and independency, and were deſirous of exempting the mitre from all ſubjection to the crown.

A committee was erected by the commons as a court of inquiſition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of *ſcandalous miniſters*. The politicians among the commons were apprized of the great importance of the pulpit for guiding the people; the bigots were enraged againſt the prelatical clergy; and both of them knew, that no eſtabliſhed government could be overthrown by obſerving ſtrictly the principles of juſtice, equity, or clemency. The proceedings, therefore, of this famous committee, which continued for ſeveral years, were, to the laſt degree, cruel and arbitrary, and made dreadful havoc both on the church and the univerſities. They began with haraſſing, impriſoning, and moleſting the clergy; and ended with ſequeſtring and ejecting them. In order to join contumely to cruelty, they gave the ſufferers the epithet

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of *ſcandalous*, and endeavored to render them as odious as they were miſerable. The utmoſt vice, however, which they could reproach to a great part of them, were, bowing at the name of Jeſus, placing the communion-table in the eaſt, reading the King's order for ſports on ſunday, and other practices, which the eſtabliſhed government, both in church and ſtate, had ſtrictly required of them.

It may be worth obſerving, that all the hiſtorians, who lived near that age, or what perhaps is more deciſive, all authors, who have caſually made mention of thoſe public tranſactions, ſtill repreſent the civil diſorders and convulſions as proceeding from religious controverſy, and conſider the political diſputes about power and liberty as intirely ſubordinate to the other. 'Tis true; had the King abſtained from all invaſion of national privileges, it is not probable, that the puritans ever could have acquired ſuch authority as to overturn the whole conſtitution: Yet ſo entire was the ſubjection into which Charles was now fallen, that, if the wound had not been poiſoned by the infuſion of theological hatred, it muſt have admitted of a very eaſy remedy. Diſuſe of parliaments, impriſonment and proſecution of members, ſhip-money, an arbitrary and illegal adminiſtration; theſe were loudly, and not without reaſon, complained of: But the grievances, which tended chiefly to enflame the parliament and nation, eſpecially the latter, were, the ſurplice, the rails placed about the altar, the bows exacted on approaching it, the liturgy, the breach of the ſabbath, embroidered copes, lawn-ſleeves, the uſe of the ring in marriage, and of the croſs in baptiſm. On account of theſe, were both parties contented to throw the government into ſuch violent convulſions; and to the diſgrace of that age and of this iſland, it muſt be acknowleged, that the diſorders in Scotland intirely, and thoſe in England moſtly, proceeded from ſo mean and contemptible an origin.

Some perſons, partial to the leaders, who now defended public liberty, have ventured to put them in ballance with the moſt illuſtrious characters of antiquity; and mention the names of Pym, Hambden, Vane, as a juſt parallel to thoſe of Cato, Brutus, Caſſius. Profound capacity, indeed, undaunted courage, extenſive enterprize; in theſe particulars, perhaps the Roman do not much ſurpaſs the Engliſh patriots: But what a difference, when the diſcourſe, conduct, converſation, and private as well as public behavior, of both are inſpected? Compare only one circumſtance, and conſider its conſequences. The leizure of theſe noble antients was totally employed in the ſtudy of Grecian eloquence and philoſophy; in the cultivation of polite letters and civilized ſociety: The whole diſcourſe and language of the moderns were polluted with myſterious jargon, and full of the loweſt and moſt vulgar hypocriſy.

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THE laws, as they ſtood at preſent, protected the church; but they expoſed the catholics to the utmoſt rage of the puritans; and theſe unhappy religioniſts, ſo obnoxious to the prevailing ſect, could not hope to remain long unmoleſted. The voluntary contribution, which they had made, in order to aſſiſt the King in his war againſt the Scotch covenanters, was inquired into, and repreſented as the greateſt enormity. By an addreſs from the commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the King for ſeizing two thirds of recuſants' lands; a proportion to which, by law, he was intitled, but which he had always allowed them to poſſeſs upon very eaſy compoſitions. The ſevere and bloody laws againſt prieſts were inſiſted on: And one Goodman, a jeſuit, who was found in priſon, was condemned to a capital puniſhment. Charles, however, ſuitable to his uſual principles, ſcrupled to ſign the warrant for his execution; and the commons expreſſed great reſentment on that occaſion. There remains a very ſingular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than remain a ſource of contention betwixt the King and his people. He eſcaped with his life; but it ſeems more probable, that he was overlooked, amid affairs of greater conſequence, than that ſuch unrelenting hatred would be ſoftened by any conſideration of his courage and generoſity.

FOR ſome years, Con, a Scotchman, afterwards, Roſetti, an Italian, had openly reſided at London, and frequented the court, as veſted with a commiſſion from the Pope. The Queen's zeal, and her authority with her huſband, had been the cauſe of this imprudence, ſo offenſive to the nation. But the ſpirit of bigotry now roſe too high to permit any longer ſuch indulgences.

HAYWARD, a juſtice of peace, having been wounded, when employed in the exerciſe of his office, by one James, a catholic madman, this enormity was aſcribed to the popery, not to the frenzy, of the latter; and great alarms ſeized the nation and parliament. An univerſal conſpiracy of the papiſts was ſuppoſed to have taken place; and every man, for ſome days, imagined, that he had a ſword at his throat. Tho' ſome perſons of family and diſtinction were ſtill attached to the catholic ſuperſtition; 'tis certain, that the numbers of that ſect did not compoſe the fortieth part of the nation: And the frequent panics, to which men, during this period, were ſo ſubject, on account of the catholics, were leſs the effects of fear, than of extreme rage and averſion, entertained againſt them.

THE Queen Mother of France, having been forced into baniſhment by ſome court-intrigues, had retired into England; and expected ſhelter, amid her preſent diſtreſſes, in the dominions of her daughter and ſon-in-law. But, tho' ſhe behaved in the moſt inoffenſive manner, ſhe was inſulted by the populace on account of her religion; and even worſe treatment was threatened her. The

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Earl of Holland, Lord lieutenant of Middleſex, had ordered a hundred muſqueteers to guard her; but finding, that they had imbibed the ſame prejudices with the reſt of their country-men, and were very unwillingly employed in ſuch a ſervice, he laid the caſe before the houſe of peers: For the King's authority was intirely annihilated. He repreſented the indignity of the action, that ſo great a Princeſs, mother to the King of France, and to the Queens of Spain and England, ſhould be affronted by the baſe multitude. He obſerved the indelible reproach, which would fall upon the nation, if that unfortunate Queen ſhould ſuffer any violence from the miſguided zeal of the people. He urged the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, due to every one, much more to a perſon in diſtreſs, of ſo high a rank, with whom the nation was ſo nearly connected. The peers thought proper to communicate the matter to the commons, whoſe authority over the people was abſolute. The commons agreed to the neceſſity of protecting the Queen Mother; but at the ſame time deſired, that ſhe might be moved to depart the kingdom; "For the quieting thoſe jealouſies in the hearts of his Maje-"ſty's well-affected ſubjects, occaſioned by ſome ill-inſtruments about that "Queen's perſon, by the flowing of prieſts and papiſts to her houſe, and by the "uſe and practice of the idolatry of the maſs and exerciſe of other ſuperſtitious "ſervices of the Romiſh church, to the great ſcandal of true religion."

CHARLES, in the former part of his reign, had endeavored to overcome the intractable and encroaching ſpirit of the commons, by an obſtinate perſeverance in his own meaſures, by a ſtately dignity of behavior, and by maintaining, at their utmoſt height, and even ſtretching beyond former precedent, the rights of his prerogative. Finding by experience how unſucceſsful thoſe meaſures had proved, and obſerving the low condition, to which he was now reduced, he reſolved to alter his whole conduct, and endeavor to regain the confidence of his people, by pliableneſs, by conceſſions, and by a total conformity to their inclinations and prejudices. He conſidered not, that the true rule of government, in ſo difficult a ſituation, as that, in which, from the beginning of his reign, he was placed, conſiſted, neither in ſteddineſs nor in facility, but in ſuch a judicious mixture of both, as would exactly ſuit the preſent circumſtances of the nation, and the particular pretenſions of his opponents. And, it may ſafely be averred, that this new extreme, into which the King, for want of proper council and ſupport, was fallen, became equally dangerous to the conſtitution, and pernicious to public peace, as the other, in which he had, ſo long and ſo unfortunately, perſevered.

Tonnage and poundage.

THE pretenſions with regard to tonnage and poundage were revived, and with certain aſſurance of ſucceſs, by the commons. The levying theſe duties, as formerly,

formerly, without consent of parliament, and even increasing them at pleasure, was such an incongruity in a free constitution, where the people, by their fundamental privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own consent, as could no longer be endured by these jealous patrons of liberty. In the preamble, therefore, to the bill, where the commons granted these duties to the King, they took care, in the strongest and most positive terms, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to divest the crown of all independent title of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather finally fix, the intire dependance and subjection of the King, they voted these duties only for two months; and afterwards, from time to time, renewed their grant for very short periods *. Charles, in order to show, that he entertained no intention ever again to separate himself from his parliament, passed this important bill, without any scruple or hesitation. Chap. V. 1640.

With regard to the bill for triennial parliaments, he made a little difficulty. By an old statute, during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted, that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently, if necessary: But as no provision had been made in case of failure, and no precise method pointed out for execution; this statute had been considered merely as a general declaration, and was dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots, who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, fail to issue out writs by the third of September in every third year; any twelve or more of the peers shall be empowered to exert this authority: In default of the peers, the sheriffs, mayors, bayliffs, &c. shall summon the voters: And in their default, the voters themselves shall meet and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days. By this bill, some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown were retrenched; but at the same time, nothing could be more requisite than such a statute, for compleating a regular plan of law and liberty. A great reluctance to assemble parliaments must be expected in the King; where these assemblies, as of late, establish it as a maxim to carry their scrutiny into every circumstance of government. During long Triennial bill.

* It was an instruction given by the house to the committee, which framed one of these bills, to take care, that the rates upon the home-commodities may be as light as possible; and upon foreign commodities as heavy as trade will bear: A proof, that the nature of commerce began now to be understood. Journ. 1. June 1641.

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long intermiſſions of parliament, grievances and abuſes, ſuitable to recent experience, would naturally creep in; and it would even become neceſſary for the King and council to exert a great diſcretionary authority, and, by acts of ſtate, ſupply, in every emergence, the legiſlative power, whoſe meeting was ſo uncertain and precarious. Charles, finding, that nothing leſs would ſatisfy his parliament and people, at laſt gave his aſſent to this bill, which produced ſo great an innovation in the conſtitution. Solemn thanks were preſented him by both houſes. Great rejoicings were expreſſed both in the city and thro'out the nation. And mighty profeſſions were, every where, made of gratitude and mutual returns of ſupply and confidence. This conceſſion of the King, it muſt be owned, was not intirely voluntary: It was of a nature too important to be voluntary. The ſole inference, which his partizans were intitled to draw from the ſubmiſſions, ſo frankly made to preſent neceſſity, was, that he had certainly adopted a new plan of government, and, for the future, was reſolved, by every indulgence, to acquire the confidence and affections of his people.

CHARLES thought, that what conceſſions were made to the public were of little conſequence, if no gratifications were beſtowed on the individuals, who had acquired the direction of public councils and determinations. A change of miniſters, as well as of meaſures, was, therefore, reſolved on. In one day were ſworn privy counſellors, the Earls of Hertford, Bedford, Eſſex, Briſtol; the Lords Say, Saville, Kimbolton: Within a few days after, was admitted the Earl of Warwic. All theſe Noblemen were of the popular party; and ſome of them proved afterwards, when matters were puſhed to extremity by the commons, the greateſt ſupports of monarchy.

JUXON, biſhop of London, who had never deſired the treaſurer's ſtaff, now earneſtly ſollicited for leave to reſign it, and retire to the care of that turbulent dioceſe, which was committed to him. The King gave his aſſent; and it is remarkable, that, during all the ſevere inquiſitions, carried on againſt the conduct of miniſters and prelates, the mild and prudent virtues of this man, who bore both theſe invidious characters, remained unmoleſted. It was intended, that Bedford, a popular man, of great authority, as well as wiſdom and moderation, ſhould ſucceed Juxon: But that Nobleman, very unfortunately both for King and people, died about this very time. By ſome promotions, place was made for St. John, who was created ſollicitor-general. Hollis was to be made ſecretary of ſtate, in place of Windebank, who had fled: Pym, chancellor of the exchequer, in place of Lord Cottington, who had reſigned: Lord Say, maſter of the wards, in place of the ſame Nobleman: The Earl of Eſſex, governor; and Hambden, tutor, to the Prince.

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WHAT retarded the execution of these projected changes, was the difficulty of satisfying all those, who, from their activity and authority in parliament, had pretensions for offices, and who had it still in their power to embaras and distres the public measures. Their associates too in popularity, whom the King intended to distinguish by his favors, were unwilling to suffer the reproach of having driven a separate bargain, and of sacrificing, to their own ambitious views, the cause of the nation. And as they were sensible, that they must owe their preferment entirely to their weight and consideration in parliament, they were, most of them, resolved still to adhere to that assembly, and both to promote its authority, and preserve their own credit in it. On all occasions, they had no other advice to give the King, than to allow himself to be directed by his great council; or in other words, to resign himself passively to their guidance and government. And Charles found, that, instead of acquiring friends, by the honors and offices which he should bestow, he would only arm his enemies with more power to hurt him.

THE end, on which the King was most intent in changing ministers, was to save the life of the Earl of Strafford, and to mollify, by these indulgences, the rage of his most furious prosecutors. But so high was that Nobleman's reputation for experience and capacity, that all the new counsellors and intended ministers made account, if he escaped their vengeance, of his return into favor and authority; and regarded his death as the only security, which they could have, both for the establishment of their present power, and for success in their farther enterprizes. His impeachment, therefore, was pushed with the utmost vigor; and after long and solemn preparations, was brought to a final issue.

Strafford's trial.

IMMEDIATELY after Strafford was sequestred from parliament, and confined in the tower, a committee of thirteen were chosen by the lower house, and entrusted with the office of preparing a charge against him. Joined to a small committee of lords, these were vested with authority to examine all witnesses, call for every paper, and use any means of scrutiny, with regard to any part of the Earl's behavior and conduct. After so general and unbounded an inquisition, exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies; a man must have been very cautious or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his life, some matter of accusation against him.

THIS committee, by direction from the houses, took an oath of secrecy; a practice very unusual, and what gave them the appearance of conspirators, more than ministers of justice. But the intention of this strictness, was to render it more difficult for the Earl to elude their search, or prepare for his justification.

To

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To the King, application was made, that he would allow this committee to examine privy counſellors with regard to opinions delivered at the board. A conceſſion, which Charles unwarily made, and which thenceforth baniſhed all mutual confidence, from the deliberations of council; where every man is ſuppoſed to have entire freedom, without fear of future puniſhment and inquiry, of propoſing any expedient, queſtioning any opinion, or ſupporting any argument.

Sir George Ratcliffe, the Earl's intimate friend and confident, was accuſed of high treaſon, ſent for from Ireland, and committed to cloſe cuſtody. As no charge ever appeared or was proſecuted againſt him, it is impoſſible to give a more charitable interpretation to this meaſure, than that the commons thereby intended to deprive Strafford, in his preſent diſtreſs, of the aſſiſtance of his beſt friend, who was moſt enabled to juſtify the innocence of his conduct and behavior.

When intelligence arrived in Ireland of the plans laid for Strafford's ruin, the Iriſh houſe of commons, tho' they had very lately beſtowed moſt ample praiſes on his adminiſtration, entered into all violent councils againſt him, and prepared a repreſentation of the miſerable ſtate, into which, by his miſconduct, they ſuppoſed the kingdom to be fallen. They ſent over a committee into England to aſſiſt in the proſecution of their unfortunate governor; and by intimations from this committee, who entered into cloſe confederacy with the popular leaders in England, was every meaſure of the Iriſh parliament governed and directed. Impeachments, which were never proſecuted, were carried up againſt Sir Richard Bolton, the chancellor, Sir Gerard Louther, chief juſtice, and Bramhall, biſhop of Derry. This ſtep, which was an exact counter-part to the proceedings in England, ſerved alſo the ſame purpoſes: It deprived the King of the miniſters, whom he moſt truſted; it diſcouraged and terrified all the other miniſters; and it prevented thoſe perſons, who were beſt acquainted with Strafford's councils, from giving evidence in his favor before the Engliſh parliament.

1641.

The biſhops, being forbid by the canons to aſſiſt in any trial for life, and being unwilling, by any oppoſition, to irritate the commons, who were already much prejudized againſt them, thought proper, of themſelves, to withdraw. The commons alſo voted, that the new created peers ought to have no voice in this trial; becauſe the accuſation being agreed to, while they were commoners, their conſent to it was implied with that of all the commons of England. Notwithſtanding this deciſion, which was meant only to deprive Strafford of ſo many friends, the Lord Seymour, and ſome others ſtill continued to keep their ſeat; nor was their right to it any farther queſtioned.

To

To beſtow a greater ſolemnity on this important trial, ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall; where both houſes ſat, the one as accuſers, the other as judges. Beſide the chair of ſtate, a cloſe gallery was prepared for the King and Queen, who attended during the whole trial. Chap. V. 1641.

An accuſation, carried on by the united effort of three kingdoms, againſt one man, unprotected by power, unaſſiſted by council, diſcountenanced by authority, was likely to prove a very unequal conteſt: Yet ſuch was the capacity, genius, preſence of mind, diſplayed by this magnanimous ſtateſman, that, while argument and reaſon and law had any place, he obtained an undiſputed victory. And he periſhed at laſt, overwhelmed and ſtill unſubdued, by the undiſguiſed violence of his fierce and unrelenting antagoniſts.

The articles of impeachment againſt Strafford are twenty eight in number; and regard his conduct, as preſident of the council of Yorke, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, as counſellor or commander in England. But tho' four months were employed by the managers in framing the accuſation, and all Strafford's anſwers were extemporary; it appears from compariſon, not only that he was free from the crime of treaſon, of which there is not the leaſt appearance, but that his conduct, making allowance for human infirmities, expoſed to ſuch ſevere ſcrutiny, was innocent, and even laudable. March 22.

The powers of the northern council, while he was preſident, had been extended, by the King's inſtructions, beyond what formerly had been practiſed: But that court being, at firſt, inſtituted by a ſtretch of royal prerogative, it had been uſual for the prince to vary his inſtructions; and the largeſt authority, committed to it, was altogether as legal as the moſt moderate and moſt limited. Nor was it reaſonable to conclude, that Strafford had uſed any art to procure thoſe extenſive powers; ſince he never once ſat as preſident, nor exerciſed one act of juriſdiction, after he was inveſted with the authority, ſo much complained of.

In the government of Ireland, his adminiſtration had been equally promotive of his maſter's intereſt, and that of the ſubjects, committed to his care. A large debt he had payed off: A conſiderable ſum he had left in the exchequer: The revenues, which before never anſwered the charges of government, were now raiſed to be equal to them: A ſmall ſtanding army, held in no order, was augmented and was governed by the moſt exact diſcipline: And a great force was there raiſed and paid, for the ſupport of the King's authority againſt the Scotch covenanters.

Industry, and all the arts of peace, were introduced among that ſavage people: The ſhipping of the kingdom augmented a hundred-fold: The cuſtoms tripled upon the ſame rates: The exports double in value to the imports;

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ports: Manufactures, particularly that of linnen, introduced and promoted: Agriculture, by means of the Engliſh and Scotch plantations, gradually advancing: The proteſtant religion encouraged, without the perſecution or diſcontent of the catholics.

THE ſprings of authority he had enforced without overſtraining them. Diſcretionary acts of juriſdiction, indeed, he had often exerted, by holding courts-martial, billeting ſoldiers, deciding cauſes upon paper-petitions before the council, iſſuing proclamations, and puniſhing their infraction. But diſcretionary authority, during that age, was uſually exerciſed even in England. In Ireland, it was ſtill more requiſite, among a wild nation, ſcarce well ſubdued, averſe to the religion and manners of their conquerors, ready, on all occaſions, to relapſe into rebellion and diſorder. While the managers of the commons demanded, every moment, that the deputy's conduct ſhould be examined by the line of rigid law and ſevere principles; he appealed ſtill to the practice of all former deputies, and to the uncontrolable neceſſity of his ſituation.

So great was his art of managing elections, and ballancing parties, that he had engaged the Iriſh parliament to vote whatever was requiſite, both for the payment of former debts, and for ſupport of the new levied army; nor had he ever been reduced to the illegal expedients, practiſed in England, for the ſupply of public neceſſities. No imputation of rapacity could juſtly lie againſt his adminiſtration. Some inſtances of imperious expreſſions and even actions may be met with. The caſe of Lord Mountnorris, of all thoſe collected with ſo much induſtry, is the moſt flagrant and the leaſt excuſable.

IT had been reported at the table of the Lord chancellor, Loftus, that one of the deputy's attendants, a relation of Mountnorris, in moving a ſtool, had ſorely hurt his maſter's foot, who was at that time afflicted with the gout. *Perhaps*, ſaid Mountnorris, who was preſent at table, *it was done in revenge of that public affront, which my Lord deputy formerly put upon me:* BUT I HAVE A BROTHER, WHO WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN SUCH A REVENGE. This caſual, and ſeemingly innocent, at leaſt very ambiguous, expreſſion was reported to Strafford; who, on pretence that Mountnorris was an officer, ordered him to be tried by a court-martial for mutiny and ſedition againſt his general. The court, which conſiſted of the chief officers of the army, found the crime to be capital, and condemned that Nobleman to loſe his head.

IN vain did Strafford plead in his own defence againſt this article of impeachment, That the ſentence againſt Mountnorris was the deed, and that too unanimous, of the court, not the act of the deputy; that he ſpoke not to a member of the court, nor voted in the cauſe, but ſat uncovered as a party; and then immediately

mediately withdrew, to leave them to their freedom; that ſenſible of the atrociouſneſs of the ſentence, he procured his Majeſty's free pardon to Mountnorris; that he did not even keep that Nobleman a moment in ſuſpence with regard to his fate, but inſtantly told him, that he himſelf would ſooner part with his right hand than execute ſuch a ſentence, nor was his lordſhip's life in any manner of danger; and that upon the whole, the only hardſhip, which Mountnorris ſuffered, was impriſonment during two days, after which his liberty was reſtored to him. In vain did Strafford's friends add, as a further apology, that Mountnorris was a man of an infamous character, who payed court, by the loweſt adulation, to all deputies, while preſent; and blackened their character, by the vileſt calumnies, when recalled: And that Strafford, expecting like treatment, had uſed this expedient for no other purpoſe than to ſubdue the petulant ſpirit of the man. Theſe excuſes alleviate the guilt; but there ſtill remains enough to prove, that the mind of the deputy, tho' great and firm, had been not a little debauched by the riot of abſolute power, and uncontroled authority. Chap. V. 1641.

When Strafford was called over into England, he found every thing falling to ſuch confuſion, by the open rebellion of the Scotch and the ſecret diſcontents of the Engliſh, that, if he had counſelled or executed any violent meaſure, he might perhaps have been able to apologize for his conduct, from the great law of neceſſity, which admits not, while extreme, of any ſcruple, ceremony, or delay. But in fact, no illegal advice or action was proved againſt him; and the whole amount of his guilt, during this period, were ſome peeviſh, or at moſt imperious expreſſions, which, amid ſuch deſperate extremities, and during a bad ſtate of health, had unhappily fallen from him.

If Strafford's apology was, in the main, ſo ſatisfactory, when he pleaded to each particular article of the charge, his victory was ſtill more deciſive, when he brought the whole together, and repelled the imputation of high treaſon; the crime which the commons would infer from the full view of his conduct and behavior. Of all ſpecies of guilt, the law of England had, with the moſt anxious care, defined that of treaſon; becauſe on that ſide it was found moſt requiſite to protect the ſubject againſt the violence of the king and of his miniſters. By the famous ſtatute of Edward III. all the kinds of treaſon are enumerated, and every other crime, beſide ſuch as are there expreſsly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that denomination. But with regard to this guilt, *An endeavor to ſubvert the fundamental laws*, the ſtatute of treaſons is totally ſilent: And arbitrarily to introduce it into the fatal catalogue, is itſelf a ſubverſion of all law; and under pretext of defending liberty, reverſes a ſtatute the beſt calculated for protecting liberty, which had ever been enacted by an Engliſh parliament.

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As this ſpecies of treaſon, diſcovered by the commons, is intirely new and unknown to the laws; ſo is the ſpecies of proof, by which they pretend to fix that guilt upon the priſoner. They have invented a kind of *accumulative* or *conſtructive* evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themſelves, or criminal in a much inferior degree, ſhall, when united, mount up into treaſon, and ſubject the perſon to the higheſt penalties inflicted by the law. A haſty and unguarded word, a raſh and paſſionate action, aſſiſted by the malevolent fancy of the accuſer, and tortured by precarious conſtructions, is tranſmuted into the deepeſt guilt; and the lives and fortunes of the whole nation, no longer protected by juſtice, are ſubjected to arbitrary will and pleaſure.

"WHERE has this ſpecies of guilt lain ſo long concealed," ſaid Strafford in concluſion: "Where has this fire been ſo long buried, during ſo many centuries, "that no ſmoke ſhould appear, till it burſt out at once, to conſume me and my "children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and, by the maxims of "cautious prudence, to conform ourſelves, the beſt we can, to the arbitrary will "of a maſter; than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find, at "laſt, that this law ſhall inflict a puniſhment precedent to the promulgation, and "try us by maxims unheard of, till the very moment of the proſecution. If "I ſail on the Thames, and ſplit my veſſel on an anchor; in caſe there be no "buoy to give warning, the party ſhall pay me damages: But, if the anchor "be marked out, then is the ſtriking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark "ſet upon this crime? Where is the token by which I ſhould diſcover it? It "has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human inno-"cence could ſave me from the deſtruction, with which I am here threatened."

"IT is now full two hundred and forty years ſince treaſons were defined; "and ſo long has it been, ſince any man was touched to this extent, upon this "crime, before myſelf. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourſelves at home; "we have lived glorioufly abroad, to the world: Let us be content with what "our fathers have left us: Let not our ambition carry us to be more learned "than they were, in theſe killing and deſtructive arts. Great wiſdom it will be "in your lordſhips, and juſt providence, for yourſelves, for your poſterities, for "the whole kingdom, to caſt from you, into the fire, theſe bloody and myſte-"rious volumes of arbitrary and conſtructive treaſons, as the primitive chriſtians "did their books of curious arts, and betake yourſelves to the plain letter of the "ſtatute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path, by "which you may avoid it!"

"LET us not, to our own deſtruction, awake thoſe ſleeping lions, by rattling "up a company of old records, which have lain, for ſo many ages, by the wall, "forgotten

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"forgotten and neglected. To all my afflictions, add not this, my lords, the "moſt ſevere of any; that I, for my other ſins, not for my treaſons, be the "means of introducing a precedent, ſo pernicious to the laws and liberties of my "native country.

"HOWEVER theſe gentlemen at the bar ſay, they ſpeak for the common- "wealth; and they believe ſo: Yet, under favor, in this particular, it is I who "ſpeak for the commonwealth. Precedents, like thoſe endeavored to be eſta- "bliſhed againſt me, muſt draw along ſuch inconveniences and miſeries, that, "in a few years, the kingdom will be in the condition, expreſſed in a ſtatute "of Henry IV.; and no man ſhall know by what rule to govern his words and "actions.

"IMPOSE not, my lords, difficulties inſurmountable upon miniſters of ſtate, "nor diſable them from ſerving with cheerfulneſs their king and country. If "you examine them, and under ſuch ſevere penalties, by every grain, by every "little weight; the ſcrutiny will be intolerable. The public affairs of the "kingdom muſt be left waſte; and no wiſe man, who has any honor or for- "tune to loſe, will ever engage himſelf in ſuch dreadful, ſuch unknown "perils."

"MY lords, I have now troubled your lordſhips a great deal longer than I "ſhould have done. Were it not for the intereſt of theſe pledges, which a "ſaint in heaven left me, I ſhould be loth."——Here he pointed to his children, and his weeping ſtopped him.——"What I forfeit for myſelf, it is nothing: "But, I confeſs, that my indiſcretion ſhould forfeit for them, it wounds me very "deeply. You will be pleaſed to pardon my infirmity: Something I ſhould "have ſaid; but I ſee I ſhall not be able, and therefore I ſhall leave it."

"AND now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his good bleſſing, "ſufficiently inſtructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, com- "pared to the importance of our eternal duration. And ſo, my lords, even ſo, "with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I ſubmit, clearly and "freely, to your judgments: And whether that righteous doom ſhall be to life "or to death, I ſhall repoſe myſelf, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms "of the great Author of my exiſtence."

CERTAINLY, ſays Whitlocke with his uſual candor, *never any man acted ſuch a part, on ſuch a theatre, with more wiſdom, conſtancy, and eloquence, with greater reaſon, judgment and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent perſon; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, ſome few excepted, to remorſe and pity.* It is remarkable, that the hiſtorian, who expreſſes

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expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms, was himſelf chairman of that committee, which conducted the impeachment againſt this unfortunate ſtateſman. The accuſation and defence laſted for eighteen days. The managers divided the ſeveral articles among them, and attacked the priſoner with all the weight of authority, with all the vehemence of rhetoric, with all the accuracy of long preparation. Straford was obliged to ſpeak with deference and reſerve towards his moſt inveterate enemies, the commons, the Scotch nation, the Iriſh parliament. He took only a very little time, on each article, to recollect himſelf: Yet he alone, without aſſiſtance, mixing modeſty and humility with firmneſs and vigor, made ſuch a defence, that the commons ſaw it impoſſible, by a legal proſecution, ever to obtain a ſentence againſt him.

BUT the death of Strafford was too important a ſtroke of party to be left unattempted by any expedient, however extraordinary. Beſide the great genius and authority of that miniſter, he had threatened ſome of the popular leaders with an impeachment; and, had he not been ſuddenly prevented by an accuſation of the commons, he had, that very day, it was thought, charged Pym, Hambden, and others, with treaſon, for having invited the Scotch to invade England. A bill of attainder was therefore brought into the lower houſe immediately after finiſhing theſe pleadings; and preparatory to it, a new proof of the Earl's guilt was produced, in order to remove ſuch ſcruples as might be entertained with regard to a method of proceeding, ſo unuſual and irregular.

SIR Henry Vane, ſecretary, had taken down ſome notes of a debate in council, after the diſſolution of the laſt parliament; and being at a diſtance, he had ſent the keys of his cabinet, as was pretended, to his ſon, Sir Henry, in order to ſearch for ſome papers, which were neceſſary for compleating a marriage-ſettlement. Young Vane, falling upon this paper of notes, eſteemed the matter of the utmoſt conſequence; and immediately communicated it to Pym, who now produced the paper before the houſe of commons. The queſtion before the council was; *Offenſive or defenſive war with the Scotch.* The King propoſes this difficulty, "But "how can I undertake offenſive war if I have no more money"? The anſwer aſcribed to Strafford was in theſe words. "Borrow of the city a hundred thou- "ſand pounds: Go on vigorouſly to levy ſhip-money. Your Majeſty having "tried the affections of your people, you are abſolved and looſe from all rules "of government, and may do what power will admit. Your Majeſty, having "tried all ways, ſhall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an army "in Ireland, which you may employ to reduce THIS kingdom to obedience: "For I am confident the Scotch cannot hold out five months". There follow-

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ed ſome councils of Laud and Cottington, equally violent, with regard to the King's being abſolved from all rules of government. Chap. V. 1641.

THIS paper, with all the circumſtances of its diſcovery and communication, was pretended to be equivalent to two witneſſes, and to be an unanſwerable proof of thoſe pernicious councils of Strafford, which tended to the ſubverſion of the laws and conſtitution. But it was replied by Strafford and his friends, That old Vane was his moſt inveterate and declared enemy; and if the ſecretary himſelf, as was by far moſt probable, had willingly delivered to his ſon this paper of notes, to be communicated to Pym, this implied ſuch a breach of oaths and of truſt as rendered him totally unworthy of all credit. That the ſecretary's depoſition was at firſt exceedingly dubious: Upon two examinations, he could not remember any ſuch words: Even the third time, his teſtimony was not poſitive, but imported only, that Strafford had ſpoke ſuch or ſuch-like words: And words may be very like in ſound, and differ much in ſenſe; nor ought the lives of men to depend upon grammatical criticiſms of any expreſſions, much leſs, of thoſe delivered by the ſpeaker without premeditation, and committed by the hearer, for any time, however ſhort, to the uncertain record of memory. That, in the preſent caſe, changing *This kingdom* into *That kingdom*, a very ſlight alteration! the Earl's diſcourſe could regard nothing but Scotland, and implies no advice unworthy of an Engliſh counſellor. That even retaining the expreſſion, *This kingdom*, the words may fairly be underſtood of Scotland, which alone was the kingdom that the debate regarded, and which alone had thrown off allegiance, and could be reduced to obedience. That it could be proved, as well by the evidence of all the King's miniſters, as by the known diſpoſition of the forces, that the intention never was to land the Iriſh army in England, but in Scotland. That of ſix other counſellors preſent, Laud and Windebank could give no evidence; Northumberland, Hamilton, Cottington, and Juxon, could recollect no ſuch expreſſion; and the advice was too remarkable to be eaſily forgot. That it was no way probable ſuch a deſperate council would be openly delivered at the board, and before Northumberland, a perſon of that high rank, and whoſe attachments to the court were ſo much weaker than his attachments to the country. That tho' Northumberland, and he alone, had recollected ſome ſuch expreſſion, as that *Of being abſolved from rules of government*; yet, in ſuch deſperate extremities as thoſe, into which the King and kingdom were then fallen, a maxim of that nature, allowing it to be delivered by Strafford, may be defended, upon principles the moſt favorable to law and liberty. And that nothing could be more iniquous, than to extract an accuſation of treaſon from an opinion, ſimply propoſed at the council-table; where all freedom of debate ought

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to be permitted, and where it was not unuſual for the members, in order to bring out the ſentiments of others, to propoſe councils very remote from their own ſecret advice and judgment.

Bill of attainder.

THE evidence of Secretary Vane, tho' expoſed to ſuch unſurmountable objections, was the real cauſe of Strafford's unhappy fate; and made the bill of attainder paſs the commons with no greater oppoſition than that of fifty-nine diſſenting votes. But there remained two other branches of the legiſlature, the King and the lords, whoſe aſſent was requiſite; and theſe, if left to their free judgment, it was eaſily foreſeen, would reject the bill, without ſcruple or deliberation. To overcome this difficulty, the popular leaders employed expedients, for which they were partly beholden to their own induſtry, partly to the imprudence of their adverſaries.

NEXT Sunday after the bill paſſed the commons, the puritanical pulpits rang with declamations concerning the neceſſity of executing juſtice upon great delinquents *. The populace took the alarm. About ſix thouſand men, armed with ſwords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and ſurrounded the houſes of parliament. The names of the fifty-nine commoners, who voted againſt the bill of attainder, were paſted up under the title of *Straffordians and betrayers of their country*. Theſe were expoſed to all the inſults of the ungovernable multitude. When any of the lords paſſed, the loud cry of *Juſtice* againſt Strafford reſounded in their ears: And ſuch as were ſuſpected of friendſhip to that obnoxious miniſter, were ſure to meet with menaces, not unaccompanied with ſymptoms of the moſt deſperate reſolutions in the furious populace.

COMPLAINTS in the houſe of commons being made againſt theſe violences as the moſt flagrant breach of privilege, the ruling members, by their affected coolneſs and indifference, ſhowed plainly, that the popular tumults were not diſagreeable to them. But a new diſcovery, made about this time, ſerved to throw every thing into ſtill greater flame and combuſtion.

SOME principal officers, Piercy, Jermyn, Oneale, Goring, Wilmot, Pollard, Aſhburnham, partly attached to the court, partly diſguſted with the parliament, had formed a plan of engaging into the King's ſervice the Engliſh army, whom they obſerved to be diſpleaſed at ſome marks of preference given by the parliament to the Scotch. For this purpoſe, they entered into an aſſociation, took an oath of ſecrecy, and kept a cloſe correſpondence with ſome of the King's ſervants. The form of a petition to the King and parliament was concerted; and it was propoſed to get this petition ſubſcribed by the army. The petitioners there repreſent the great and unexampled conceſſions made by the King for

* Whitlocke.

for the ſecurity of public peace and liberty; the endleſs demands of certain inſatiable and turbulent ſpirits, whom nothing leſs will content than a total ſubverſion of the antient conſtitution; the frequent tumults, which theſe factious malecontents had excited, and which endangered the liberty of parliament. To prevent theſe miſchiefs, the army offered to come up and guard that aſſembly. "So ſhall the nation," as they expreſs themſelves in the concluſion, "not only "be vindicated from precedent innovations, but be ſecured from the future, "which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects "than the former". The draught of this petition being conveyed to the King, he was prevailed with, from the moſt egregious imprudence, to counterſign it himſelf, as a mark of his approbation. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the project was laid aſide two months before any public diſcovery was made of it. Chap. V. 1641.

It was Goring, who betrayed the ſecret to the popular leaders. The alarm is eaſily imagined, which this intelligence conveyed. Petitions from the military to the civil power are always looked on as diſguiſed, or rather undiſguiſed commands; and are of a nature widely different from petitions, preſented by any other rank of men. Pym opened the matter in the houſe. On the firſt intimation of a diſcovery, Piercy concealed himſelf, and Jermyn withdrew beyond ſeas. This farther confirmed the ſuſpicion of a dangerous conſpiracy. Goring delivered his evidence before the houſe. Piercy wrote a letter to his brother, Northumberland, confeſſing moſt of the particulars. Both their teſtimonies agree with regard to the oath of ſecrecy; and as this circumſtance had been denied by Pollard, Aſhburnham, and Wilmot, in all their examinations, it was regarded as a new proof of ſome deſperate reſolutions, which had been taken.

To convey the faſter the terror and indignation at this plot, the commons voted, that a proteſtation ſhould be ſigned by all the members. It was ſent up to the lords, and ſigned by all of them, except Southampton and Robarts. Orders were given by the commons alone, without other authority, that it ſhould be ſubſcribed by the whole nation. The proteſtation was in itſelf very inoffenſive and even inſignificant, and contained nothing but general declarations, that the ſubſcribers would defend their religion and liberties. But it tended to increaſe the popular panic, and intimated, what was more expreſsly declared in the preamble, that theſe bleſſings were now expoſed to the utmoſt peril.

Alarms were every day given of new conſpiracies: In Lancaſhire, great multitudes of papiſts were gathering together: Secret meetings were held by them

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them in caves and under ground in Surrey: A plot they had entered into to blow up the river with gunpowder, in order to drown the city *: Proviſions of arms were making beyond ſeas: Sometimes France, ſometimes Denmark, was forming deſigns againſt the kingdom: And the populace, who are always terrified with preſent, and enraged with diſtant dangers, were ſtill farther animated in their demands of juſtice againſt the unfortunate Strafford.

THE King came to the houſe of lords: And tho' he marked his reſolution, for which he offered them any ſecurity, never again to employ Strafford in any branch of public buſineſs; he profeſſed himſelf totally unſatisfied with regard to the circumſtances of treaſon, and on that account declared his difficulty, in giving aſſent to the bill of attainder. The commons took fire, and voted it a breach of privilege for the King to take notice of any bill, depending before the houſes. Charles did not perceive, that his attachment to Strafford was the chief motive of the bill; and that, the greater proofs he gave of anxious concern for this miniſter, the more inevitable did he render his deſtruction.

ABOUT eighty peers had conſtantly attended Strafford's trial; but ſuch apprehenſions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only forty-five were preſent when the bill of attainder was brought into the houſe. Yet of theſe, nineteen had the courage to vote againſt it: A certain proof, that, if intire freedom had been allowed, the bill had been rejected by a great majority.

IN carrying up the bill to the lords, St. John, the ſolicitor-general, advanced two topics, well ſuited to the fury of the times; that, tho' the teſtimony againſt Strafford were not clear, yet, in this way of bill, private ſatisfaction to each man's conſcience was ſufficient, even ſhould no evidence at all be produced; and that the Earl had no title to plead law, becauſe he had broke the law. It is true, added he, we give law to hares and deer; for they are beaſts of chace: But, it was never accounted either cruel or unfair, to deſtroy foxes or wolves, where-ever they can be found; for they are beaſts of prey.

AFTER popular violence had prevailed over the lords, the ſame batteries were next applied to force the King's aſſent. The populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their cries for juſtice with the loudeſt clamors and moſt open menaces. Rumors of conſpiracies againſt the parliament were anew ſcattered: Invaſions and inſurrections talked of: And the whole nation was raiſed into ſuch a ferment, as threatened ſome great and imminent convulſion. On whichever ſide the King caſt his eyes, he ſaw no reſource or ſecurity. All his ſervants, conſulting their own ſafety, rather than their maſter's honor, declined interpoſing

* Sir Edw. Walker, p. 349.

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sing with their advice betwixt him and his parliament. The Queen, terrified with the appearance of so mighty a danger, and bearing formerly no good-will to Strafford, was in tears, and pressed him to satisfy his people, in this demand, which, it was hoped, would finally content them. Juxon alone, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to advise him, if, in his conscience, he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it.

STRAFFORD, hearing of the King's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step, and wrote him a letter, in which he intreated him, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life, and quiet the tumultuous people by granting them that request, for which they were so importunate. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit "you to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no "injury. And as, by God's grace I forgive all the world with a calmness and "meekness, of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul: So Sir to you, I "can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness, in the just ac- "knowlegement of your exceeding favors". Perhaps, Strafford hoped, that this unusual instance of generosity would engage the King still more strenuously to protect him: Perhaps, he gave his life for lost; and finding himself in the hands of his enemies, and observing, that Balfour, the lieutenant of the tower, was intirely devoted to the popular party; he absolutely despaired of ever escaping the multiplied dangers, with which he was every where invironed. We might ascribe this step to a noble effort of disinterestedness, not unworthy the great mind of Strafford; if the measure, which he advised, had not been, in the event, as pernicious to his master, as it was immediately fatal to himself *.

AFTER the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles, at last, granted a com-

 mission

* Mr. Carte, in his life of the Duke of Ormond, has given us some evidence to prove, that this letter was intirely a forgery of the popular leaders, in order to induce the King to sacrifice Strafford. He tells us, that Strafford said so to his son, the night before his execution. But there are some reasons, why I adhere to the common way of telling this story. 1. The account of the forgery came thro' several hands, and from men of characters not fully known to the public: A circumstance which weakens every evidence. 'Tis a hearsay of a hearsay. 2. It seems impossible, but young Lord Strafford must inform the King, who would not fail to trace the forgery, and expose his enemies to their merited infamy. 3. 'Tis not to be conceived but Clarendon and Whitlocke, not to mention others, must have heard of the matter. 4. Sir George Ratcliffe in his life of Strafford, tells the story in the same way. Would he also, who was Strafford's intimate friend, never have heard of the forgery? 'Tis remarkable, that this life is dedicated or addressed to young Strafford. Would not he have put Sir George right in so material and interesting a fact?

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miſſion to four noblemen to give the royal aſſent, in his name, to the bill: Flattering himſelf, probably, in the extremity of diſtreſs, that, as neither his will conſented to the deed, nor was his hand immediately affixed to it, he was the more free from all the guilt, which attended it. Theſe commiſſioners he empowered, at the ſame time, to give aſſent to the bill, which rendered the parliament perpetual.

THE commons, from policy, more than from neceſſity, had embraced the expedient of paying the two armies by money, which they borrowed from the city, and which they repayed afterwards by taxes, levied upon the people. Difficulties, either of themſelves or by ſuggeſtion, began to be ſtarted with regard to a farther loan, which was demanded. We make no ſcruple of truſting the parliament, ſaid the citizens, were we ſure, that the parliament was to continue till our repayment: But, in the preſent precarious ſituation, what ſecurity can be given us for our money? In order to obviate this objection, a bill was ſuddenly brought into the houſe, and paſſed with great unanimity and rapidity, that the parliament ſhould not be diſſolved, prorogued, nor adjourned, without their own conſent. It was hurried in like manner thro' the houſe of peers; and was inſtantly carried to the King for his aſſent. Charles, in the agony of grief, ſhame, and remorſe, for Strafford's doom, perceived not, that this other bill was ſtill of more fatal conſequence to his authority; and rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as it was already uncontrolable. In compariſon of the bill of attainder, by which he eſteemed himſelf an accomplice in his friend's murder, this conceſſion made no figure in his eyes *: A circumſtance, which, if it leſſens our idea of his reſolution or penetration, ſerves to prove the integrity of his heart and the goodneſs of his diſpoſition. It is indeed certain, that ſtrong compunction for his conſent to Strafford's execution attended this unfortunate Prince during all the remainder of his life; and even at his own fatal death, the memory of this guilt, with great ſorrow and remorſe, recurred upon him. All men were ſo ſenſible of the extreme violence, which was done him, that he ſuffered the leſs, both in character and intereſt, from this unhappy meaſure; and, tho' he

* What made this bill appear of leſs conſequence was, that the parliament voted tonnage and poundage for no longer a period than two months: And as that branch was more than half of the revenue, and the government could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without it; it ſeemed indirectly in the power of the parliament to continue themſelves as long as they pleaſed. This indeed was true in the ordinary adminiſtration of government: But on the approaches towards a civil war, which was not then foreſeen, it had been of great conſequence to the King to have reſerved the right of diſſolution, and to have ſuffered any other extremity, rather than allow the continuance of the parliament.

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lie abandoned his beſt friend, yet was he ſtill able to preſerve, in ſome degree, the attachment of all his adherents.

SECRETARY Carleton was ſent by the King to inform Strafford of the final reſolution, which neceſſity had extorted from him. The Earl ſeemed ſurpriſed, and ſtarting up, exclaimed, in the words of the ſcripture, *Put not your truſt in princes nor in the ſons of men: For in them there is no ſalvation.* His courage, however, ſoon recollected itſelf; and he prepared for ſuffering the fatal ſentence. Three days of interval were only allowed him. The King, who made a new effort in his behalf, and ſent, by the hands of the young Prince, a letter addreſſed to the peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the commons about a mitigation of Strafford's ſentence, and begged at leaſt for ſome delay, was refuſed in both requeſts.

Execution of Strafford.

STRAFFORD, in paſſing from his apartment to Towerhill, where the ſcaffold was erected, ſtopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendſhip; and entreated the aſſiſtance of his prayers, in thoſe awful moments, which were approaching: The aged primate diſſolved in tears; and having pronounced, with a broken voice, a tender bleſſing on his departing friend, ſunk into the arms of his attendants. Strafford, ſtill ſuperior to his fate, marched on with an elated countenance, and with an air even of greater dignity, than what uſually attended him. He wanted that conſolation, which commonly ſupports thoſe, who periſh by the ſtroke of injuſtice and oppreſſion: He was not buoyed up by glory, nor by the affectionate compaſſion of the ſpectators: Yet his mind, erect and undaunted, found reſources within itſelf, and maintained its unbroken reſolution, againſt the terrors of death, and the triumphant exultations of his miſguided enemies. His diſcourſe on the ſcaffold was full of decency and courage. "He feared," he ſaid, "that the omen was bad "for the intended reformation of the ſtate, that it commenced with the ſhedding "of innocent blood." Having bid a laſt adieu to his brother and friends, who attended him, and having ſent a bleſſing to his nearer relations, who were abſent; "And now," ſaid he, "I have nigh done! One ſtroke will make my wife a "widow, my dear children fatherleſs, deprive my poor ſervants of their indul-"gent maſter, and ſeparate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends! "But let God be to you and them all in all!" Going to diſrobe and prepare himſelf for the block, "I thank God," ſaid he, "that I am no way afraid of "death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as chearfully lay down my "head at this time, as ever I did when going to repoſe!" With one blow was a period put to his life by the executioner.

THUS

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THUS perished, in the 49th year of his age, the famous Earl of Strafford, one of the most eminent personages, who has appeared in England. Tho' his death was loudly demanded as a satisfaction to justice, and an atonement for the many violations of the constitution; it may safely be affirmed, that the sentence, by which he fell, was an enormity, greater than the worst of those, which his implacable enemies prosecuted with so much cruel industry. The people, in their rage, had totally mistaken the proper object of their resentment. All the necessities, or, more properly speaking, the difficulties, by which the King had been induced to use illegal expedients for raising money, were the result of measures, precedent to Strafford's favor; and if they arose from ill conduct, he, at least, was entirely innocent. Even those illegal expedients themselves, which occasioned the complaint, that the constitution was subverted, had been, all of them, conducted, so far as appeared, without his counsel or assistance. And whatever his private advice might be *, this salutary maxim he failed not, often and publicly, to inculcate in the King's presence, that, if any inevitable necessity ever obliged the sovereign to violate the laws, this licence ought to be practised with extreme reserve, and, as soon as possible, a just atonement be made to the constitution, for any injury, which it might sustain from such dangerous precedents. The first parliament after the restoration reversed the bill of attainder; and even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, this very parliament remitted to his children the more severe consequences of his sentence: As if conscious of the violence, with which the affair had been conducted.

IN vain did Charles expect, as a return for so many instances of unbounded compliance, that the parliament would at last show him some indulgence, and cordially fall into that unanimity, to which, at the expence of his own power, and of his friend's life, he so earnestly courted them. All his concessions were poisoned by their suspicion of his insincerity; and the project of engaging the army against them, served with many as a confirmation of this jealousy. It was natural for the King to seek some resource, while all the world seemed to desert him, or combine against him; and this probably was the utmost of that embryo-scheme, which was formed with regard to the army. But the popular leaders still insisted, that a desperate plot was laid to bring up immediately the forces, and offer violence to the parliament: A design, of which Piercy's evidence acquits the King, and which the near neighborhood of the Scotch army seems to render absolutely impracticable. By means, however, of these suspicions, was the same implacable spirit still kept up; and the commons, without giving the King

† That Strafford was secretly no enemy to arbitrary councils, appears from some of his letters and dispatches, particularly vol. ii. p. 60.

King any ſatisfaction in the ſettlement of his revenue, proceeded to carry their inroads, with great vigor, into his now defenceleſs prerogative. Chap. V. 1641.

High-commiſſion and ſtar-chamber aboliſhed.

The two ruling paſſions of this parliament, were zeal for liberty, and an averſion to the church of England; and to both of theſe, nothing could appear more exceptionable, than the court of high-commiſſion, whoſe inſtitution rendered it intirely arbitrary, and aſſigned to it the defence of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. The ſtar-chamber too was a court, which exerted very high diſcretionary powers; and had no preciſe rule nor limit, either with regard to the cauſes, which came under its juriſdiction, or the deciſions, which it formed. A bill unanimouſly paſſed the houſes, to aboliſh theſe two courts; and in them, to annihilate the principal and moſt dangerous articles of the King's prerogative. By the ſame bill, the juriſdiction of the council was regulated, and its authority abriged. Charles heſitated before he gave his aſſent. But finding, that he had gone too far to retreat, and that he poſſeſſed no reſource in caſe of a rupture, he at laſt affixed the royal ſanction to theſe excellent bills. But to ſhow the parliament, that he was ſufficiently appriſed of the importance of his grant, he obſerved to them, that theſe new ſtatutes, altered, in a great meaſure, the fundamental laws, eccleſiaſtical and civil, which many of his predeceſſors had eſtabliſhed.

By removing the ſtar-chamber, the King's power of iſſuing proclamations, was indirectly aboliſhed; and that important branch of prerogative, the ſtrong ſymbol of arbitrary power, and unintelligible in a limited conſtitution, being at laſt removed, left the ſyſtem of government entirely conſiſtent and uniform. The ſtar-chamber alone was accuſtomed to puniſh infractions of the king's edicts: But as no courts of judicature now remained, except thoſe in Weſtminſter-hall, which take cognizance only of common and ſtatute law, the king may thenceforth iſſue proclamations, but no man is bound to obey them. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the experiment here made by the parliament, was not a little raſh and adventurous. No government, at that time, appeared in the world, nor is perhaps to be found in the records of any hiſtory, which ſubſiſted without the mixture of ſome arbitrary authority, committed to ſome magiſtrate; and it might reaſonably, beforehand, appear doubtful, whether human ſociety could ever arrive at that ſtate of perfection, as to ſupport itſelf with no other control, than the general and rigid maxims of law and equity. But the parliament juſtly thought, that the king was too eminent a magiſtrate to be truſted with diſcretionary power, which he might ſo eaſily turn to the deſtruction of liberty. And in the event, it has been found, that, tho' ſome inconveniences ariſe from the ſtrict adherence to law, yet the advantages ſo much overballance, as ſhould render the Engliſh

for

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for ever grateful to the memory of their anceſtors, who, after repeated conteſts, at laſt eſtabliſhed that noble principle.

AT the requeſt of the parliament, Charles, inſtead of the patents during pleaſure, gave all the judges patents during their good behavior: A circumſtance of the greateſt conſequence towards ſecuring their independancy, and barring the entrance of arbitrary power into the ordinary courts of judicature.

THE marſhal's court, which took cognizance of offenſive words, and was not eſteemed ſufficiently limited by law, was alſo, for that reaſon, aboliſhed. The ſtannary courts, which exerciſed juriſdiction over the miners, being liable to a like objection, underwent a like fate. The abolition of the council of the north and the council of Wales followed from the ſame principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a general inſpection over the weights and meaſures thro'out the kingdom, was transferred to the mayors, ſheriffs, and ordinary magiſtrates.

IN ſhort, if we take a ſurvey of the tranſactions of this memorable parliament, during the firſt period of their operations; we ſhall find, that, excepting Straford's attainder, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits, in other reſpects, ſo much overballance their miſtakes, as to intitle them to very ample praiſes from all lovers of liberty. Not only paſt encroachments were reſtrained and grievances redreſſed: Great proviſion, for the future, was made by excellent laws againſt the return of like complaints. And if the means, by which they obtained ſuch mighty advantages, ſavor often of artifice, ſometimes of violence; it is to be conſidered, that revolutions of government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reaſoning: And that factions being once excited, men can neither ſo firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to enſure themſelves againſt all exorbitances.

THE parliament now came to a pauſe. The King had promiſed his Scotch ſubjects, that he would this ſummer pay them a viſit in order to ſettle their government; and tho' the Engliſh parliament were very importunate with him, that he ſhould lay aſide that journey, they could only prevail with him to delay it. As he muſt neceſſarily have paſſed thro' the troops in his journey, the commons ſeem to have entertained great jealouſy on that account, and to have now hurried on, as much as they formerly delayed, the diſbanding the armies. The arrears therefore of the Scotch, were intirely paid them; and thoſe of the Engliſh, in part. The Scotch returned home, and the Engliſh were ſeparated into their ſeveral counties, and diſmiſſed.

6th of Aug. King's journey to Scotland.

AFTER this, the parliament adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both houſes, a thing altogether unuſual, was appointed to ſit during the

9th of Sept.

the receſs, with very ample powers. Pym was appointed chairman of the committee of the lower houſe. Farther attempts were made by the parliament, while it ſat, and even by the commons alone, for aſſuming ſovereign executive powers, and publiſhing their ordinances, as they called them, inſtead of laws. The committee too, on their parts, were very ready to imitate this example. Chap. V. 1641.

A ſmall committee of both houſes were appointed to attend the King into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to ſee that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to be ſpies upon him, and extend ſtill farther the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as eclipſe the majeſty of the King. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Howard, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Armyne, Fiennes, and Hambden, were the perſons choſen.

ENDEAVORS were uſed, before Charles's departure, to have a protector of the kingdom appointed, with a power to paſs laws without having recourſe to the King. So little regard was now paid to royal authority or to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of the kingdom.

Amid the great variety of affairs, which occurred during this buſy period, we have almoſt overlooked the marriage of the Princeſs Mary with William Prince of Orange. The King concluded not this alliance without communicating his intentions to the parliament, who received the propoſal with ſatisfaction. This was the commencement of the connections with the family of Orange: Connections, which were afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences, tho' of a different nature, both to the kingdom and the houſe of Stuart.

CHAP. VI.

Settlement of Scotland.——Conſpiracy in Ireland.——Inſurrection and maſſacre.——Meeting of the Engliſh parliament.——The remonſtrance.——Reaſons on both ſides.——Impeachment of the biſhops.—Accuſation of the five members.——Tumults.——King leaves London.——Arrives in Yorke.——Preparations for civil war.

1641. THE Scotch, who firſt began theſe fatal commotions, thought, that they had finiſhed a very perillous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. By the Engliſh parliament, beſide the ample pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, they had conferred on them a preſent of 300,000 pounds for their brotherly aſſiſtance: In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have ever been good ſubjects; and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprizes calculated and intended for his Majeſty's honor and advantage: To carry farther the triumph over their ſovereign, theſe terms, ſo ignominious for him, were ordered, by a vote of parliament, to be red in all churches, upon a day of thankſgiving, appointed for the national pacification: All their claims, for the reſtriction of prerogative, were agreed to be ratified: And what they more valued than all theſe advantages; they had a near proſpect of ſpreading the preſbyterian diſcipline in England and Ireland, from the ſeeds, which they had ſcattered, of their religious principles. Never did refined Athens ſo exult in diffuſing the ſciences and liberal arts over a ſavage world: Never did generous Rome ſo pleaſe herſelf in the view of law and order eſtabliſhed by her victorious arms: As the Scotch now rejoiced, in communicating their barbarous zeal, and theological fervor, to the neighboring nations.

CHARLES, deſpoiled in England of a conſiderable part of his authority, and dreading ſtill farther encroachments upon him, arrived in Scotland, with an intention of abdicating almoſt entirely the ſmall ſhare of power, which *there* remained to him, and of giving full ſatisfaction, if poſſible, to that reſtleſs people.

Auguſt 14.

Settlement of Scotland.

THE lords of articles were an antient inſtitution in the Scotch parliament. They were conſtituted after this manner. The lords choſe eight biſhops: The biſhops elected eight lords: Theſe ſixteen named eight commiſſioners of counties: Theſe twenty four appointed eight burgeſſes: And without the previous

vious conſent of the thirty two, who were denominated lords of articles, no motion could be made in the parliament. As the biſhops were intirely devoted to the court, it is evident, that the whole lords of articles, by neceſſary conſequence, depended on the king's nomination; and the prince, beſide one negative after paſſing the bills thro' the parliament, poſſeſſed indirectly another before their introduction; a prerogative of much greater conſequence than the former. The bench of biſhops being now aboliſhed, the parliament wiſely laid hold of the opportunity, and totally ſet aſide the lords of articles: And till this important point was obtained, the nation, properly ſpeaking, could not be ſaid to enjoy any regular freedom. Chap. VI. 1641.

'Tis remarkable, that, notwithſtanding this inſtitution, which had no parallel in England, the royal authority was always eſteemed much lower in Scotland than in the former kingdom. Bacon repreſents it as one advantage to be expected from the union, that the too extenſive prerogative of England would be abriged by the example of Scotland, and the too narrow prerogative of Scotland be enlarged from imitation of England. The Engliſh were, at that time, a civilized people, and obedient to the laws: But among the Scotch, it was of little conſequence, how the laws were framed, or by whom voted; while the exorbitant ariſtocracy had it ſo much in their power to prevent their regular execution.

The peers and commons formed only one houſe in the Scotch parliament: And as it had been the practice of James, continued by Charles, to grace Engliſh gentlemen with Scotch titles, and thoſe tranſmitted their proxies to whomever the king pleaſed; the whole determinations of parliament, it was to be feared, would in time depend upon the prince, by means of theſe votes of abſent foreigners, who had no intereſt nor concern in the nation. It was therefore a law, deſerving great approbation, that no man ſhould be capable of being created a Scotch peer, who poſſeſſed not 10,000 merks (above 500 pounds) of annual rent in the kingdom.

A law for triennial parliaments was likeways paſſed; and it was ordained, that the laſt act of every parliament ſhould be to appoint the time and place for holding the parliament next enſuing.

The King was deprived of that power, formerly exerciſed, of iſſuing proclamations, which enjoined obedience under the penalty of treaſon: A prerogative, which inveſted him with the whole legiſlative authority, even in matters of the higheſt conſequence.

So far was laudable: But the moſt fatal blow given to royal authority, and what, in a manner, dethroned the Prince, was the article, that no member of

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the privy council, in whoſe hands, during the King's abſence, the whole adminiſtration lay, no officer of ſtate, none of the judges, ſhould be appointed but by advice and approbation of parliament. Charles even agreed to deprive, of their ſeats, four judges who had adhered to his intereſts; and their place was ſupplied by others more agreeable to the ruling party. Several of the covenanters were alſo ſworn of the privy council. And all the miniſters of ſtate, counſellors, and judges, by law, were to hold their places during life or good behavior.

THE King, while in Scotland, conformed himſelf entirely to the eſtabliſhed church; and aſſiſted, with great gravity, at the long prayers and longer ſermons, with which the preſbyterians endeavored to regale him. He beſtowed penſions and preferments on Henderſon, Gilleſpy, and other popular preachers; and practiſed every art to ſoften, if not to gain, his greateſt enemies. The Earl of Argyle he created a marquis, Lord Loudon an earl, Leſly he dignified with the title of Earl of Leven. His friends, he was obliged, for the preſent, to neglect and overlook: Some of them were diſguſted: And his enemies were not reconciled; but aſcribed all his careſſes and favors to artifice and neceſſity.

ARGYLE and Hamilton, being ſeized with an apprehenſion, real or counterfeit, that the Earl of Crawford and others intended to aſſaſſinate them, left the parliament ſuddenly, and retired into the country: But upon invitation and aſſurances, returned in a few days. This event, which had neither cauſe nor effect that was viſible, nor purpoſe, nor conſequence, was commonly denominated the *incident*. But tho' this event had no effect in Scotland; what was not expected, it was attended with conſequences in England. The Engliſh parliament, which was now aſſembled, being willing to awaken the people's tenderneſs by exciting their fears, immediately ſeized the alarm; as if the malignants, ſo they called the King's party, had laid a plot at once to murder them and all the godly in both kingdoms. They applied, therefore, to Eſſex, whom the King had left general in the ſouth of England; and he ordered a guard to attend them.

October 20.

BUT while the King was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, and was preparing to return to England, in order to apply himſelf to the ſame ſalutary work in that kingdom; he received news of a dangerous rebellion broke out in Ireland, with circumſtances of the utmoſt horror, bloodſhed, and devaſtation. On every ſide, this unfortunate Prince was purſued with murmurs, diſcontent, faction, and civil wars; and the fire, from all quarters, even by the moſt independent accidents, at once blazed up about him.

THE great plan of James, in the adminiſtration of Ireland, continued by Charles, was, by juſtice and peace, to reconcile that turbulent people to the authority of laws, and, introducing art and induſtry among them, to cure that ſloth and barbariſm

bariſm to which they had ever been ſubject. In order to ſerve both theſe purpoſes, and, at the ſame time, ſecure the dominion of Ireland to the Engliſh crown, great colonies of Britiſh had been carried over, and, being intermixed with the Iriſh, had every where introduced a new face of things into that country. During a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels betwixt the nations ſeemed, in a great meaſure, obliterated; and tho' much of the landed property, forfeited by rebellion, had been conferred on the new planters, a more than equal return had been made, by their inſtructing the natives in tillage, building, manufactures, and all the civilized arts of life. This had been the courſe of things during the ſucceſſive adminiſtrations of Chicheſter, Grandiſon, Falkland, and, above all, of Strafford. Under the government of this laſt Nobleman, the pacific plans, now come to greater maturity, and forwarded by his vigor and induſtry, ſeemed to have operated with full ſucceſs, and to have beſtowed, at laſt, on that ſavage country, the face of an European ſettlement.

AFTER Strafford fell a victim to popular rage, the humors, excited in Ireland by that great event, could not ſuddenly be compoſed, but continued to produce the greateſt innovations in the government.

THE Britiſh proteſtants tranſplanted into Ireland, having, every moment, before their eyes all the horrors of popery, had naturally been carried into the oppoſite extreme, and had univerſally adopted the higheſt principles and practices of the puritans. Monarchy, as well as the hierarchy, was become odious to them; and every method of limiting the authority of the crown, and detaching themſelves from the king of England, was greedily adopted and purſued. They conſidered not, that, as they ſcarce compoſed the ſixth part of the people, and were ſecretly obnoxious to the antient inhabitants; their only method of ſupporting themſelves was by maintaining royal authority, and preſerving a great dependance on their mother-country. The Engliſh commons too, in their furious proſecution of Strafford, had overlooked the moſt obvious conſequences; and, while they imputed to him, as a crime, every diſcretionary act of authority, they deſpoiled all ſucceeding governors of that power, by which alone the Iriſh could be retained in ſubjection. And ſo ſtrong was the current for popular government in all the three kingdoms, that the moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of policy were every where abandoned, in order to gratify this ruling paſſion.

CHARLES, unable to reſiſt, had been obliged to yield to the Iriſh, as to the Scotch and Engliſh parliaments; and found too, that their encroachments ſtill roſe in proportion to his conceſſions. Thoſe ſubſidies, which themſelves had voted, they reduced, by a ſubſequent vote, to a fourth part: The court of high commiſſion

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commiſſion they determined to be a grievance: Martial law they aboliſhed: The juriſdiction of the council they annihilated: Proclamations and acts of ſtate they declared of no authority: Every order or inſtitution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded; and their prince was deſpoiled of all his prerogative, without the leaſt pretext of any violence or illegality in his adminiſtration.

THE ſtanding army of Ireland was uſually about 3000 men; but in order to aſſiſt the King in ſuppreſſing the Scotch covenanters, Strafford had raiſed 8000 more, and had incorporated with them a thouſand men, drawn from the old army; a requiſite expedient for beſtowing order and diſcipline on the new-levied ſoldiers. The private men in this army were wholly catholics; but the officers, both commiſſion and non-commiſſion, were proteſtants, and could entirely be depended on by Charles. The Engliſh commons entertained the greateſt apprehenſions on account of this army; and never ceaſed ſolliciting the King, till he agreed to break it: Nor would they conſent to any propoſals for augmenting the ſtanding army to 5000 men; a number which the King judged requiſite for retaining Ireland in obedience.

CHARLES, eſteeming it dangerous, that 8000 men, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and trained to the uſe of arms, ſhould be diſperſed among a nation ſo turbulent and unſettled, agreed with the Spaniſh ambaſſador to have them tranſported into Flanders, and inliſted in his maſter's ſervice. The Engliſh commons, apprehenſive, that regular bodies of troops, diſciplined in the low countries, would prove ſtill more dangerous, ſhowed ſome averſion to this expedient; and the King reduced his allowance to 4000 men. But when the Spaniards had hired ſhips for tranſporting theſe troops, and the men were ready for embarkation; the commons, willing to ſhow their power, and not diſpleaſed with an opportunity of curbing and affronting the King, prohibited every one from furniſhing veſſels for that ſervice. And thus the project, formed by Charles, of freeing the country from theſe men, was unfortunately diſappointed.

THE old Iriſh catholics remarked all theſe falſe ſteps of the Engliſh, and reſolved to take advantage of them. Tho' their animoſity againſt that nation, for want of an occaſion to exert itſelf, ſeemed to be extinguiſhed, it was only compoſed into a temporary and deceitful tranquillity. Their intereſts, both with regard to *property* and to *religion*, ſecretly ſtimulated them to a revolt. No individual of any ſept, according to the antient cuſtoms, had the property of any particular eſtate; but as the whole ſept had a title to a whole territory, they ignorantly preferred this barbarous community before the more ſecure and narrower poſſeſſions aſſigned them by the Engliſh. An indulgence, amounting almoſt to

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a toleration, had been given the catholic religion: But ſo long as the churches and the eccleſiaſtical revenues were kept from the prieſts, and they were obliged to endure the neighborhood of profane heretics; being themſelves diſcontented, they endeavored continually to retard any cordial reconcilement betwixt the Engliſh and the Iriſh nations. Chap. VI. 1641.

Conſpiracy in Ireland.

THERE was a gentleman, called Roger More, who, tho' of a narrow fortune, was deſcended from a very antient Iriſh family, and was much celebrated among his countrymen for valor and capacity. This man firſt formed the project of expelling the Engliſh, and aſſerting the independency of his native country. He ſecretly went from cheiftain to cheiftain, and rouzed up every latent principle of diſcontent. A cloſe correſpondence he maintained with Lord Maguire and Sir Phelim Oneale, the moſt powerful of the old Iriſh. By converſation, by letters, by his emiſſaries, he repreſented to his countrymen the motives of a revolt. He obſerved to them, That, by the rebellion of the Scotch and factions of the Engliſh, the king's authority in Britain was reduced to ſo low a condition, that he never could exert himſelf with any vigor, in maintaining the Engliſh dominion over Ireland; that the catholics, in the Iriſh houſe of commons, aſſiſted by the proteſtants, had ſo diminiſhed the royal prerogative and the power of the lieutenant, as would much facilitate the conducting, to its deſired effect, any conſpiracy or combination, which could be formed; that the Scotch, having ſo ſucceſsfully thrown off dependance on the crown of England, and aſſumed the government into their own hands, had ſet an example to the Iriſh, who had ſo much greater oppreſſions to complain of; that the diſtractions in England, occaſioned by the mutual jealouſies and encroachments of king and people, did at preſent, and would long incapacitate that kingdom from ſending over armies, ſufficient to quell the revolted Iriſh; that the Engliſh planters, who had expelled them their poſſeſſions, ſubdued their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful in compariſon of the natives; that they lived in the moſt ſupine ſecurity, interſperſed with their numerous enemies, truſting to the protection of a ſmall army, which was itſelf ſcattered in inconſiderable diviſions thro' the whole kingdom; that a great body of men, diſciplined by the government, were now thrown looſe, and were ready for any daring or deſperate enterprize; that tho' the catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in ſome tolerable meaſure, the exerciſe of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they muſt henceforth expect, that the government will be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical parliament, having at laſt ſubdued their ſovereign, would, no doubt, ſo ſoon as they had conſolidated their authority, extend their ambitious enterprizes to Ireland, and make the catholics in that kingdom

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kingdom feel the ſame furious perſecution, to which their brethren in England were at preſent expoſed; and that a revolt in the Iriſh, tending only to vindicate their native liberty againſt the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion; much leſs, during the preſent confuſions, when their prince was, in a manner, a priſoner, and obedience muſt be paid, not to him, but to thoſe, who had traiterouſly uſurped his lawful authority.

By theſe conſiderations, More engaged all the heads of the native Iriſh into the conſpiracy. The Engliſh of the pale, as they were called, or the old Engliſh planters, being all catholics, it was hoped, would afterwards join the party, which reſtored their religion to its antient ſplendor and authority. The intention was, that, by Sir Phelim Oneale and the other conſpirators, an inſurrection ſhould be begun on one day, thro'out the provinces, and all the Engliſh ſettlements be attacked; and that, on the very ſame day, Lord Maguire and Roger More ſhould ſurprize the caſtle of Dublin. The commencement of this revolt they fixed on the approach of winter; that there might be more difficulty in tranſporting forces from England. Succors to themſelves and ſupplies of arms they expected from France, in conſequence of a promiſe made them by Cardinal Richelieu. And many Iriſh officers, who ſerved in the Spaniſh troops, had given aſſurances of joining, as ſoon as they ſaw an inſurrection entered upon by their catholic brethren. News, which, every day, arrived from England, of the fury, expreſſed by the commons againſt all papiſts, ſtruck freſh terror into the Iriſh nation, and both ſtimulated the conſpirators to execute their fatal purpoſe, and gave them aſſured hopes of the concurrence of their countrymen.

Such propenſity to a revolt was diſcovered in all the Iriſh, that it was eſteemed unneceſſary, as it was dangerous, to entruſt the ſecret to many hands; and the appointed day drew nigh, nor had any diſcovery been yet made to the government. The King, indeed, had received information from his ambaſſadors, that ſomething was in agitation among the Iriſh in foreign parts; but tho' he gave warning to the adminiſtration in Ireland, the intelligence was intirely neglected. Secret rumors, likeways, were heard of ſome approaching conſpiracy; but no attention was paid to them. The Earl of Leiceſter, whom the King had appointed lieutenant, remained in London. The two juſtices, Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlace, were men of ſmall ability, and, by an inconvenience common to all factious times, owed their advancement to nothing but their zeal for that party, by whom every thing was now governed. Tranquill from their ignorance and inexperience, theſe men indulged themſelves in the moſt profound repoſe, on the very brink of deſtruction.

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But, they were awakened from their ſecurity, the very day before that appointed for the commencement of hoſtilities. The caſtle of Dublin, by which the capital was commanded, contained arms for 10,000 men, along with thirty-five pieces of canon, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition: Yet was this important place guarded, and that too without any care, by no greater force than fifty men. Maguire and More were already in town with a numerous band of their retainers: Others were expected that night: And, next morning, they were to enter upon, what they eſteemed the eaſieſt of all enterprizes, the ſurprizal of the caſtle. Oconolly, an Iriſhman, but a proteſtant, betrayed the ſecret to Parſons. The juſtices and council, for ſafety, fled immediately into the caſtle, and re-inforced the guards. The alarm was conveyed to the city, and all the proteſtants prepared for defence. More eſcaped: Maguire was taken; and Mahone, one of the conſpirators, being likeways ſeized, firſt diſcovered, to the juſtices, the project of a general inſurrection, and redoubled the apprehenſions, which were already univerſally diffuſed thro'out Dublin.

22d of Oct.

Iriſh inſurrection and maſſacre.

But tho' Oconolly's diſcovery ſaved the caſtle from a ſurprize, the confeſſion, extorted from Mahone, came too late to prevent the intended inſurrection. Oneale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulſter. The Iriſh, every where intermingled with the Engliſh, needed but a hint from their leaders and prieſts to begin hoſtilities againſt a people, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and proſperity. The houſes, cattle, goods, of the unwary Engliſh were firſt ſeized. Thoſe, who heard of the commotions in their neighborhood, inſtead of deſerting their habitations, and flocking together for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property; and fell thus ſeparately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itſelf, cruelty, and the moſt barbarous, that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An univerſal maſſacre commenced of the Engliſh, now defenceleſs and paſſively reſigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no ſex, no condition, was ſpared. The wife, weeping for her butchered huſband, and embracing her helpleſs children, was pierced along with them, and periſhed by the ſame ſtroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault: Deſtruction was, every where, let looſe, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourſe had to relations, to companions, to friends: All connexions were diſſolved, and death was dealt by that inhuman hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without oppoſition, the aſtoniſhed Engliſh, living in profound peace and full ſecurity, were maſſacred by their

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neareſt neighbors, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourſe of kindneſs and good offices.

But death was the lighteſt puniſhment, inflicted by thoſe more than barbarous ſavages: All the tortures, which wanton cruelty could deviſe, all the lingering pains of body, the anguiſh of mind, the agonies of deſpair, could not ſatiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cauſe. To enter into particulars would ſhock the leaſt delicate humanity. Such enormities, tho' atteſted by undoubted evidence, appear almoſt incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, tho' encouraged by the utmoſt licence, reach not ſuch a pitch of ferocity; unleſs the pity, inherent in human breaſts, be loſt by that contagion of example, which tranſports men beyond all the uſual motives of conduct and behavior.

The weaker ſex themſelves, naturally tender to their own ſufferings, and compaſſionate to thoſe of others, here emulated their more robuſt companions, in the practice of every cruelty. Even children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortation, of their brutal parents, eſſayed their feeble blows on the dead carcaſſes or defenceleſs children of the Engliſh. The very avarice of the Iriſh was not a ſufficient reſtraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle, which they had ſeized, and by rapine had made their own, yet, becauſe they bore the name of Engliſh, were wantonly ſlaughtered, or, covered with wounds, turned looſe into the woods and deſarts.

The ſtately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the ſloth and ignorance of the natives, were conſumed with fire or laid level with the ground. And where the miſerable owners, ſhut up in their houſes, and preparing for defence, periſhed in the flames, along with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to theſe inſulting butchers.

If any where a number, aſſembled together, and, aſſuming courage from deſpair, were reſolved to ſweeten death by a revenge on their barbarous aſſaſſins; they were diſarmed by capitulations, and promiſes of ſafety, confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths. But no ſooner had they ſurrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them ſhare the fate of their unhappy countrymen.

Others, more ingenious ſtill in their barbarity, tempted their priſoners, by the fond love of life, to embrue their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death, which they ſought to ſhun by deſerving it.

Amidst all theſe enormities, the ſacred name of Religion reſounded on every ſide; not to ſtop the hand of theſe inhuman ſavages, but to enforce their blows, and to ſteel their heart againſt every movement of human or ſocial ſympathy.

pathy. The Engliſh, as heretics, abhorred of God, and deteſtable to all holy men, were marked out by the prieſts for ſlaughter; and, of all actions, to rid the world of theſe declared enemies to catholic faith and piety, was repreſented as the moſt meritorious. Nature, which, in that rude people, was ſufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was farther ſtimulated by precept; and national prejudices empoiſoned by thoſe averſions, more deadly and incurable, which aroſe from an enraged ſuperſtition. While death finiſhed the ſufferings of each victim, the bigotted aſſaſſins, with joy and exultation, ſtill echoed in his expiring ears, that theſe agonies were but the commencement of torments, infinite and eternal. Chap. VI. 1641.

SUCH were the barbarities, by which Sir Phelim Oneale and the Iriſh in Ulſter ſignalized their rebellion: An event, memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual deteſtation and abhorrence. The generous nature of More was ſhocked at the recital of ſuch enormous cruelties. He flew to Oneale's camp; but found, that his authority, which was ſufficient to excite the Iriſh to an inſurrection, was too feeble to reſtrain their inhumanity. Soon after, he abandoned a cauſe, polluted with ſo many crimes; and retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatneſs of his family, and perhaps too, by the unreſtrained brutality of his nature; tho without any courage or capacity, acquired the intire aſcendant over the northern rebels. The Engliſh colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulſter: The Scotch, at firſt, met with more favorable treatment. In order to engage them to a paſſive neutrality, the Iriſh pretended to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Britiſh nations; and claiming friendſhip and conſanguinity with the Scotch, extended not over them the fury of their maſſacres. Many of them found an opportunity to fly the country: Others retired into places of ſecurity, and prepared themſelves for defence: And by this means, the Scotch planters, moſt of them at leaſt, eſcaped with their lives.

FROM Ulſter, the flames of rebellion diffuſed themſelves, in an inſtant, over the three other provinces of Ireland. In all places, death and ſlaughter were not uncommon; tho' the Iriſh, in theſe other provinces, pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not contented with expelling the Engliſh their houſes, with deſpoiling them of their goodly manors, with waſting their cultivated fields: They ſtripped them of their very cloaths, and turned them out, naked and defenceleſs, to all the ſeverities of the ſeaſon. The heavens themſelves, as if conſpiring againſt that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempeſt, unuſual to the climate, and executed what the mercileſs ſword of the barbarians had left unfiniſhed. The roads were covered with crowds of naked Engliſh, haſtening towards Dublin and the other

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cities, which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. The feeble age of children, the tender ſex of women, ſoon ſuccumbed under the multiplied rigors of cold and hunger. Here, the weeping huſband, bidding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate, which he himſelf expected ſo ſoon to ſhare: There, the ſon, having long ſupported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his laſt commands, and abandoning him in this uttermoſt diſtreſs, reſerved himſelf to the hopes of revenging that death, which all his efforts could not prevent nor delay. The aſtoniſhing greatneſs of the calamity deprived the ſufferers of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With ſilent tears, or lamentable cries, they hurried on thro' the hoſtile territories; and found every heart, which was not immured in unrelenting barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of miſtaken piety and religion.

THE ſaving of Dublin preſerved in Ireland the relicts of the Engliſh name. The gates of that city, tho' timorouſly opened, received the wretched ſuppliants, and diſplayed a view of human miſery, beyond what any eye had ever before beheld. Compaſſion ſeized the amazed inhabitants, aggravated with the fear of like calamities; while they obſerved the numerous foes, without and within, which every where invironed them, and reflected on the weak reſources, by which they were themſelves ſupported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thouſand, were inliſted into three regiments. The reſt were diſtributed into the houſes; and all care taken, by diet and warmth, to recruit their feeble and torpid limbs. Diſeaſes of unknown name and ſpecies, derived from theſe multiplied diſtreſſes, ſeized many of them and put a ſpeedy period to their lives: Others, having now leizure to reflect on their mighty loſs of friends and fortune, curſed that being, which they had ſaved. Abandoning themſelves to deſpair, refuſing all ſuccor, they expired; without other conſolation, than that of receiving, among their countrymen, the honors of a grave, which, to their ſlaughtered companions, had been denied by the inhuman barbarians.

BY ſome computations, thoſe, who periſhed by all thoſe cruelties, are made to amount to a hundred and fifty or two hundred thouſand: By the moſt moderate, and probably the moſt reaſonable account, they muſt have been near forty thouſand.

THE juſtices ordered to Dublin all the bodies of the army, which were not ſurrounded by the rebels; and they aſſembled a force of 1500 veterans. They ſoon inliſted, and armed from the magazines above 4000 men more. They diſpatched a body of 600 men to throw relief into Tredagh, beſieged by the Iriſh. But theſe troops, attacked by the enemy, were ſeized with a panic, and were moſt

moſt of them put to the ſword. Their arms, falling into the hands of the Iriſh, ſupplied them with that, in which they were moſt deficient. The juſtices afterwards thought of nothing more than of providing for their own ſecurity and that of the capital. The gallant Earl of Ormond, their general, remonſtrated againſt ſuch timid councils; but was obliged to ſubmit to authority. Chap. VI. 1641.

THE Engliſh of the pale, who probably were not, at firſt, in the ſecret, pretended to blame the inſurrection, and to deteſt the barbarity, with which it was accompanied. By their proteſtations and declarations, they engaged the juſtices to ſupply them with arms, which they promiſed to employ in defence of the government. But in a little time, the intereſts of religion were found more prevalent over them than regard and duty to their native country. They made Lord Gormanſtone their leader; and, joining the old Iriſh, rivaled them in every act of cruelty towards the Engliſh proteſtants. Beſide many ſmaller bodies, diſperſed over the whole kingdom, the principal army of the rebels amounted to 20,000 men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate ſiege.

BOTH the Engliſh and Iriſh rebels conſpired in one impoſture, with which they ſeduced many of their deluded countrymen: They pretended authority from the King and Queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their inſurrection; and the cauſe, they affirmed, for their taking arms, was to vindicate royal prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical parliament. Sir Phelim Oneale, having found a royal patent in Lord Caulfield's houſe, whom he had murdered, tore off the ſeal, and affixed to it a commiſſion, which he had forged for himſelf.

THE King received an account of this inſurrection by a meſſenger, diſpatched from the north of Ireland. His intelligence he immediately communicated to the Scotch parliament. He expected, that the mighty zeal, expreſſed by the Scotch, for the proteſtant religion, would immediately engage them to fly to its defence, where it was ſo violently invaded: He hoped, that their horror againſt popery, a religion, which now appeared in its moſt horrible aſpect, would ſecond all his exhortations: He had obſerved with what promptitude they had twice run to arms, and aſſembled troops in oppoſition to the rights of their ſovereign: He ſaw with how much greater facility they could now collect forces, which had been very lately diſbanded, and which had been ſo long enured to military diſcipline. The cries of their affrighted and diſtreſſed brethren in Ireland, he promiſed himſelf, would powerfully incite them to ſend over ſuccors, which could arrive ſo quickly, and aid them with ſuch promptitude in this uttermoſt diſtreſs. But the zeal of the Scotch, as is uſual among religious ſects, was very feeble, when not ſtimulated either by faction or by intereſt. They now conſidered themſelves intirely as a republic, and made no account of the authority of their prince, which they had

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had utterly annihilated. Founding hopes on the preſent diſtreſſes of Ireland, they reſolved to make an advantageous bargain for the ſuccors, with which they would ſupply their neighboring nation. And they caſt their eye on the Engliſh parliament, with whom they were already ſo cloſely connected, and who could alone fulfill any articles, which might be agreed on. Except diſpatching a ſmall body to ſupport the Scotch colonies in Ulſter; they would, therefore, go no farther, at preſent, than to ſend commiſſioners to London, in order to treat with that power, to whom the ſovereign authority was now, in reality, transferred.

THE King too, ſenſible of his utter inability to ſubdue the Iriſh rebels, found himſelf obliged, in this exigency, to have recourſe to the Engliſh parliament, and depend on their aſſiſtance for ſupply. After conveying the intelligence, which he had received, he informed them, that the inſurrection was not, in his opinion, the reſult of any raſh enterprize, but of a formed conſpiracy againſt the crown of England. To their care and wiſdom, therefore, he ſaid, he committed the conduct and proſecution of the war, which, in a cauſe, ſo important to national and religious intereſts, muſt, of neceſſity, be immediately entered upon, and vigorouſly purſued.

Meeting of the Engliſh parliament.

THE Engliſh parliament was now aſſembled; and diſcovered, in every vote, the ſame diſpoſitions, in which they had ſeparated. The exalting their own authority, the diminiſhing the King's, were ſtill the objects purſued by the majority. Every attempt, which had been made to gain the popular leaders, and by offices to attach them to the crown, had failed of ſucceſs, either for want of ſkill in conducting it, or by reaſon of the ſlender preferments, which it was then in the King's power to confer. The ambitious and enterprizing patriots diſdained to accept, in detail, of a precarious power; while they eſteemed it ſo eaſy, by one bold and vigorous aſſault, to poſſeſs themſelves for ever of the intire ſovereignty of the ſtate. Senſible, that the meaſures, which they had hitherto purſued, rendered them extremely obnoxious to the King; were many of them in themſelves exceptionable; ſome of them, ſtrictly ſpeaking, illegal; they reſolved to ſeek their own ſecurity, as well as greatneſs, by enlarging popular authority in England. The great neceſſities, to which the King was reduced; the violent prejudices, which generally, thro'out the nation, prevailed againſt him; his facility in making the moſt important conceſſions; the example of the Scotch, whoſe encroachments had totally ſubverted monarchy: All theſe circumſtances farther inſtigated the commons in their invaſion of royal prerogative. And the danger, to which the conſtitution had been ſo lately expoſed, perſuaded many, that it never could be ſufficiently ſecured, but by the intire abolition of that authority, which had invaded it.

BUT

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But this project, it had not been in the power, ſcarce in the intention, of the popular leaders to execute, had it not been for the paſſion, which ſeized the nation, for preſbyterian diſcipline, and for the wild enthuſiaſm, which, at that time, accompanied it. The licence, which the parliament had beſtowed on this ſpirit, by checking eccleſiaſtical authority; the countenance and encouragement, with which they had honored it; had already diffuſed its influence to a wonderful degree: And all orders of men had drunk deep of the intoxicating poiſon. In each diſcourſe or converſation, this mode of religion entered; in all buſineſs, it had a ſhare; every elegant pleaſure or amuſement, it utterly annihilated; each vice or corruption of mind, it promoted; ſcarce any diſeaſe or bodily diſtemper was totally exempted from it; and it became requiſite, we are told *, for all phyſicians to be expert in the ſpiritual profeſſion, and, by theological conſiderations, to allay thoſe religious terrors, with which their patients were ſo generally haunted. Learning itſelf, which tends ſo much to enlarge the mind, and humanize the temper, rather ſerved, on this occaſion, to exalt that epidemical frenzy, which prevailed. Rude as yet, and imperfect, it ſupplied the diſmal fanaticiſm with a variety of views, founded it on ſome coherency of ſyſtem, enriched it with different figures of elocution; advantages, with which a people, totally ignorant and barbarous, had been happily unacquainted.

From policy, at firſt, and inclination, now from neceſſity, the King attached himſelf extremely to the hierarchy: For like reaſons, his enemies made account, by one and the ſame effort, to overpower the church and monarchy.

While the commons were in this diſpoſition, nothing to them could be more acceptable than the news of the Iriſh rebellion; as nothing could more promote the views, in which all their meaſures terminated. A horror againſt the papiſts, however innocent, they had conſtantly foſtered; a terror againſt the conſpiracies of that ſect, however improbable, they had, at all times, endeavored to excite. Here was broke out a rebellion, dreadful and unexpected; accompanied with circumſtances the moſt deteſtable, of which there ever was any record: And what was the peculiar guilt of the Iriſh catholics, it was no difficult matter, in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, to attribute to that whole ſect, who already were ſo much the object of general abhorrence. Accuſtomed, in all invectives, to join the prelatical party with the papiſts, the people immediately ſuppoſed this inſurrection to be the reſult of their united councils. And when they heard, that the Iriſh rebels pleaded the King's commiſſion for all their violences; bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, aſſented without ſcruple to that groſs

* Sir William Temple.

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groſs impoſture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance, ſo barbarous and inhuman *.

By the difficulties and diſtreſſes of the crown, the commons, who poſſeſſed alone the power of ſupply, had aggrandized themſelves; and it ſeemed a peculiar happineſs, that the Iriſh rebellion had ſucceeded, at ſo critical a juncture, to the pacification of Scotland. That expreſſion of the King, by which he committed to them the care of Ireland, they immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the moſt unlimited ſenſe. On the executive power of the crown, which forms its principal and moſt natural branch of authority, they had, in other inſtances, been gradually encroaching; but with regard to Ireland they at once aſſumed it, fully and intirely, as if delivered over to them by a regular gift or aſſignment. And to this uſurpation the King was obliged paſſively to ſubmit; both becauſe

* It is now ſo univerſally allowed, notwithſtanding ſome muttering to the contrary, that the King had no hand in the Iriſh rebellion, that it will be ſuperfluous to inſiſt on a point, which ſeems ſo clear. I ſhall only ſuggeſt a very few arguments, among an infinite number, which occur. (1) Ought the affirmation of perfidious, infamous rebels ever to have paſſed for any authority? (2) No body can tell us what the words of the pretended commiſſion was. That which we find in Ruſhworth's, and in Milton's works, Toland's edition, is plainly an impoſture; becauſe it pretends to be dated in October 1641, yet mentions facts, which happened not till ſome months after. It appears that the Iriſh rebels, obſerving ſome inconſiſtence in their firſt forgery, were obliged to forge this commiſſion a-new, yet could not render it coherent nor probable. (3) Nothing could more obviouſly be pernicious to the King's cauſe than the Iriſh rebellion; becauſe it increaſed his neceſſities and rendered him ſtill more dependent on the parliament, who had before ſufficiently ſhown on what terms they would aſſiſt him. (4) The inſtant the King heard of the rebellion, which was a very few days after its commencement, he wrote to the parliament, and gave over to them the management of the war. Had he built any projects on that rebellion, would he not have waited ſome little time, to ſee how they would ſucceed? Would he preſently have adopted a meaſure, which was obviouſly ſo hurtful to his authority? (5) What can be imagined to be the King's projects? To raiſe the Iriſh to arms, I ſuppoſe, and bring them over to England for his aſſiſtance. But is it not plain, that the King never intended to raiſe war in England? Had that been his intention, would he have rendered the parliament perpetual? Does it not appear by the whole train of events, that the parliament forced him into the war? (6) The King conveyed to the juſtices intelligence, which ought to have prevented the rebellion. (7) The Iriſh catholics, in all their future tranſactions with the King, where they endeavor to excuſe their inſurrection, never had the aſſurance to plead his commiſſion. Even amongſt themſelves, they dropped that pretext. It appears that Sir Phelim Oneale, chiefly, and he only at firſt, promoted that impoſture. See Cartes Ormond, vol. iii. N° 100, 111, 112, 114, 115, 121, 132, 137. (8) Oneale himſelf confeſſed the impoſture on his trial and at his execution. See Nalſon, vol. ii. p. 528. (9) It is ridiculous to mention, the juſtification which Charles II. gave to the Marquis of Antrim, as if he had acted by his father's commiſſion. Antrim had no hand in the firſt rebellion and the maſſacre. He joined not the rebels till two years after, and he performed important ſervices to the King, in ſending over a body of men to Montroſe.

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because of his utter inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the reproach of favoring the progress of that odious rebellion.

The project of introducing farther innovations in England being once formed by the leaders among the commons, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with regard to Ireland would, all of them, be considered as subordinate to the former, on whose success, when once undertaken, their own grandeur, security, and even being, must intirely depend. While they pretended the utmost zeal against the Irish insurrection, they took no steps towards its suppression, but such as likeways tended to give them the superiority in those commotions, which, they foresaw, must so soon be excited in England. The extreme contempt, entertained towards the natives in Ireland, made the popular leaders believe, that it would be easy, at any time, to suppress their rebellion, and recover that kingdom: Nor were they willing to lose, by too hasty success, the advantage, which that rebellion would afford them in their projected encroachments on the prerogative. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the courtship and dependence of every one, who had any connection with Ireland, or who was desirous of inlisting in these military enterprizes: Money they levied under pretext of the Irish expedition; but reserved it for purposes, which concerned them more nearly: Arms they took from the King's magazines; but still kept them, with a secret intention of employing them against himself: Whatever law they esteemed requisite for aggrandizing themselves, was voted, under color of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles with-held the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious councils, which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and which still threatened total destruction to the protestant interest, thro'out all the King's dominions. And, tho' no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted, during the extreme distress of that kingdom; so strong was the people's attachment to the commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but fire and destruction to the Irish rebels.

To make the attack on royal authority by regular approaches, it was thought proper to form a general remonstrance of the state of the kingdom; and accordingly, the committee, which, at the first meeting of the parliament, had been chosen for that purpose, and which had hitherto made no advance in their work, received fresh injunctions to finish that undertaking.

The remonstrance.

The committee brought into the house that remonstrance, which has become so memorable, and which was soon afterwards attended with such important consequences. It was not addressed to the King; but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. The harshness of the matter was equalled by the severi-

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ty of the language. It conſiſts of many groſs falſhoods, intermingled with many evident truths: Malignant inſinuations are joined to open invectives: Loud complaints of the paſt, accompanied with jealous prognoſtications of the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever invidious, whatever ſuſpicious meaſure, had been embraced by the King from the commencement of his reign, is inſiſted on and aggravated with mercileſs rhetoric: Nothing is omitted, which could bear the leaſt ſhadow of blame: Every color, which ſuited the prevailing prejudices, is employed: All circumſtances, which could render the King's adminiſtration odious and contemptible, are collected. The unſucceſsful expeditions to Cadiz and the iſle of Rhé are mentioned: The ſending ſhips to France for ſuppreſſion of the hugonots: The forced loans: The illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands: The violent diſſolution of four parliaments: The arbitrary government, which always ſucceeded: The queſtioning, fining, and impriſoning members for their conduct in the houſe: The levying of taxes without conſent of the commons: The introducing ſuperſtitious innovations into the church, without authority of law: In ſhort, every thing, which, either with or without reaſon, had given offence, during the courſe of fifteen years, from the acceſſion of the King to the calling of the preſent parliament. And, tho' all theſe grievances had been already redreſſed, and even laws enacted for future ſecurity againſt their return, the praiſe of all theſe advantages was aſcribed, not to the King, but to the parliament, who had extorted his conſent to ſuch ſalutary ſtatutes. Their own merits too, they aſſerted, towards the King, were equally great, as towards the people. Tho' they had ſeized his whole revenue, rendered it totally precarious, and made even their temporary ſupplies be paid into their own commiſſioners, who were independent of him; they pretended, that they had very liberally ſupported him in his neceſſities. By an inſult ſtill more egregious, the very giving money to the Scotch for levying war againſt their ſovereign, they repreſented as an inſtance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they ſaid, which amounted to no leſs than a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution, proceeded intirely from the formed combination of a popiſh faction, who had ever ſwayed the King's councils, who had endeavored, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their ſuperſtition into England and Scotland, and who had now, at laſt, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland.

THIS remonſtrance, ſo full of acrimony and violence, was a plain ſignal for ſome farther attacks intended on royal prerogative, and a declaration, that the conceſſions, already made, however important, were not to be regarded as ſatisfactory. What pretenſions would be advanced, how unuſual, how unlimited, were eaſily imagined; and nothing leſs was foreſeen, what ever antient names might

might be preſerved, than an abolition, almoſt total, of the monarchical government of England. The oppoſition, therefore, which the remonſtrance met with in the houſe of commons, was very great. For above fourteen hours, the debate was warmly managed; and from the laſſitude of the King's party, which probably conſiſted more of the elderly people, and men of cool ſpirits, the vote was, at laſt, carried by a ſmall majority of eleven. Some time after, the remonſtrance was ordered to be printed and publiſhed, without being carried up, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to the houſe of peers, for their aſſent and approbation.

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When this remonſtrance was diſperſed, it excited, every where, the ſame violent controverſy, which had attended it, when introduced into the houſe of commons. This parliament, ſaid the partizans of that aſſembly, have at laſt profited by the fatal example of their predeceſſors; and are reſolved, that the fabric, which they have generouſly undertaken to rear for the protection of liberty, ſhall not be left to future ages, inſecure and imperfect. At the time, when the petition of right, that requiſite vindication of a violated conſtitution, was extorted from the unwilling prince; who but imagined, that liberty was at laſt aſcertained, and that the laws would thenceforth maintain themſelves in oppoſition to arbitrary authority? But what was the event? A *right* was indeed acquired to the people, or rather their ancient right was more exactly defined: But as the *power* of invading it ſtill remained in the prince, no ſooner did an opportunity offer, than he totally diſregarded all laws and preceding engagements, and made his will and pleaſure the ſole rule of government. Thoſe lofty ideas of monarchical government, which he has derived from his early education, which are united in his mind with the irreſiſtible illuſions of ſelf-love, which are corroborated by his miſtaken principles of religion, it is vainly hoped, in his more advanced age, that he will ſincerely renounce, from any ſubſequent reflection or experience. Such converſions, if ever they happen, are extremely rare; but to expect, that they will be derived from neceſſity, from the jealouſy and reſentment of antagoniſts, from blame, from reproach, from oppoſition, muſt be the reſult of the fondeſt and moſt blind credulity. Theſe violences, however requiſite, are ſure to irritate a prince againſt limitations, ſo cruelly impoſed upon him; and each conceſſion, which he is inforced to make, is regarded as a temporary tribute paid to faction and ſedition, and is ſecretly attended with a reſolution of ſeizing every favorable opportunity to retract it. Nor ſhould we imagine, that opportunities of that kind will not offer in the courſe of human affairs. Governments, eſpecially thoſe of a mixed kind, are in continual vibration: The humors of the people fluctuate perpetually from one extreme to another: And no reſolution can be more wiſe, as well as more juſt, than that of employing the

Reaſons on both ſides.

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preſent advantages againſt the king, who had formerly puſhed much leſs tempting ones to the utmoſt extremity againſt his people and his parliament. It is to be feared, if the religious rage, which has ſeized the multitude, be allowed to evaporate, they will quickly return to the antient eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment; and embrace, along with it, thoſe principles of ſlavery, which it inculcates with ſuch zeal on its ſubmiſſive proſelytes. Thoſe patriots, who are now the public idols, may then become the objects of general deteſtation; and equal ſhouts of joy attend their ignominious execution, with thoſe which ſecond their preſent triumphs and advantages. Nor ought the apprehenſion of ſuch an event to be regarded in them as a ſelfiſh conſideration: In their ſafety is involved the ſecurity of the laws: The patrons of the conſtitution cannot ſuffer without a fatal blow to the conſtitution: And 'tis but juſtice in the public to protect, at any hazard, thoſe, who have ſo generouſly expoſed themſelves to the utmoſt hazard for the public intereſt. What tho' monarchy, the antient government of England, be impaired, during theſe conteſts, in many of its former prerogatives? The laws will flouriſh the more by its decay; and 'tis happy, allowing, that matters are really carried beyond the bounds of moderation, that the current, at leaſt, runs towards liberty, and that the error is on that ſide, which is ſafeſt for the general intereſts of mankind and ſociety.

THE beſt arguments of the royaliſts againſt a farther invaſion of the prerogative, were founded more on oppoſite ideas, which they had formed of the paſt events of this reign, than on oppoſite principles of government. Some invaſions, they ſaid, and thoſe too, of great conſequence, had undoubtedly been made on national privileges: But were we to look for the cauſe of theſe violences, we ſhould never find it to conſiſt in the wanton tyranny and injuſtice of the prince, not even in his ambition or immoderate appetite for authority. The hoſtilities with Spain, in which the King, on his acceſſion, found himſelf engaged, however imprudent and unneceſſary, had proceeded from the advice, and even importunity of the parliament; who deſerted him immediately after they had embarked him in thoſe warlike meaſures. A young prince, jealous of honor, was naturally afraid of being foiled in his firſt enterprize, and had not, as yet, arrived at ſuch maturity of council, as to perceive, that his greateſt honor lay in preſerving the laws inviolate, and gaining the intire confidence of his people. The rigor of the ſubſequent parliaments had been extreme with regard to many articles, particularly tonnage and poundage; and had reduced the King to an abſolute neceſſity, if he would preſerve entire the royal prerogative, of levying thoſe duties by his own authority, and of breaking thro' the forms, in order to maintain the ſpirit of the conſtitution. Having once made ſo perilous a ſtep, he was naturally induced to continue, and conſult the public intereſt, by levying

levying ſhip-money, and other moderate, tho' irregular, impoſitions and taxations. His error was, perhaps, excuſable, if, eſteeming a formidable navy a great ſecurity to the nation, he was not ſenſible, that, to preſerve the harmony of the government, contributed ſtill more to public ſecurity, as well as happineſs. It is now full time to free him from all theſe neceſſities, and to apply cordials and lenitives, after thoſe ſeverities, which have already had their full courſe againſt him. Never ſovereign was bleſſed with more moderation of temper, with more juſtice, more humanity, more honor, or a more magnanimous diſpoſition. What pity, that ſuch a prince, ſhould ſo long have been harraſſed with rigors, ſuſpicions, calumnies, complaints, encroachments; and been forced from that path, in which the rectitude of his diſpoſition would have inclined him to have conſtantly trod! If ſome inſtances are found of violations made on the petition of right, which he himſelf had granted; there is an eaſier and more natural way for preventing the return of like inconveniences than by a total abolition of royal authority. Let the revenue be ſettled, ſuitable to the antient dignity and ſplendor of the crown; let the public neceſſities be fully ſupplied; let the remaining articles of prerogative be left untouched: And the King, as he has already loſt the power, will lay aſide the will, of invading the conſtitution. From what quarter can jealouſies now ariſe? What farther ſecurity can be deſired or expected? The King's precedent conceſſions, ſo far from being inſufficient for public ſecurity, have rather erred on the other extreme; and, by depriving him of all power of ſelf-defence, are the real cauſe, why the commons are emboldened to raiſe pretenſions hitherto unheard of in the kingdom, and to ſubvert the whole ſyſtem of the conſtitution. But, would they be contented with moderate advantages, is it not evident, that, beſide other important conceſſions, the preſent parliament may be continued till the government is accuſtomed to the new track, and every part is reſtored to full harmony and concord? By the triennial bill, a perpetual ſucceſſion of parliaments is eſtabliſhed, as everlaſting guardians to the laws; while the king poſſeſſes no independent power or military force, by which he can be ſupported in his invaſion of them. No danger remains, but what is inſeparable from all free conſtitutions, and what forms the very eſſence of their liberty: The danger of a change in the people's diſpoſition, and of general diſguſt, contracted againſt popular privileges. To prevent ſuch an evil, no expedient is more proper, than to contain ourſelves within the bounds of moderation, and to conſider, that all extremes, naturally and infallibly, beget each other. In the ſame manner as the paſt uſurpations of the crown have excited an immeaſurable appetite for liberty; let us beware, leſt our encroachments, by introducing anarchy, make the people ſeek ſhelter under the peaceable and deſpo-

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tic rule of a monarch. Authority, as well as liberty, is requiſite to government; and is even requiſite to the ſupport of liberty itſelf, by maintaining the laws, which can alone regulate and protect it. What madneſs, while every thing is ſo happily ſettled under antient forms and inſtitutions, now more exactly poiſed and adjuſted, to try the hazardous experiment of a new conſtitution, and renounce the mature wiſdom of our anceſtors for the crude whimſies of turbulent innovators? Beſide the certain and inconceivable miſchiefs of civil war; are not the perils apparent, which the delicate frame of liberty muſt inevitably run amidſt the furious ſhock of arms? Whichever ſide prevails, ſhe can ſcarce hope to remain inviolate, and may ſuffer no leſs or greater injuries from the boundleſs pretenſions of forces engaged in her cauſe, than from the invaſion of inraged troops, inliſted on the ſide of monarchy.

November 25

THE King, upon his return from Scotland, was received in London with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, and with every demonſtration of regard and affection. Sir Richard Gournay, Lord mayor, a man of great merit and authority, had promoted theſe favorable diſpoſitions, and had engaged the populace, who ſo lately inſulted the King, and who ſo ſoon afterwards made furious war upon him, to give him theſe marks of the moſt dutiful attachment. But all the pleaſure, which he reaped from this joyful reception, was ſoon damped by the remonſtrance of the commons, which was preſented him, along with a petition of a like ſtrain. The bad councils, which he followed, are there complained of; his concurrence in the Iriſh rebellion openly inſinuated; the ſcheme, laid for the introduction of popery and ſuperſtition, inveighed againſt; and, for a remedy to all theſe evils, he is deſired to entruſt every office and command to perſons, in whom his parliament ſhould have cauſe to confide. By this phraſe, which is ſo often repeated in all the memorials and addreſſes of that time, the commons meant themſelves and their adherents.

As ſoon as the remonſtrance of the commons was publiſhed, the King diſperſed an anſwer to it. In this conteſt, he lay under mighty diſadvantages. Not only the ears of the people were extremely prejudized againſt him; the beſt topics upon which he could juſtify, or at leaſt apologize for his former conduct, were ſuch as it was not ſafe nor prudent for him, at this time, to employ. So high was the national idolatry towards parliaments, that to blame the paſt conduct of theſe aſſemblies, had been very ill received by the generality of the people. So loud were the complaints againſt regal uſurpations, that had the King aſſerted the prerogative of ſupplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government, ariſing from the obſtinacy of parliaments, he would have increaſed the clamors, with which the whole nation already reſounded. Charles, therefore, contented himſelf

himſelf with obſerving, in general, that, even during that period, ſo much complained of, the people enjoyed a greater meaſure of happineſs; not only comparatively, in reſpect of their neighbors, but even in reſpect of thoſe times, which were juſtly accounted the moſt unfortunate. He made warm proteſtations of ſincerity in the reformed religion; he promiſed indulgence to tender conſciences with regard to the ceremonies of the church; he mentioned his great conceſſions with regard to national liberty: he blamed the infamous libels every where diſperſed againſt his perſon and the national religion; he complained of the general reproaches, thrown out in the remonſtrance, with regard to ill councils, tho' he had protected no miniſter from parliamentary juſtice, retained no unpopular ſervant, and conferred offices on no one, who enjoyed not a high character and eſtimation in the public. "If notwithſtanding this," he adds, "any malignant party ſhall "take heart, and be willing to ſacrifice the peace and happineſs of their country, "to their own ſiniſter ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion "and conſcience; if they ſhall endeavor to leſſen my reputation and intereſt, "and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they ſhall attempt, by diſ-"countenancing the preſent laws, to looſen the bands of government, that all "diſorder and confuſion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God, in his "good time, will diſcover them to me, and that the wiſdom and courage of "my high court of parliament will join with me in their ſuppreſſion and puniſh-"ment." Nothing ſhows more evidently the hard ſituation in which Charles was placed, than to obſerve, that he was obliged to confine himſelf within the limits of civility towards ſubjects, who had tranſgreſſed all bounds of regard, and even of good manners, in their treatment of their ſovereign.

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THE firſt inſtance of thoſe parliamentary encroachments, which Charles was now to look for, was the bill for preſſing ſoldiers to the ſervice of Ireland. This bill quickly paſſed the lower houſe. In the preamble, the king's power of preſſing, a power exerciſed during all former times, was declared illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the ſubject. By a neceſſary conſequence, the prerogative, which the crown had ever aſſumed, of obliging men to accept of any branch of public ſervice, was aboliſhed and annihilated: A prerogative, it muſt be owned, not very compatible with a limited monarchy. In order to elude this law, the King offered to raiſe 10,000 voluntiers for the Iriſh ſervice: But the commons were afraid, leſt ſuch an army would be too much at his diſpoſal. Charles, ſtill unwilling to ſubmit to ſo conſiderable a diminution of power, came to the houſe of peers, and offered to paſs the law without the preamble; by which means, he ſaid, that ill-timed queſtion with regard to the prerogative would for the preſent be avoided, and the pretenſions of each party be left intire. Both houſes took

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fire at this precipitant measure, which, from a similar instance, while the bill of attainder against Strafford was in dependance, Charles might foresee, would be received with resentment. By the lords, as well as commons, a vote passed, declaring it to be an high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill, which was in agitation in either of the houses, or to express his sentiments with regard to it, before it be presented to him for his assent in a parliamentary manner. The King was obliged to compose all matters by an apology.

THE general question, we may observe, with regard to privileges of parliament, has always been, and still continues, one of the greatest mysteries of the English constitution; and, in some respects, notwithstanding the accurate genius of that government, which we enjoy, these privileges are, at present, as undetermined, as were formerly the prerogatives of the crown. Such privileges as are founded on long precedent cannot be controverted: But tho' it were certain, that former kings had not, in any instance, taken notice of bills lying before the houses (which yet was not unusual); it follows not, merely from their never exerting such a power, that they had renounced it, or never were possessed of it. Such privileges too as are essential to all free assemblies, which deliberate, they may be allowed to assume, whatever precedents may prevail: But tho' the king's interposal, by an offer or advice, does, in some degree, overawe or restrain liberty; it may be doubted, whether it imposes such evident violence as to entitle the parliament, without any other authority or concession, to claim the privilege of excluding it. But this was the favorable time for extending privileges; and had none more exorbitant or unreasonable been challenged, few bad consequences had followed. The establishment of this rule, 'tis certain, contributes to the order and regularity, as well as freedom, of parliamentary proceedings.

THE interposal of peers in the election of commoners was likewise, about this time, declared a breach of privilege; and continues ever since to be condemned by votes of the commons, and universally practised thro'out the nation.

EVERY measure pursued by the commons, and still more, every attempt made by their partizans, was full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and showed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment. Beside numberless vexations and persecutions which the clergy underwent from the arbitrary power of the lower house; while the King was in Scotland, the peers, having passed an order for the observance of the laws with regard to public worship, the commons assumed such authority, that, by a vote alone of their house, they suspended those laws, tho' enacted by the whole legislature: And they particularly forbade bowing at the name of JESUS; a practice, which gave them the highest scandal, and which was one of their capital objections against

gainſt the eſtabliſhed religion. They complained of the King's filling five vacant ſees, and conſidered it as an inſult upon them, that he ſhould compleat and ſtrengthen an order, which they intended ſoon entirely to aboliſh *. They had accuſed thirteen biſhops of high treaſon for enacting canons without conſent of parliament; tho', from the foundation of the monarchy, no other method had ever been practiſed: And they now inſiſted, that the peers, upon this general accuſation, ſhould ſequeſter thoſe biſhops from their ſeats in parliament, and commit them to priſon. Their bill for taking away the biſhops' votes had, laſt winter, been rejected by the peers: But they again introduced the ſame bill, tho' no prorogation had interveened; and they endeavored, by ſome minute alterations, to elude that rule of parliament which oppoſed them. And when they ſent up this bill to the lords, they made a demand, the moſt abſurd in the world, that the biſhops, being all of them parties, ſhould be refuſed a vote with regard to that queſtion. After the reſolution was once formed by the commons, of invading the eſtabliſhed government of church and ſtate, it could not be expected, that their proceedings, in ſuch a violent attempt, would thenceforth be altogether regular and equitable: But it muſt be confeſſed, that, in their attacks on the hierarchy, they ſtill more openly tranſgreſſed all bounds of moderation; as ſuppoſing, no doubt, that the ſacredneſs of the cauſe would ſufficiently atone for employing means, the moſt irregular and unuſual. This principle, which prevails ſo much among pious zealots, never diſplayed itſelf ſo openly, as during the tranſactions of this whole period.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe efforts of the commons, they could not expect the concurrence of the upper houſe, either to this law, or to any other, which they ſhould introduce for the farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of peers adhered to the King, and plainly foreſaw the depreſſion of nobility, as a neceſſary conſequence of popular uſurpations on the crown. The inſolence indeed, of the commons, and their haughty treatment of the lords, had already riſen to a high pitch, and gave ſufficient warning of their future attempts upon that order. They muttered ſomewhat of their regret, that they ſhould be enforced to ſave the kingdom alone, and that the houſe of peers would have no part in the honor. Nay, they went ſo far as openly to tell the lords, "That they themſelves "were the repreſentative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were no-"thing but individuals, who held their ſeats in a particular capacity: And, "therefore, if their lordſhips will not conſent to the paſſing acts neceſſary for the "preſervation of the people, the commons, along with ſuch of the lords as are "more ſenſible of the danger, muſt join together, and repreſent the matter to "his Majeſty." So violent was the democratical, enthuſiaſtic ſpirit diffuſed thro'-

* Nalſon, Vol. II. p. 511.

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out the nation, that a total confuſion of all ranks and orders was juſtly to be apprehended; and the wonder was not, that the majority of the nobles ſhould ſeek ſhelter under the throne, but that any of them ſhould venture to deſert it. But the tide of popularity ſeized ſeveral, and carried them wide of all the moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of civil policy. Among the opponents of the King are ranked the Earl of Northumberland, Lord admiral, a man of the firſt family and fortune, and endowed with that dignified pride, which ſo well became his rank and ſtation: The Earl of Eſſex, who inherited all his father's popularity, and having, from his early youth, ſought renown in arms, united to a midling capacity that rigid inflexibility of honor, which forms the proper ornament of a nobleman and a ſoldier: The Lord Kimbolton, ſoon afterwards Earl of Mancheſter, a perſon diſtinguiſhed by humanity, generoſity, affability, and every amiable virtue. Theſe men, finding that their credit ran very high with the nation, ventured to encourage thoſe popular diſorders, which, they vainly imagined, they poſſeſſed authority ſufficient to regulate and control.

In order to obtain a majority in the upper houſe, the commons had recourſe to the populace, who, on other occaſions, had done them ſuch important ſervices. Amid the greateſt ſecurity, they affected continual fears of deſtruction to themſelves and the nation, and ſeemed to quake at every breath or rumor of danger. They again excited the people by never-ceaſing enquiries after conſpiracies, by reports of inſurrections, by feigned intelligence of invaſions from abroad, by diſcoveries of dangerous combinations at home among papiſts and their adherents. When Charles diſmiſſed the guard, which they had ordered during his abſence, they complained; and upon his promiſing them a new guard, under the command of the Earl of Lindeſey, they totally refuſed the offer, and were well pleaſed to inſinuate, by this inſtance of jealouſy, that their danger chiefly aroſe from the King himſelf *. They ordered halberts to be brought into the hall, where they aſſembled, and thus armed themſelves againſt thoſe conſpiracies with which, they pretended, they were hourly threatened. No ſtories of plots were ſo ridiculous, that they were not willingly attended to, and diſperſed among the multitude, to whoſe capacity they were well adapted. Beale, a taylor, informed the commons, that, walking in the fields, he had hearkened to the diſcourſe of certain perſons, unknown to him, and he had heard them talk of a moſt dangerous conſpiracy. A hundred and eight ruffians, as he learned, had been appointed to murder a hundred and eight lords and commoners, and were promiſed rewards for theſe aſſaſſinations, ten pounds for each lord, forty ſhillings for each commoner. Upon this notable intelligence, orders were iſſued for ſeizing prieſts and jeſuits, a conference was deſired with the lords, and an ordinance of both houſes was framed for putting the kingdom immediately into a poſture of defence †.

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* Journ. 30th Nov. 1641. † Nalſon, Vol. II. p. 646. Journ. 16th Nov. 1641.

THE pulpits too were called in aid, and reſounded with the dangers which threatened religion, from the deſperate attempts of papiſts and malignants. Multitudes of people flocked towards Weſtminſter, and inſulted the prelates and ſuch of the lords as adhered to the crown. The peers voted a declaration againſt theſe tumults, and ſent it to the other houſe; but theſe refuſed their concurrence *. Some ſeditious apprentices, being ſeized and committed to priſon, immediately received their liberty, by an order of the commons. The ſheriffs and juſtices having appointed conſtables with ſtrong watches to guard the parliament; the commons ſent for the conſtables, and required them to diſcharge the watches, conveened the juſtices, voted their orders a breach of privilege, and ſent one of them to the tower †. Encouraged by theſe indications of their pleaſure, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out inſolent menaces againſt the King himſelf. Several reformed officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of diſorder and danger, offered their ſervices to his Majeſty. Betwixt them and the populace, there paſſed frequent ſkirmiſhes, which ended not without bloodſhed. By way of reproach, theſe gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of ROUNDHEADS; on account of the ſhort cropt hair, which they wore: Theſe called the others CAVALIERS. And thus the nation, which was before ſufficiently provided of religious as well as civil cauſes of quarrel, were alſo ſupplied with party-names, under which the factions might rendezvous and ſignalize their mutual hatred. Such propenſity have mankind to diſcord and civil diſorder, that names alone, without any oppoſition of intereſt or principles, will often be ſufficient to excite them, at the hazard of their own lives, to ſeek the ſlaughter and deſtruction of their fellow-citizens. Chap VI. 1641.

MEAN while, the tumults ſtill continued, and even increaſed, about Weſtminſter and Whitehall. The cry continually reſounded againſt *biſhops and rotten-hearted lords*. The former eſpecially, being eaſily diſtinguiſhable by their habit, and being the object of violent hatred to all the ſectaries, were expoſed to the moſt dangerous inſults. Williams, now created archbiſhop of Yorke, having been abuſed by the populace, haſtily called a meeting of his brethren. By his advice, a proteſtation was drawn and addreſſed to the King and the houſe of lords. The biſhops there ſet forth, that, tho' they had an undoubted right to ſit and vote in parliament, yet, in coming thither, they had been menaced, aſſaulted, affronted, by the unruly multitude, and could no longer with ſafety attend their duty in the houſe. For this reaſon, they proteſted againſt all laws, votes, December 27.

* Ruſhworth, Part III. Vol. I. p. 710.

† Nalſon, Vol. II. p. 792. Journ. 27, 28, and 29th of December 1641.

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votes, and reſolutions, as null and invalid, which ſhould paſs during the time of their forced and violent abſence. This proteſtation, which, tho' juſt and legal, was certainly very ill-timed, was ſigned by twelve biſhops, and communicated to the King, who haſtily approved of it. As ſoon as it was preſented to the lords, that houſe deſired a conference with the commons, where they informed them of this unexpected proteſtation. The opportunity was ſeized with joy and triumph. An impeachment of high treaſon was immediately ſent up againſt the biſhops, as endeavoring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the whole legiſlature. They were, on the firſt demand, ſequeſtred from parliament and committed to cuſtody. No man, in either houſe, ventured to ſpeak a word in their vindication; ſo much diſpleaſed was every one at the egregious imprudence of which they had been guilty. One perſon alone ſaid, that he did not believe them guilty of high treaſon; but that they were ſtark mad, and therefore deſired they might be ſent to bedlam.

Impeachment of the biſhops.

1642.

A few days afterwards, the King was guilty of another indiſcretion, much more fatal: An indiſcretion, to which all the enſuing diſorders and civil wars ought, immediately and directly, to be aſcribed. This was the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five members.

WHEN the commons employed, in their remonſtrance, language ſo ſevere and indecent, they had not been actuated intirely by inſolence and paſſion: Their views were much more ſolid and profound. They conſidered, That, in a violent attempt, ſuch as an invaſion of the antient conſtitution, the more leiſure was afforded the people to reflect, the leſs would they be inclined to ſecond that raſh and dangerous enterprize; that the peers would certainly refuſe their concurrence, nor were there any hopes of prevailing on them but by exciting the populace to tumult and diſorder; that the employing ſuch odious means for ſo invidious an end would, at long-run, loſe them all their popularity, and turn the tide of favor to the contrary party; and that, if the King only remained in tranquillity, and cautiouſly eluded the firſt violence of the tempeſt, he would, in the end, certainly prevail, and be able at leaſt to preſerve intire the antient laws and conſtitution. They were therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to excite him to ſome violent paſſion; in hopes, that he would commit indiſcretions, of which they might make advantage.

IT was not long before they ſucceeded beyond their fondeſt wiſhes. Charles, enraged to find, That all his conceſſions but increaſed their demands; that the people, who were returning to a ſenſe of duty towards him, were again rouſed to ſedition and tumults; that the blackeſt calumnies were propagated againſt him

him, and even the Iriſh maſſacre aſcribed to his councils and machinations; that a method of addreſs was adopted, not only unfit towards ſo great a prince, but which no private gentleman could bear without reſentment: When he conſidered all theſe increaſing inſolences in the commons, he was apt to aſcribe them, in a great meaſure, to his own indolence and facility. The Queen and the ladies of the court farther ſtimulated his paſſion, and repreſented, that, if he exerted the vigor, and diſplayed the majeſty of a monarch, the daring uſurpations of his ſubjects would ſhrink before him. Lord Digby, a man of fine parts, but full of levity, and hurried on by precipitant paſſions, ſuggeſted like councils; and Charles, who, tho' commonly moderate in his temper, was ever diſpoſed to haſty reſolutions, gave way to the fatal importunity of his friends and ſervants. Chap. VI. 1642.

HERBERT, attorney-general, appeared in the houſe of peers, and, in his Majeſty's name, entered an accuſation of high treaſon againſt Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, That they had traiterouſly endeavored to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the King of his regal power, and to impoſe on his ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had endeavored, by many foul aſperſions on his Majeſty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had attempted to draw his late army to diſobedience of his royal commands, and to ſide with them in their traiterous deſigns; that they had invaded and encouraged a foreign power to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at ſubverting the rights and very beings of parliament; that, in order to compleat their traiterous deſigns, they had endeavored, as far as in them lay, by force and terror to compell the parliament to join with them, and to that end, had actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the King and parliament; and that they had traiterouſly conſpired to levy and actually had levied war againſt the King. Accuſation of the five members.

THE whole world ſtood amazed at this important accuſation, ſo ſuddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation, or reflection. Several of theſe articles of accuſation, men ſaid, to judge by the firſt aſpect, ſeem to be common betwixt the impeached members and the parliament; nor did theſe perſons appear any farther active, in the enterprizes, of which they were accuſed, than ſo far as they concurred with the majority in their votes and ſpeeches. Tho' proofs might, perhaps, be produced of their privately inviting the Scotch to invade England; how could ſuch an attempt be interpreted treaſon, after the act of oblivion, which had paſſed, and after that both houſes, with the King's concurrence, had voted that nation three hundred thouſand pounds for their brotherly aſſiſtance?

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ſiſtance? While the houſe of peers are ſcarce able to ſupport their independency, or refuſe the bills ſent them by the commons; will they ever be permitted by the populace, ſuppoſing them inclined, to paſs a ſentence, which muſt totally ſubdue the lower houſe, and put an end to their ambitious undertakings? Theſe five members, at leaſt Pym, Hambden and Hollis, are the very heads of the popular party; and if theſe be taken off, what fate muſt be expected by their followers, who are all accomplices in the ſame treaſon? The puniſhment of leaders is ever the laſt triumph over a broken and routed party; but ſurely was never before attempted, in oppoſition to a faction, during the full tide of its power and ſucceſs.

BUT men had not leizure to wonder at the extreme indiſcretion of this meaſure: Their aſtoniſhment was excited by new attempts, ſtill more precipitant and imprudent. A ſergeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the houſe the five members; and was ſent back without any poſitive anſwer. Meſſengers were employed to ſearch for them, and arreſt them. Their trunks, chambers, and ſtudies were ſealed and locked. The houſe voted all theſe violences to be a breach of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The King, irritated by all this oppoſition, reſolved next day to come in perſon to the houſe, with an intention to demand, perhaps ſeize in their preſence, the perſons, whom he had accuſed.

THIS ſtrange reſolution, ſo incompatible with the majeſty of a king, ſo improper even for the dignity of any great magiſtrate, was diſcovered to the Counteſs of Carliſle, ſiſter to Northumberland, a lady of great ſpirit, wit, and intrigue. She privately ſent intelligence to the five members, and they had time to withdraw, a moment before the King entered. He was accompanied with his ordinary retinue to the number of above two hundred, armed as uſual, ſome with halberts, ſome with walking ſwords. The King left them at the door, and he himſelf advanced alone thro' the hall; while all the members ſtood up to receive him. The ſpeaker withdrew from his chair, and the King took poſſeſſion of it. The ſpeech, which he made was as follows; "Gentlemen, I am ſorry "for this occaſion of coming to you. Yeſterday, I ſent a ſerjeant at arms to de- "mand ſome, who, by my order, were accuſed of high treaſon. Inſtead of "obedience, I received a meſſage. I muſt here declare to you, that, tho' no "king, that ever was in England, could be more careful of your privileges "than I ſhall be, yet in caſes of treaſon, no perſon has privilege. Therefore, "am I come to tell you, that I muſt have theſe men whereſoever I can find "them. Well, ſince I ſee all the birds are flown, I do expect, that you will "ſend them to me as ſoon as they return. But I aſſure you, on the word of a

"king,

" king, I never did intend any force, but ſhall proceed againſt them in a fair " and legal way: For I never meant any other. And now ſince I ſee I cannot " do what I came for, I think this no unfit occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid " formerly, that whatever I have done in favor and to the good of my ſubjects, " I do intend to maintain it."

When the King was looking about for the accuſed members, he aſked the ſpeaker, who ſtood below, whether any of theſe perſons were in the houſe? The ſpeaker, falling on his knee, very prudently replied: " I have, Sir, neither " eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak in this place, but as the houſe is pleaſed to di- " rect me, whoſe ſervant I am. And I humbly aſk pardon, that I cannot give " any other anſwer to what your Majeſty is pleaſed to demand of me."

The commons were in the utmoſt diſorder, and when the King was departing ſome members cried aloud, ſo as he might hear them, *Privilege! privilege!* And the houſe immediately adjourned till next day.

That evening, the accuſed members, in order to mark the greater apprehenſion, removed into the city, which was their fortreſs. The citizens were, the whole night, in arms. Some people, who were appointed for that purpoſe, or perhaps actuated by their own terrors, ran from gate to gate, crying out, that the cavaliers were coming to fire the city, and that the King himſelf was at the head of them.

Next morning, Charles ſent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common council immediately. About ten o' clock, he himſelf, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guild-hall. He told the council, That he was ſorry to hear of the apprehenſions entertained of him; that he was come to them without any guard, in order to ſhow how much he relied on their affections; that he had accuſed certain men of high treaſon, againſt whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore preſumed, that they would receive no ſhelter in the city. After many other gracious expreſſions, he told one of the ſheriffs, who of the two was eſteemed the leaſt inclined to his ſervice, that he would dine with him. He departed the hall without receiving the applauſe which he expected. In paſſing thro' the ſtreets, he heard the cry, *Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!* reſounding from all quarters. One of the populace, more inſolent than the reſt, drew nigh to his coach, and called out with a loud voice, *To your tents, O Iſrael!* the words employed by the mutinous Iſraelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam, their raſh and ill-counſelled ſovereign.

When the houſe of commons met, they affected the greateſt diſmay and terror; and adjourning themſelves for ſome days, ordered a committee to ſit in merchant-taylor's hall in the city. The committee made an exact inquiry into each

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each circumſtance attending the King's entry into the houſe. Every paſſionate ſpeech, every menacing geſture of any, even the meaneſt, of his attendants, were recorded and aggravated. An intention of offering violence to the parliament, of ſeizing the accuſed members in the very houſe, and of murdering all who ſhould make reſiſtance, was inferred. And that unparalleled breach of privilege, for ſo it was called, was ſtill aſcribed to the councils of papiſts and their adherents. This expreſſion, which recurs every moment in ſpeeches and memorials, and which, at preſent, is ſo apt to excite laughter in the reader, begot, at that time, the deepeſt conſternation thro'out the kingdom.

A letter was pretended to be intercepted, and was communicated to the committee, who ptetended to lay great weight upon it. One catholic there congratulates another on the accuſation of the members; and repreſents that event as a branch of the ſame pious contrivance, which had excited the Iriſh inſurrection, and by which the profane heretics would ſoon be extirpated thro'out the whole nation *.

THE houſe met; and after confirming the votes of their committee, inſtantly adjourned, as if expoſed to the moſt imminent perils from the violence of their enemies. This practice they continued for ſome time. When the people, by theſe affected panics, were wrought up to a ſufficient degree of rage and terror, it was thought proper, that the accuſed members, with a triumphant and military proceſſion, ſhould take their ſeats in the houſe. The Thames was covered with boats and other veſſels, laden with ſmall pieces of ordinance, and prepared for fight. Skippon, whom the parliament, by their own authority, had appointed major-general of the city-militia, conducted the members, at the head of this tumultuary army, to Weſtminſter-hall. And when the populace, by land and by water, paſſed Whitehall, with inſulting ſhouts, they ſtill aſked; *What has become of the King and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled?*

Tumults.

King leaves London.

THE King, apprehenſive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton-court, deſerted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, ſhame, and remorſe, for the fatal meaſures, into which he had been hurried. His deplorable ſituation he could no longer aſcribe to the rigors of deſtiny, or the malignity of enemies: His own precipitancy and indiſcretion muſt bear the blame of whatever diſaſters ſhould henceforth befall him. The moſt faithful of his adherents, betwixt ſorrow and indignation, were confounded with reflections on what had happened, and what was likely to follow. Seeing every proſpect blaſted, faction triumphant, the diſcontented populace enflamed to a degree of fury,

* Nalſon, Vol. II. p. 856.

fury, they utterly despaired of success, in a cause, to whose ruin, friends and enemies seemed equally to conspire. Chap. VI. 1642.

The prudence of the King's conduct, in such a juncture, no body pretended to justify. The legality of it met with many apologies; tho' generally offered to unwilling ears. No maxim of law, it was said, is more established, or more universally allowed, than that privileges of parliament extend not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; nor has either house, during former ages, ever pretended, in any of those cases, to interpose in behalf of its members. Tho' some inconveniences should result from the observance of this maxim; that would not be sufficient, without other authority, to abolish a principle, established by uninterrupted precedent, and founded on the tacit consent of the whole legislature. But what are the inconveniences so much dreaded? The King, under pretext of treason, may seize any members of the opposite faction, and, for a time, gain to his partizans the majority of votes. But if he seize only a few; will he not lose more friends, by such a gross artifice, than he confines enemies? If he seize a great number; is not this expedient force, open and bare-faced? And what remedy, in all times, against such force, but to oppose to it a force, which is superior? Even allowing, that the King intended to employ violence, not authority, for seizing the members; tho', at that time, and ever afterwards, he positively asserted the contrary; yet will his conduct admit of excuse. That the hall, where the parliament assembles, is an inviolable sanctuary, was never yet pretended. And if the commons complain of the affront offered them, by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence; they ought only to complain of themselves, who had formerly refused compliance with the King's message, when he peaceably demanded these members. The sovereign is the great executor of the law; and his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had so well merited *.

* "In a parliament of Queen Elizabeth, when Sir Edward Coke was speaker, the Queen sent "a messenger or serjeant at arms into the house of commons, and took out Mr. Morrice, and com- "mitted him to prison with divers others, for some speeches spoken in the house. Thereupon "Mr. Wroth moved the house, that they would be humble suitors to her Majesty, that she would "be pleased to enlarge those members of the house that were restrained, which was done accord- "ingly. And answer was sent by her privy council, That her Majesty had committed them for "causes best known to herself; and to press her Highness with this suit, would but hinder the whole "good they sought: That the house must not call the Queen to an account for what she doth of "her royal authority: That the causes, for which they are restrained, may be high and dangerous: "That her Majesty liketh no such questions, neither doth it become the house to search into "matters of that nature." See Inspection into the carriage of the late long parliament, p. 61.

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CHARLES knew to how little purpoſe he would urge theſe reaſons againſt the preſent fury of the commons. He propoſed, therefore, by a meſſage, that they ſhould agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his proſecution againſt the members, leſt further miſunderſtandings happen with regard to privileges. They deſired him to lay the grounds of accuſation before the houſe; and pretended, that they muſt firſt judge, whether it were proper to abandon their members to a legal trial. The King then informed them, that he would wave, for the preſent, all proſecution: By ſucceſſive meſſages, he afterwards offered a pardon to the members; offered to concur in any law, which would acquit or ſecure them; offered any reparation to the houſe for the breach of privilege, of which, he acknowleged, they had reaſon to complain. They were reſolved to accept of no ſatisfaction, unleſs he would diſcover his adviſers in that illegal meaſure: A condition, to which, they knew, without rendering himſelf for ever vile and contemptible, he could not poſſibly ſubmit. Mean while, they continued to thunder againſt the violation of parliamentary privileges, and, by their violent outcries, to inflame the whole nation. Their ſecret reaſon of diſpleaſure, however obvious, they carefully concealed. In the King's accuſation of the members, they plainly ſaw his judgment of the late parliamentary proceedings; and every member of the ruling faction dreaded the ſame fate, ſhould royal authority be re-eſtabliſhed in its antient luſtre. By the moſt unhappy conduct, Charles, while he extremely augmented, in his opponents, the will, had alſo encreaſed the ability, of hurting him.

IN order farther to excite the people, whoſe diſpoſitions were already very ſeditious, the expedient of petitioning was renewed. A petition from the county of Buckingham was preſented by ſix thouſand men; who promiſed to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament. The city of London, the county of Eſſex, that of Hertford, Surrey, Berks, imitated this example. A petition from the apprentices was graciouſly received. Nay one was encouraged from the porters; whoſe numbers amounted, as they ſaid, to fifteen thouſand. The addreſs of that great body contained the ſame articles with all the others; the privileges of parliament, the danger of religion, the rebellion of Ireland, the decay of trade. The porters further deſired, that juſtice might be done upon offenders, as the atrocity of their crimes had deſerved. And they added, *That if ſuch remedies were any longer ſuſpended, they would be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the ſaying,* That neceſſity has no law.

ANOTHER petition was preſented by ſeveral poor people, in the name of many thouſands more; where the petitioners propoſed as a remedy for the public miſeries, *That thoſe noble worthies of the houſe of peers, who concur with the happy votes*

of

of the commons, may ſeparate themſelves from the reſt, and ſit and vote, as one intire body. The commons gave thanks for this petition. Chap. VI. 1642.

THE very women were ſeized with the ſame rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thouſands of her ſex, brought a petition to the houſe; in which the petitioners expreſſed their terror of the papiſts and prelates, and their dread of like maſſacres, rapes, and outrages, with thoſe which had been exerciſed upon their ſex in Ireland. They had been neceſſitated, they ſaid, to imitate the example of the woman of Tekoah: And they aſſerted equal right with the men, of declaring, by petition, their ſenſe of the public cauſe; becauſe Chriſt had purchaſed them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Chriſt conſiſts equally the happineſs of both ſexes. Pym came to the door of the houſe; and having told the female zealots, that their petition was thankfully accepted, and was preſented in a ſeaſonable time, he begged, that their prayers for the ſucceſs of the commons might follow their petition. Such low arts of popularity were affected! And by ſuch illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil diſcord and convulſions!

ALL petitions, in the mean time, which favored the church or monarchy, from whatever hand they came, were not only diſcouraged; but the petitioners were ſent for, impriſoned, and proſecuted as delinquents: And this unequal conduct was openly avowed and juſtified. Whoever deſire a change, it was ſaid, muſt expreſs their inclination; for how, otherwiſe, ſhall it be known? But thoſe who favor the eſtabliſhed government in church or ſtate, ſhould not petition; becauſe they already enjoy what they wiſh for *.

THE King had poſſeſſed a very great party in the lower houſe, as appeared in the vote for the remonſtrance; and this party, had every new cauſe of diſguſt been carefully avoided, would ſoon have become the majority; from the odium attending the violent meaſures employed by the popular leaders. A great majority he always poſſeſſed in the houſe of peers, even after the biſhops were confined or chaſed away; and this majority could not have been overcome but by outrages, which, in the end, would have drawn diſgrace and ruin on thoſe who incited them. By the preſent fury of the people, as by an inundation, were all theſe obſtacles ſwept away, and every rampart of royal authority laid level with the ground. The victory was purſued with impetuoſity by the ſagacious commons, who knew the importance of a favorable moment in all popular commotions. The terror of their authority they extended over the whole nation; and all oppoſition, and even all blame vented in familiar diſcourſe, were treated as the moſt atrocious crimes, by theſe ſevere inquiſitors. Scarcely was it permitted

* Clarendon.

Chap. VI. 1642.

mitted to find fault with the conduct of any particular member, if he made a figure in the houſe; and reflections, thrown out on Pym, were, at this time, treated as breaches of privilege. The rabble without doors were ready to execute, from the leaſt hint, the will of their leaders; nor was it ſafe for any member to approach either houſe, who pretended to control or oppoſe the popular torrent. After ſo undiſguiſed a manner was the violence conducted, that Hollis, in a ſpeech to the peers, deſired to know the names of ſuch members, as ſhould vote contrary to the ſentiments of the commons *: And Pym ſaid in the lower houſe, that the people muſt not be reſtrained in the expreſſions of their juſt deſires †.

By the flight, or terror, or deſpondency of the King's party, an undiſputed majority remained every where to their opponents; and the bills ſent up by the commons, which had hitherto ſtopped with the peers, and would certainly have been rejected, now paſſed, and were preſented for the royal aſſent. Theſe were, The preſſing bill with its preamble, and the bill againſt the biſhops' votes. The King's authority was at that time reduced to the loweſt ebb. The Queen too, being ſecretly threatened with an impeachment, and finding no reſource in her huſband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland. The rage of the people, on account of her religion, as well as her ſpirit and activity, was univerſally levelled againſt her. Uſage, the moſt ignominious, ſhe had hitherto borne with a ſecret indignation. The commons, in their fury againſt prieſts, had ſeized her very confeſſor; nor would they releaſe him upon her repeated applications. Even a viſit of the Prince to his mother had been openly complained of, and remonſtrances againſt it had been preſented to her. Apprehenſive of attacks ſtill more violent, ſhe was deſirous of facilitating her eſcape; and ſhe prevailed with the King to paſs theſe bills, in hopes of appeaſing, for a time, the rage of the multitude.

February 12.

These new conceſſions, however important, the King immediately found to have no other effect, than had all the preceeding ones: They were made the foundation of demands ſtill more exorbitant. From the facility of his diſpoſition, from the impotence of his ſituation, the commons believed, that he could now refuſe them nothing. And they regarded the leaſt moment of relaxation, in their invaſion of royal authority, as highly impolitic, during the uninterrupted torrent of their ſucceſſes. The very moment they were informed of theſe laſt acquiſitions, they affronted the Queen, by opening ſome intercepted letters wrote to her by Lord Digby: They carried up an impeachment againſt Herbert, attorney-general, for obeying his maſter's commands in accuſing their members: And they

* King's Declar. of 12th of Auguſt, 1642. † Ibid.

they profecuted with freſh vigor their plan of the militia, on which they repoſed all future hopes of an uncontroled authority. Chap. VI. 1642.

MONARCHICAL government, which, during ſo many ages, had been eſtabliſhed in England, the commons were ſenſible, would ſoon regain ſome degree of its former dignity, after the preſent tempeſt was overblown; nor would all their new invented limitations be able totally to ſuppreſs an authority, to which the nation had ever been accuſtomed. The ſword alone, to which all human ordinances muſt ſubmit, could guard their acquired power, and fully enſure to them perſonal ſafety againſt the riſing indignation of their ſovereign. This point, therefore, became the chief object of their aims. To the town of Hull, where a large magazine of arms was placed, they diſpatched Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of conſiderable fortune in the neighborhood, and of a very ancient family; and gave him the authority of governor. They ſent orders to Goring, who commanded in Portſmouth, to obey no commands but ſuch as he ſhould receive from the parliament. Not contented with having obliged the King to diſplace Lunsford, whom he had made governor of the tower; they never ceaſed ſolliciting him till he had alſo diſplaced Sir John Biron, a man of unexceptionable character; and had beſtowed that command on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they ſaid, they could repoſe confidence. By a bold and deciſive ſtroke, they now reſolved at once to ſeize the whole power of the ſword, and to confer it intirely on their own creatures and adherents.

THE ſevere votes, paſſed in the beginning of this parliament, againſt lieutenants and their deputies, for exerciſing powers aſſumed by all their predeceſſors, had totally diſarmed the crown, and had not left in any magiſtrate military authority ſufficient for the defence and ſecurity of the nation. To remedy this inconvenience now appeared neceſſary. An ordinance was introduced and paſſed the two houſes, which reſtored to lieutenants and deputies the ſame powers, of which the votes of the commons had bereaved them; but at the ſame time, the names of all the lieutenants were inſerted in the ordinance; and theſe conſiſted intirely of men, in whom the parliament could confide. And for their conduct, they were accountable, by the expreſs terms of the ordinance, not to the King, but to the parliament.

THE policy, purſued by the commons, and which had hitherto ſucceeded to admiration, was to aſtoniſh the King by the boldneſs of their enterprizes, to intermingle no ſweetneſs with their ſeverity, to employ expreſſions no leſs violent than their pretenſions, and to make the King ſenſible what little eſtimation they made either of his perſon or his dignity. To a bill, ſo deſtructive of royal authority, with an inſolence ſeemingly wanton, they prefixed a preamble, equally diſhonorable

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dishonorable to the personal character of the King. These are the words: "Where-
"as there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house
"of commons, which we have just cause to believe an effect of the bloody coun-
"cils of papists and other ill-affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion
"in the kingdom of Ireland. And whereas, by reason of many discoveries, we
"cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellions and
"insurrections in this kingdom of England; but also to back them with forces
"from abroad, &c.*"

HERE Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. When this demand was made; a demand, which, if granted, the commons justly regarded as the last they should ever have occasion to make; he was at Dover, attending the Queen and the Princess of Orange in their embarkation. He replied that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of so great importance, and must therefore respite his answer, till his return.

22d of Feb. The parliament instantly dispatched another message to him, with sollicitations still more importunate. They expressed their great grief at his Majesty's answer to their just and necessary petition. They represented, that any delay, during dangers and distractions so great and pressing, was equally unsatisfactory and destructive as an absolute denial. They insisted, that a measure, so necessary for public safety, it was their duty to see put in execution. And they affirmed, that the people, in many counties, had applied to them for that purpose, and, in some places, were, of themselves and by their own authority, providing against those urgent dangers, with which they were threatened †.

EVEN after this insolence, the King durst not venture upon a flat denial. Beside excepting to the preamble, which threw such dishonor upon him, and pro-

28th of Feb. testing the innocence of his intentions, when he entered the house of commons; he only desired, that the military authority, if it was defective, should first be conferred upon the crown; and he promised to bestow commissions, but such as would be revokeable at pleasure, on the very same persons, whom the parliament had named in the ordinance. By a former message, he had expressed his wishes, that they should lay before him, in one view, all the demands, which they esteemed requisite for the settlement of the nation. They pretended, that they were exposed to perils, so dreadful and imminent, that they had not leisure for such a work. The expedient, proposed by the King, seemed a sufficient remedy during this emergence; and yet preserved the prerogative of the crown, intire and unbroken.

BUT

* Rushworth, part 3. vol. i. chap. 4. † Id. ibid.

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BUT the intentions of the commons were very wide of this purpose, and their panics could be cured by one remedy alone. They instantly replied, that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as would endure no longer delay; and unless the King speedily complied with their demands, they would be inforced, for the safety of the King and kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. They asserted, that those parts of the kingdom, which have, from their own authority, put themselves in a posture of defence during these prevailing jealousies and fears, have acted suitable to the declarations and directions of both houses, and conformable to the laws of the kingdom. And while they thus menaced the King with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London, where, they knew, he would be intirely at mercy *.

"I am so much amazed at this message," said the King in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! lay your "hands on your hearts and ask yourselves, whether I may not likeways be di- "sturbed with fears and jealousies: And if so, I assure you, that this message has "nothing lessened them.

"As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and "am so much assured, that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or rea- "son you can ask, or I in honor grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

"FOR my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honorable, and "that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: Ask yourselves whether "I have not.

"What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass "any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask, what you "have done for me.

"HAVE any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I "offer as free and generous a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this consider- "ed, there is a judgment of heaven upon this nation, if these distractions con- "tinue.

"GOD so deal with me and mine as all my thoughts and intentions are upright "for the maintenance of the true protestant profession, and for the observance and "preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for *my* "preservation."

No sooner did the commons despair of obtaining the King's consent to their ordinance, than they instantly voted; That those who advised his Majesty's answer were enemies to the state and mischievous projectors against the defence of the

* Rushworth, part 3. vol. i. chap. 4.

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the nation; that this denial is of that dangerous conſequence, that, if his Majeſty perſiſt in it, it will hazard the peace and ſafety of all his kingdoms, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy be applied by the wiſdom and authority of both houſes; and that ſuch of the ſubjects as have put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt the common danger, have done nothing but what is juſtifiable, and approved by the houſe *.

LEST the people, who, in no inſtance, had ever ſeen any authority of parliament exerted without the concurrence of the king, might be averſe to the ſeconding all theſe uſurpations, they were plied with rumors of danger, with the terrors of invaſion, with the dread of the Engliſh and Iriſh papiſts; and the moſt unaccountable panics were ſpred thro'out the nation. Lord Digby, having entered Kingſton with a coach and ſix, attended with a few livery-ſervants, the intelligence was conveyed to London; and it was immediately voted, that he had appeared in a hoſtile manner to the terror and affright of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and had levied war againſt the King and kingdom †. Petitions from all quarters loudly demanded of the parliament to put the nation in a poſture of defence; and the county of Stafford in particular expreſſed ſuch dread of an inſurrection among the papiſts, that every man, they ſaid, was conſtrained to ſtand upon his guard, not even daring to go to church unarmed ‡.

THAT the ſame violence, by which he had ſo long been oppreſſed, might not ſtill reach him, and extort his conſent to the diſhonorable and pernicious ordinance of the militia, Charles had reſolved to remove farther from London: And accordingly, taking the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Yorke along with him, he arrived, by ſlow journeys, at Yorke, which he was determined, for ſome time, to make the place of his reſidence. The diſtant parts of the kingdom, being removed from that furious vortex of new principles and opinions, which had tranſported the capital, ſtill retained a ſincere regard for the church and monarchy; and the King here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. From all quarters of England, the prime nobility and gentry, either perſonally or by meſſages and letters, expreſſed their duty towards him; and exhorted him to ſave himſelf and them from that ignominious ſlavery, with which they were threatened. The ſmall interval of time, which had paſſed ſince the fatal accuſation of the members, had been ſufficient to open the eyes of many, and recover them from the aſtoniſhment, with which, at firſt, they had been ſeized. One raſh and paſſionate attempt of the King ſeemed but a ſmall counterpoize

King arrives at Yorke.

* Ruſhworth, part 3. vol. i. chap. 4.

† Clarendon, Ruſhworth, part 3. vol. i. chap. 2. p. 495.

‡ Dugdale, p. 89.

counterpoize to ſo many acts of deliberate violence, which had been offered to him and every other branch of the legiſlature. And however ſweet the ſound of liberty, many reſolved to adhere to that moderate freedom, tranſmitted them from their anceſtors, and now better ſecured by ſuch important conceſſions; rather than, by engaging in a giddy ſearch after greater independence, run a manifeſt riſque, either of incurring a cruel ſubjection, or abandoning all law and order. Chap. VI. 1642.

CHARLES, finding himſelf ſupported by a conſiderable party in the kingdom, began to ſpeak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accuſations of the commons with a vigor, which he had never before exerted. Notwithſtanding all their remonſtrances, and menaces, and inſults, he ſtill perſiſted in refuſing the militia-ordinance; and they proceeded to frame a new ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houſes, without the King's conſent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, the whole guards, garriſons, and forts of the kingdom. He iſſued proclamations againſt this manifeſt uſurpation; the moſt precipitant and moſt enormous, of which there is any inſtance in the Engliſh hiſtory: And, as he profeſſed a reſolution ſtrictly to obſerve the law himſelf, ſo was he determined, he ſaid, to oblige every other perſon to pay it a like obedience. The name of the king was ſo eſſential to all laws, and ſo familiar in all acts of executive authority, that the parliament were afraid, had they totally omitted it, that the innovation would be too ſenſible to the people. In all commands, therefore, which they conferred, they bound the perſons to obey the orders of his Majeſty, ſignified by both houſes of parliament. And, inventing a diſtinction, hitherto unheard of, betwixt the office and the perſon of the king; thoſe very forces, which they employed againſt him, they levied in his name and by his authority.

'TIS remarkable how much the topics of argument were now reverſed betwixt the parties. The King, while he acknowledged his former error, of employing a pretext of neceſſity, in order to infringe the laws and conſtitution, warned the parliament not to imitate an example, on which they threw ſuch violent blame: And the parliament, while they clothed their perſonal fears or ambition under the appearance of national and imminent danger, made unknowingly an apology for the moſt exceptionable part of the King's conduct. That the liberties of the people were no longer expoſed to any peril from royal authority, ſo narrowly circumſcribed, ſo exactly defined, ſo unſupported by revenue and by military power, might be maintained upon very plauſible topics: But that the danger, allowing it to have any exiſtence, was not of that kind; great, urgent, inevitable; which diſſolves all law and levels all limitations, ſeems apparent from the ſimpleſt

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view of these transactions. So obvious indeed was the King's present inability to invade the constitution, that the fears and jealousies, which operated on the people, and pushed them so furiously to arms, were undoubtedly, not of a civil, but of a religious nature. The distempered imaginations of men were agitated with a continual dread of popery, with a horror for prelacy, with an antipathy to ceremonies and the liturgy, and with a violent affection for whatever was most opposite to these objects of aversion. The fanatical spirit, let loose, confounded all regards to ease, safety, interest; and dissolved every moral and civil obligation.

THE great courage and conduct, displayed by many of the popular leaders, have commonly inclined men to do them, in one respect, more honor than they deserve, and to suppose, that, like able politicians, they employed pretexts, which they secretly despised, in order to serve their selfish purposes. 'Tis however probable, if not certain, that they were, generally speaking, the dupes of their own zeal. Hypocrisy, quite pure and free from fanaticism, is perhaps as rare, as fanaticism intirely purged from all mixture of hypocrisy. So congenial to the human mind are religious sentiments, that, where the temper is not guarded by a philosophical scepticism, the most cool and determined, it is impossible to counterfeit long these holy fervors, without feeling some share of the assumed warmth: And on the other hand, so precarious and temporary is the operation of these supernatural views, that the religious extasies, if constantly employed, must often be counterfeit, and must ever be warped by those more familiar motives of interest and ambition, which insensibly gain upon the mind. This indeed seems the key to most of the celebrated characters of that age. Equally full of fraud and of ardor, these pious patriots talked perpetually of seeking the Lord, yet still pursued their own purposes; and have left a memorable lesson to posterity, how delusive, how destructive that principle is, by which they were animated.

EACH party was now willing to throw on its antagonist the odium of commencing a civil war; but both of them prepared for an event, which they deemed inevitable. To gain the people's favor and good opinion was the chief point on both sides. Never was there a people less corrupted by vice, and more actuated by principle, than the English during that period: Never did the nation possess more capacity, more courage, more public spirit, more disinterested zeal. The infusion of one ingredient in too large a proportion had corrupted all these noble principles, and converted them into the most virulent poison. To determine his choice in the approaching contests, every man hearkened with avidity to the reasons, proposed on both sides. The war of the pen preceded that of the sword,

and

and daily ſharpened the humors of the oppoſite parties. Beſide private adventurers without number, the King and parliament themſelves carried on the controverſy, by meſſages, remonſtrances, and declarations, where the nation was really the party, to whom all arguments were addreſſed. Charles had here a double advantage. Not only his cauſe was more favorable, as ſupporting the antient government of church and ſtate, againſt the moſt illegal pretenſions: It was alſo defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted of the office of ſecretary; a man, who adorned the pureſt virtue, with the richeſt gifts of nature, with the moſt valuable acquiſitions of learning. By him, aſſiſted by the King himſelf, were the memorials of the royal party chiefly compoſed. So ſenſible was Charles of his ſuperiority in this particular, that he took care to diſperſe every where the papers of the parliament along with his own, that the people might be the more enabled, by compariſon, to form a judgment betwixt them: The parliament, while they diſtributed copies of their own, were anxious to ſuppreſs all the King's compoſitions. Chap. VI. 1642.

To clear up the principles of the conſtitution, to mark the boundaries of the powers entruſted by law to the ſeveral members, to ſhow what great improvements the whole political ſyſtem had received from the King's late conceſſions, to demonſtrate his intire confidence in his people and his reliance on their affections, to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made him, and the enormous encroachments, inſults, and indignities, to which he had been expoſed; theſe were the topics, which, with ſo much juſtneſs of reaſoning and propriety of expreſſion, were inſiſted on in the King's declarations and remonſtrances *.

* In ſome of theſe declarations, ſuppoſed to be penned by Lord Falkland, is found the firſt regular definition of the conſtitution, according to our preſent ideas of it, that occurs in any Engliſh compoſition; at leaſt any, publiſhed by authority. The three ſpecies of government, monarchical, ariſtocratical, and democratical, are there plainly diſtinguiſhed, and the Engliſh government is expreſsly ſaid to be none of them pure, but all of them mixed and tempered together. This ſtyle, tho' the ſenſe of it was implied in many inſtitutions, no former king of England would have uſed, and no ſubject would have been permitted to uſe. Banks and the crown-lawyers againſt Hambden, in the caſe of ſhip-money, inſiſt plainly and openly on the king's abſolute and ſovereign power: And the oppoſite lawyers do not deny it: They only aſſert, that the ſubjects have alſo a fundamental property in their goods, and that no part of them can be taken but by their own conſent in parliament. But that the parliament was inſtituted to check and control the king, and ſhare the ſupreme power, would, in all former times, have been eſteemed very blunt and indiſcreet, if not illegal, language. We need not be ſurprized, that governments ſhould long continue, tho' the boundaries of authority, in their ſeveral branches, be implicite, confuſed, and undetermined. This is the caſe all over the world. Who can draw an exact line betwixt the ſpiritual and temporal powers in catholic ſtates? What code aſcertained the preciſe authority of the Roman ſenate, in every occurrence? Perhaps,

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THO' theſe writings were of conſequence, and tended much to reconcile the nation to Charles, it was evident, that they would not be deciſive, and that keener weapons muſt determine the controverſy. To the ordinance of the parliament concerning the militia, the King oppoſed his commiſſions of array. The counties obeyed the one or the other, according as they ſtood affected. And in many counties, where the people were divided, mobbiſh combats and ſkirmiſhes enſued. The parliament on this occaſion, went ſo far as to vote, "That, "when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the ſupreme court of ju- "dicature, ſhall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only queſti- "oned, but contradicted, is a high breach of their privileges." This was a plain aſſuming the whole legiſlative authority, and exerting it in the moſt material article, the government of the militia. Upon the ſame principles, the King's negative voice in paſſing of laws, by a verbal criticiſm on the tenſe of a Latin verb, they pretended to raviſh from him.

The magazine of Hull contained the arms of all the forces levied againſt the Scotch; and Sir John Hotham, the governor, tho' he had accepted of a commiſſion from the parliament, was not eſteemed much diſaffected to the church and monarchy. Charles, therefore, was hopeful, that, if he preſented himſelf at Hull before the commencement of hoſtilities, Hotham, overawed by his preſence, would admit him with his retinue; after which he would eaſily render himſelf maſter of the place. But the governor was on his guard. He ſhut the gates, and refuſed to receive the King, who deſired leave to enter with twenty perſons only. Charles immediately proclaimed him traitor, and complained to the parliament of his diſobedience. The parliament avowed, and juſtified the action.

23d of April.

Preparations for civil war.

THE county of Yorke formed a guard to the King of 600 men: For the kings of England had hitherto lived among their ſubjects like fathers among their children, and had derived all their ſecurity from the dignity of their character and from the protection of the laws. The two houſes, tho' they had already levied a guard for themſelves; had attempted to ſeize all the military power, all the navy, and

Perhaps, the Engliſh is the firſt mixt government, where the authority of every part has been very accurately defined: And yet there ſtill remain many very important queſtions, betwixt the two houſes, that, by common conſent, are buried in a diſcreet ſilence. The king's power is, indeed, more exactly limited; but this period, of which we now treat, is the time, at which that accuracy commenced. And it appears from Warwic and Hobbs, that many royaliſts blamed this philoſophical preciſion in the King's penman, and thought that the veil was very imprudently taken off the myſteries of government. 'Tis certain, that liberty reaped mighty advantages from theſe controverſies and inquiries; and the royal authority too became more ſecure, within thoſe provinces, which were aſſigned to it.

and all the forts of the kingdom; had openly employed their authority in every ſpecies of warlike preparation: Yet immediately voted, "That the King, ſeduced by wicked council, intended to make war againſt his parliament, who, in "all their conſultations and actions, had propoſed no other end, but the care of "his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his perſon; that "this attempt was a breach of the truſt repoſed in him by his people, contrary "to his oath, and tending to a diſſolution of the government; and that whoever ſhould aſſiſt him in ſuch a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of "the kingdom." Chap. VI. 1642.

THE armies, which they had been every where levying under pretext of Ireland, the parliament henceforth more openly inliſted for their own purpoſes, and gave the command of them to the Earl of Eſſex. In London no leſs than four thouſand men inliſted in one day *. And the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to ſubſcribe, that they would live and die with their general.

THEY iſſued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, in order to maintain forces, which ſhould defend the king and both houſes of parliament: For this ſtyle they ſtill preſerved. Within ten days, vaſt quantities of plate were brought into their treaſurers. Hardly were there men enough to receive it, or room ſufficient to lay it. And many with regret were obliged to carry back their offerings, and wait till the treaſurers could find leiſure to receive them. Such zeal animated the pious partizans of the parliament, eſpecially in the city! The women parted with all the plate and ornaments of their houſes, and even with their ſilver thimbles and bodkins, in order to ſupport the *Good cauſe* againſt the malignants. 10th of June.

MEANWHILE the ſplendor of the Nobility, with which the King was environed, much eclipſed the appearance at Weſtminſter. The Lord keeper, Littleton, had fled to Yorke, and ſent the great ſeal before him. Above forty peers of the firſt rank attended the King; while the houſe of lords ſeldom conſiſted of more than ſixteen members. Near the moiety too of the lower houſe abſented themſelves from councils, which they eſteemed ſo full of danger. The commons ſent up an impeachment againſt nine peers, for deſerting their duty in parliament. Their own members alſo, who ſhould return to them, they voted not to admit, till ſatisfied concerning the reaſon of their abſence.

To the peers, who attended him, Charles made a declaration, that he expected from them no obedience to any commands, which were not warranted by the laws

* Vicar's God in the mount.

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laws of the land. Thoſe peers anſwered this declaration by a proteſt, where they declared their reſolution to obey no commands, but ſuch as were warranted by that authority. By theſe deliberate engagements, ſo worthy of an Engliſh prince and Engliſh nobility, they meant to confoundthe furious and tumultuary reſolutions taken by the parliament.

THE Queen, diſpoſing of the crown-jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchaſe a large cargoe of arms and ammunition. Part of theſe, after eſcaping many perils, arrived ſafely to the King. His preparations were not near ſo forward as thoſe of the parliament. In order to remove all jealouſy, he had reſolved, that their uſurpations and illegal pretenſions ſhould be apparent to the whole world, and thought, that, to recover the confidence of his people, was a point much more material to his intereſt, than the collecting any magazines, ſtores, or armies, which might breed apprehenſions of violent or illegal councils. But the urgent neceſſity of his ſituation no longer admitted of delay. He now prepared himſelf for defence. With a ſpirit, activity, and addreſs, which neither the one party apprehended, nor the other expected, he employed all the advantages, which remained to him, and rouzed up his adherents to arms. The reſources of this Prince's genius increaſed in proportion to his difficulties; and he never appeared greater than when plunged into the deepeſt perils and diſtreſſes. From the mixt character, indeed, of Charles aroſe, in part, the misfortunes, in which England was, at this time, involved. His great political errors had raiſed him inveterate enemies: His eminent moral virtues had procured him zealous partizans: And betwixt the hatred of the one and the affections of the other was the nation agitated with the moſt violent convulſions.

THAT the King might deſpair of all compoſition, the parliament ſent him the conditions, on which they were willing to come to agreement. Their demands, contained in nineteen propoſitions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority. They required, That no man ſhould remain in the council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king's ſhould have validity, unleſs it paſſed the council, and was atteſted under their hand; that all the officers of ſtate ſhould be choſen with conſent of parliament; that none of the royal family ſhould marry without conſent of parliament or council; that the laws ſhould be executed againſt catholics; that the votes of popiſh lords ſhould be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government ſhould have place, according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, be ſubmitted to; that the juſtice of parliament may paſs upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted with ſuch exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by

by parliament; that the forts and caſtles be diſpoſed of by conſent of parliament; that no peers be made but with conſent of both houſes. Chap. VI. 1642.

"SHOULD I grant theſe demands," ſaid the King in reply, "I may be "waited on bare-headed; I may have my hand kiſſed; the title of majeſty be con- "tinued to me; and *The king's authority, ſignified by both houſes,* may be ſtill the "ſtyle of your commands; I may have ſwords and maces carried before me, "and pleaſe myſelf with the ſight of a crown and ſceptre (tho' even theſe twigs "would not long flouriſh, when the ſtock, upon which they grew, was dead): "But as to true and real power, I ſhould remain but the outſide, but the picture, "but the ſign of a king." War on any terms was eſteemed, by the King and all his counſellors, preferable to ſo ignominious a peace. Charles accordingly made account of ſupporting his authority by arms. "His towns," he ſaid, "were taken from him, his ſhips, his arms, his money; but there ſtill remain- "ed to him a good cauſe, and the hearts of his ſubjects, which, with God's bleſ- "ſing, he doubted not, would recover all the reſt." Collecting therefore ſome forces, he advanced ſouthwards; and at Nottingham, he erected his royal ſtandard, the open ſignal of diſcord and civil war thro'out the nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Commencement of the civil war.——State of parties.——Battle of Edge-hill.——Negotiation at Oxford.——Victories of the royaliſts in the weſt.——Battle of Stratton.——Of Lanſdown.——Of Roundway-down.——Death of Hambden.——Briſtol taken.——Siege of Gloceſter.——Battle of Newbury.——Actions in the north of England.——Solemn league and covenant.——Arming of the Scotch.——State of Ireland.

1642.

Commencement of the war.

WHEN two names, ſo ſacred in the Engliſh conſtitution, as thoſe of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in oppoſition to each other; no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the moſt violent animoſities and factions.

State of parties.

THE nobility and more conſiderable gentry, dreading a total confuſion of ranks and orders from the fury of the populace, ranged themſelves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their luſtre. Animated with the ſpirit of loyalty, derived from their anceſtors, they adhered to the antient principles of the conſtitution, and valued themſelves on exerting the maxims, as well as inheriting the poſſeſſions, of the old Engliſh families. And while they paſſed their time moſtly in their country-ſeats, they were ſurprized to hear of opinions prevailing, with which they had ever been unacquainted, and which implied, not a limitation, but an abolition almoſt total, of monarchical authority *.

THE city of London on the other hand, and moſt of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with zeal thoſe democratical principles, on which the pretenſions of that aſſembly were founded. The government of cities, which, even under abſolute monarchies, is commonly republican, inclined them to this party: The ſmall hereditary influence, which can be retained over the induſtrious inhabitants of towns; the natural independence of citizens; and the force of popular currents over thoſe more numerous aſſociations of mankind; all theſe cauſes, there, gave authority to the new principles propagated thro'out the nation. Many families too, which had lately been enriched by commerce, ſaw

* Among the other nobility, the Earl of Briſtol, tho' long in the oppoſition, when matters came to extremity, adhered to the court, and was proſecuted with implacable malice by the parliament. He died in France in 1652.

saw with indignation, that, notwithstanding their opulence, they could not raise themselves to a level with the antient gentry: They therefore adhered to a power, by whose success they hoped to acquire rank and consideration. And the new splendor and glory of the Dutch commonwealth, where liberty so happily fostered industry, made all the commercial part of the nation ardently desire to see a like form of government established in England. Chap. VII. 1642.

The genius of the two religions, so closely, at this time, interwoven with politics, corresponded exactly to these divisions. The presbyterian religion was new, republican, and suited to the genius of the populace: The other had an air of greater show and ornament, was established on antient authority, and bore an affinity to the kingly and aristocratical parts of the constitution. The devotees of presbytery became of course zealous partizans of the parliament: The friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy.

Some men too there were of liberal education, who, being either careless or ignorant of those disputes, bandied about by the clergy of both sides, aspired to nothing but an easy enjoyment of life, amid the jovial entertainment and social intercourse of their companions. All these flocked to the King's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity, which reigned among the parliamentary party.

Never was a quarrel more unequal than seemed at first that betwixt the contending parties: Almost every advantage lay against the royal cause. The King's revenue had been seized, from the beginning, by the parliament, who issued out to him, from time to time, small sums for his present subsistence; and as soon as he withdrew to Yorke, they totally stopped all payments. London and all the sea-ports, except Newcastle, being in their hands, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable supply of money; and all contributions, loans, and impositions were more easily raised from the cities, which possessed the ready money, and where men lived under their inspection, than they could be levied by the King in those open countries, which, after some time, declared for him.

The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the sea-ports, to which they belonged. And the Earl of Northumberland, Lord admiral, having embraced the party of the parliament, had named, at their desire, the Earl of Warwic for his lieutenant; who at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the intire dominion of the sea in the hands of that assembly.

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ALL the magazines of arms and ammunition were at firſt ſeized by the parliament; and their fleet intercepted the greateſt part of thoſe, which, from Holland, were ſent by the Queen. The King was obliged, in order to arm his followers, to borrow the weapons of the train-bands, under promiſe of reſtoring them, as ſoon as peace ſhould be ſettled in the kingdom.

THE veneration for parliaments was, at that time, extreme thro'out the nation. The cuſtom of reviling thoſe aſſemblies for corruption, as it had no pretext, ſo was it unknown, during all former ages. Few or no inſtances of their encroaching ambition or ſelfiſh claims had hitherto been obſerved. Men conſidered the houſe of commons in no other light, than as the repreſentatives of the nation, whoſe intereſt was the ſame with that of the public, who were the eternal guardians of law and liberty, and whom no motive, but the neceſſary defence of the people, could ever engage in an oppoſition to the crown. The torrent, therefore, of general affection ran to the parliament. What is the great advantage of popularity; the privilege of affixing epithets fell of courſe to that party. The King's adherents were the *Wicked* and the *Malignant*: Their adverſaries were the *Godly* and the *Well-affected*. And as the force of the cities was more united than that of the country, and at once gave ſhelter and protection to the parliamentary party, who could eaſily ſuppreſs the royaliſts in their neighborhood; almoſt the whole kingdom, at the commencement of the war, ſeemed to be in the hands of the parliament.

WHAT alone gave the King ſome compenſation for all the advantages, poſſeſſed by his adverſaries, was the nature and qualities of his adherents. Greater bravery and activity were hoped for, from the generous ſpirit of the nobles and gentry, than from the baſe diſpoſition of a low multitude. And as the men of eſtates, at their own expence, levied and armed their tenants; beſide an attachment to their maſters, a ſuperior force and courage were expected in theſe ruſtic troops, to what could be looked for in the vitious and enervated populace of cities.

THE neighboring ſtates of Europe, being engaged in violent wars, little intereſted themſelves in theſe civil commotions; and this iſland enjoyed the ſingular advantage (for ſuch it ſurely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interpoſal of foreigners. France from policy had fomented the firſt diſorders in Scotland; had ſent over arms to the Iriſh rebels; and continued to give countenance to the Engliſh parliament: Spain, from bigotry, furniſhed the Iriſh with ſome ſupplies of money and arms. The Prince of Orange, cloſely allied to the crown, encouraged Engliſh officers, who ſerved in the low-countries, to inliſt in the King's army: The Scotch officers, who had been formed in Germany, and in the late commotions, chiefly took part with the parliament.

THE

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THE contempt, entertained of the King's party, was so great, that it was the chief cause of pushing matters to such extremity against him; and many believed, that he never would attempt resistance, but must at last yield to the pretensions, however enormous, of the parliament. Even after his standard was erected, men could not be brought to apprehend a civil war; nor was it imagined that he would have the imprudence to enrage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition more desperate, by opposing a force which was so much superior. The low condition, in which he appeared at Nottingham, farther confirmed all these hopes. His artillery, tho' very small, he had been obliged to leave at Yorke; for want of horses to transport it. Beside the trained bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided of arms. The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days march of him; and consisted of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed. Had these troops advanced upon the King, they must soon have dissipated the small force which he had assembled. By pursuing him in his retreat, they had so discredited his cause and discouraged his adherents, as to have for ever prevented his gathering an army able to make head against them. But the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, had not yet received any orders from his masters. What rendered them so backward, after such precipitant steps as they had formerly taken, is not easily explained. 'Tis probable, that in the extreme distress of his party consisted the present safety of the King. The parliament hoped, that the royalists, sensible of their feeble condition, and convinced of their slender resources, would disperse of themselves, and leave their adversaries a victory, so much the more compleat and secure, that it would be gained without the appearance of force, and without bloodshed. Perhaps too, when it became necessary to make the conclusive step, and offer bare-faced violence to their sovereign, their scruples and apprehensions, tho' not sufficient to overcome their resolves, were able to protract the execution of them.

SIR Jacob Astley, whom the King had appointed major general of his intended army, told him, that he could not give him assurance but he might be taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose. All the King's attendants were full of well grounded apprehensions. Some of the lords having desired, that a message might be sent to the parliament with overtures to a treaty; Charles, who well knew that an accommodation, in his present condition, meant nothing but a total submission, hastily broke up the council, lest this proposal should be farther insisted on. But next day, the Earl of

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Southampton, whom no one could ſuſpect of baſe or timid counſels, having opened the ſame advice, it was hearkened to with more coolneſs and deliberation. He urged, That, tho' ſuch a ſtep would probably encreaſe the inſolence of the parliament; this was ſo far from being an objection, that nothing could be of greater advantage to the royal cauſe: That if they refuſed to treat, which was moſt probable, the very ſound of peace was ſo popular, that nothing could more diſguſt the nation than ſuch haughty ſeverity: That if they admitted of a treaty, their propoſitions, conſidering their preſent condition, would be ſo exorbitant, as to open the eyes of their moſt partial adherents, and gain the general favor to the King's party: And that, at worſt, time might be gained by this expedient, and a delay of the imminent danger, with which the King was at preſent threatened.

CHARLES, on aſſembling the council, had declared againſt all advances towards an accommodation; and had ſaid, that, having now nothing left him but his honor, that laſt poſſeſſion he was reſolved ſteddily to preſerve, and rather to periſh than yield any farther to the pretenſions of his enemies. But by the concurrent deſire of the counſellors, he was prevailed with to embrace Southampton's advice. That Nobleman, therefore, along with Sir John Colepeper and Sir William Uvedale, was diſpatched to London with offers of a treaty. The manner of their reception gave little hopes of ſucceſs. Southampton was not allowed by the peers to take his ſeat; but was ordered to deliver his meſſage to the uſher, and to depart the city immediately: The commons ſhowed little better diſpoſition to Colepeper. Both houſes replied, that they could admit no treaty with the King, till he took down his ſtandard, and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament ſuppoſed themſelves to be declared traitors. The King, by a ſecond meſſage, denied any ſuch intention againſt the two houſes; but offered to recall theſe proclamations, provided the parliament agreed to recall theirs, in which his adherents were declared traitors. They deſired him in return to diſmiſs his forces, to reſide with his parliament, and give up delinquents to their juſtice; that is, abandon himſelf and his friends to the mercy of his enemies. Both parties flattered themſelves, that, by theſe meſſages and replies, they had gained the ends which they propoſed. The King believed, that the people were ſufficiently ſatisfied of the parliament's inſolence and averſion to peace: The parliament intended, by this vigor in their reſolutions, to ſupport the vigor of their military operations.

THE courage of the parliament, beſide their great ſuperiority of force, was ſupported by two recent events, which had happened in their favor. Goring was governor of Portſmouth, the beſt fortified town in the kingdom, and, by its

its ſituation, of great importance. This man ſeemed to have rendered himſelf an implacable enemy to the King, by betraying, probably magnifying, the ſecret cabals of the army; and the parliament thought, that his fidelity to them might, on that account, be entirely depended on. But the ſame levity of mind ſtill attended him, and the ſame diſregard to engagements and profeſſions. Underhand he took his meaſures with the court, and declared againſt the parliament. But, tho' he had been ſufficiently ſupplied with money, and long before knew his danger; ſo ſmall was his foreſight, that he had left the place entirely deſtitute of proviſions, and, in a few days, was obliged to ſurrender to the forces of the parliament. Chap. VII. 1642.

The Marquis of Hertford was a Nobleman of the greateſt quality and character in the kingdom, and, equally with the King, deſcended, by a female, from Henry VII. During the reign of James, he had attempted, without having obtained the conſent of that monarch, to marry Arabella Stuart, a Lady nearly related to the crown; and, upon diſcovery of his intention, had been obliged, for ſome time, to fly the kingdom. Ever after, he was looked on with an evil eye at court, from which, in a great meaſure, he withdrew; and living in an independent manner, he addicted himſelf intirely to literary occupations and amuſements. In proportion as the King declined in popularity, Hertford's character flouriſhed with the people; and when this parliament aſſembled, no nobleman in the kingdom poſſeſſed more general favor and authority. By his ſagacity, he ſoon perceived, that the commons, not contented with correcting the abuſes of government, were carried, by the natural current of power and popularity, into the oppoſite extreme, and were committing violations, no leſs dangerous than the former, upon the Engliſh conſtitution. Immediately he devoted himſelf to the ſupport of the King's falling authority, and was prevailed with to be governor to the young Prince, and reſide in the court, to which, in the eyes of all men, he gave, by his preſence, a new luſtre and authority. So high was his character for mildneſs and humanity, that he ſtill preſerved, by means of theſe popular virtues, the public favor; and every one was ſenſible of the true motive of his change. Notwithſtanding his habits of eaſe and ſtudy, he now beſtirred himſelf in raiſing an army for the King; and being named general of the weſtern counties, where his intereſt chiefly lay, he began to aſſemble forces in Somerſetſhire. By the aſſiſtance of Lord Seymour, Lord Paulet, John Digby, ſon to the Earl of Briſtol, Sir Francis Hawley, and others, he had drawn together ſome appearance of an army; when the parliament, apprehenſive of the danger, ſent the Earl of Bedford with a conſiderable force againſt him. On his appearance, Hertford was obliged to retire into Sherborne caſtle; and finding that place incapable of defence,

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fence, he himſelf paſſed over into Wales, leaving Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Berkeley, Digby, and other officers, with their horſe, conſiſting of about a hundred and twenty, to march into Cornwall, in hopes of finding that county better prepared for their reception.

ALL the diſperſed bodies of the parliament's army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the Earl of Eſſex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to 15000 men. The King, tho' his camp had been gradually reinforced from all quarters, was ſenſible, that he had no army which could cope with ſo formidable a force; and he thought it prudent, by ſlow marches, to retire to Derby and thence to Shrewſbury, in order to countenance the levies, which his friends were making in thoſe quarters. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewſbury, he made a rendezvous of all his forces, and cauſed his military orders to be red at the head of each regiment. That he might bind himſelf by reciprocal ties, he ſolemnly took the following proteſtation before his whole army.

"I do promiſe, in the preſence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his bleſ-
"ſing and protection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my power, defend and
"maintain the true reformed proteſtant religion, eſtabliſhed in the church of
"England; and, by the grace of God, in the ſame will live and die.

"I deſire, that the laws may ever be the meaſure of my government, and
"that the liberty and property of the ſubject may by them be preſerved with
"the ſame care as my own juſt rights. And if it pleaſe God, by his bleſſing on
"this army, raiſed for my neceſſary defence, to preſerve me from the preſent
"rebellion; I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, in the ſight of God, to main-
"tain the juſt privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the ut-
"moſt of my power, by the known ſtatutes and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and
"particularly, to obſerve inviolably the laws to which I have conſented this
"parliament. Mean while, if this emergence, and the great neceſſity to which
"I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it ſhall be imputed by God
"and man to the authors of this war; and not to me who have ſo earneſtly
"labored to preſerve the peace of the kingdom.

"WHEN I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I ſhall expect no aid or relief
"from man, nor any protection from above: But in this reſolution, I hope
"for the chearful aſſiſtance of all good men, and am confident of the bleſſing of
"heaven."

THO' the aſſiſtance of the church undoubtedly increaſed the King's adherents, it may ſafely be affirmed, that the high monarchical doctrines, ſo much inculcated by the clergy, had never done him any real ſervice. Of all that generous train of nobility and gentry, who now attended the King in his diſtreſſes, there were

were none who breathed not the ſpirit of liberty, as well as of loyalty: And in the hopes alone of his amending ſome paſt errors, were they willing, in his defence, to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes. Chap. VII. 1642.

WHILE the King lay at Shrewſbury, and was employing himſelf in collecting money, which he received, tho' in no great quantities, by voluntary contributions, and by the plate of the univerſities, which was ſent him; he received news of an action, the firſt which had happened in theſe wars, and where he was ſucceſsful.

ON the appearance of commotions in England, the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, ſons to the unfortunate Palatine, had offered their ſervice to the King; and the former, at that time, commanded a body of horſe, which had been ſent to Worceſter, in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, who was marching towards that city. No ſooner had the Prince arrived, than he ſaw ſome cavalry of the enemy approaching to the gates. Without delay, he briſkly attacked them, as they were defiling from a lane and forming themſelves. Colonel Sandys, who led them and fought with valor, being mortally wounded, fell from his horſe. The whole party, was routed, and was purſued above a mile. The Prince hearing of Eſſex's approach, retired to the King. This rencounter, tho' in itſelf of ſmall importance, raiſed mightily the reputation of the royaliſts, and acquired univerſally to Prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage; qualities, which he eminently diſplayed, during the whole courſe of the war.

THE King, on muſtering his army, found it about 10,000 men. The Earl of Lindeſey, who in his youth had ſought experience of military ſervice in the low-countries *, was general: Prince Rupert commanded the horſe: Sir Jacob Aſtley, the foot: Sir Arthur Aſton, the dragoons: Sir John Heydon, the artillery. The Lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards. The eſtate and revenue of this ſingle troop, according to Lord Clarendon's computation, was at leaſt equal to that of all the members, who, at the commencement of the war, voted in both houſes. Their ſervants, under the command of Sir William Killigrew, made another troop, and always marched with their maſters.

WITH this army the King left Shrewſbury, reſolving to give battle as ſoon as poſſible, to the army of the parliament, which he heard was continually augmenting by ſupplies from London. In order to bring on an action, he directed his courſe towards the capital, which, he knew, the enemy would not abandon to him. Eſſex had now received his inſtructions. The import of them was, to preſent a moſt humble petition to the King and to reſcue him, and the royal family, 12th Oct.

† He was then Lord Willoughby.

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family, from thoſe deſperate malignants, who had ſeized their perſons. Two days after the departure of the royaliſts from Shrewſbury, he left Worceſter. Tho' it be eaſy in civil wars to get intelligence, the two armies were within ſix miles of each other, 'ere either of the generals was acquainted with the approach of his enemy. Shrewſbury and Worceſter, the places from which they ſet out, are not above twenty miles diſtant; yet had the two armies marched ten days in this mutual ignorance. So much had military ſkill, during a long peace, decayed in England.

Battle of Edge-hill. 23d of oct.

THE royal army lay near Banbury: That of the parliament, at Keinton, in the county of Warwic. Prince Rupert ſent intelligence of the enemy. Tho' the day was far advanced, the King reſolved upon the attack: Eſſex drew up his men to receive him. Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who had levied a troop for the Iriſh wars, had been obliged to ſerve in the parliamentary army, and was now poſted on the left wing, commanded by Ramſay, a Scotchman. No ſooner did the King's army approach, than Forteſcue, ordering his troop to diſcharge their piſtols in the ground, put himſelf under the command of Prince Rupert. Partly from this accident, partly from the furious ſhock made upon them by the Prince; that whole wing of cavalry immediately fled, and were purſued for two miles. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better ſucceſs. Chaced from their ground by Wilmot and Sir Arthur Aſton, they alſo took to flight. The King's body of reſerve, commanded by Sir John Biron, judging, like raw ſoldiers, that all was over, and impatient to have ſome ſhare in the action, with ſpurs and looſe reins followed the chace, which their left wing had precipitately led them. Sir William Balfour, who commanded Eſſex's reſerve, perceived the advantage: He wheeled about upon the King's infantry, now quite unfurniſhed of horſe, and made great havoc among them. Lindeſey, the general, was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner. His ſon, endeavoring his reſcue, fell likeways into the enemy's hands. Sir Edmund Verney, who carried the king's ſtandard, was killed, and the ſtandard taken; but it was afterwards recovered. In this ſituation, Prince Rupert, on his return, found affairs. Every thing bore the appearance of a defeat, inſtead of a victory, with which he had haſtily flattered himſelf. Some adviſed the King to leave the field: But that Prince, whoſe perſonal valor was unqueſtioned, rejected ſuch puſillanimous council. The two armies faced each other for ſome time, and neither of them retained courage ſufficient for a new attack. All night they lay under arms; and next morning found themſelves in ſight of each other. General, as well as ſoldier, on both ſides, ſeemed averſe to renew the battle. Eſſex firſt drew off and retired to Warwic. The King returned to his former quarters. Five thouſand men are

ſaid

ſaid to have been found dead on the field of battle, and the loſs of the two armies, as far as we can judge by the oppoſite accounts, was nearly equal. Such was the event of this firſt battle, fought at Keinton or Edge-hill.

SOME of Eſſex's horſe, who had been drove off the field in the beginning of the action, flying to a great diſtance, carried news of a total defeat, and ſtruck a mighty terror into the city and parliament. After, a few days, a more juſt account arrived; and then the parliament pretended to a compleat victory. The King too, on his part, was not wanting to diſplay his advantages; tho', except the taking of Banbury, a few days after, he had few marks of victory to boaſt of. He continued his march, and took poſſeſſion of Oxford, the only town in his dominions, which was altogether at his devotion.

AFTER the royal army were recruited and refreſhed; as the weather ſtill continued favorable, they were again put in motion. A party of horſe having been ſent from Abingdon, where were fixed the head quarters of the cavalry, they approached to Reading, of which Martin was eſtabliſhed governor by the parliament. Both governor and garriſon were ſeized with a panic, and fled with precipitation to London. Charles, hoping that every thing would yield before him, advanced with his whole army to Reading. The parliament; who, inſtead of their fond expectations, that Charles would never be able to collect an army, had now the proſpect of a civil war, bloody, and of uncertain event; were farther alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a diſtance. They voted an addreſs for a treaty. The King's nearer approach to Colbroke quickened their advances. Northumberland and Pembroke with three commoners preſented the addreſs of both houſes; in which they beſought his Majeſty to appoint ſome convenient place, where he might reſide, till committees could attend him with propoſals. The King named Windſor, and deſired, that the garriſon might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that fortreſs.

MEAN while Eſſex, advancing by haſty marches, had arrived at London. But neither the preſence of his army, nor the precarious hopes of a treaty retarded the King's approaches. At Brentford, he attacked two regiments quartered there, and, after a ſharp action, beat them from that village, and took about 500 priſoners. The parliament had ſent orders to forbear all hoſtilities, and had expected the ſame compliance from the King; tho' no ſtipulations to that purpoſe had been mentioned by their commiſſioners. Loud complaints were raiſed againſt this attack, as the moſt apparent perfidy, and breach of treaty. Enflamed with reſentment, as well as anxious for its own defence, the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, and joined the army under Eſſex. The force

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of the parliamentary army now amounted to above 24000 men, and was much ſuperior to that of the King's. After both armies had faced each other for ſome time, the King drew off and retired to Reading, and from thence to Oxford.

WHILE the principal armies on both ſides were retained in inaction by the winter ſeaſon, the King and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, and in ſeeming advances towards peace. By means of contributions or aſſeſſments, levied by the horſe, Charles maintained his cavalry: By loans and voluntary preſents, ſent him from all parts of the kingdom, he ſupported his infantry: But the ſupplies were ſtill very unequal to the neceſſities under which he labored. The parliament had much greater reſources for money; and had, by conſequence, every military preparation in much greater order and abundance. Beſide an impoſition, levied in London, amounting to the five and twentieth part of every one's ſubſtance, they eſtabliſhed on that city a weekly aſſeſſment of 10,000 pounds, and another of twenty four thouſand, on the reſt of the kingdom. And as their authority was at preſent eſtabliſhed in moſt counties, they levied theſe taxes with great regularity; tho' they amounted to ſums, much beyond what the nation had formerly paid to the public exigences.

1643.

THE King and parliament ſent reciprocally their demands and a treaty commenced, but without any ceſſation of hoſtilities; as had at firſt been propoſed.

Negotiation at Oxford.

The Earl of Northumberland and four members of the lower houſe came to Oxford as commiſſioners. In this treaty, the King perpetually inſiſted on the re-eſtabliſhment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the reſtoration of his conſtitutional prerogative: The parliament ſtill required new conceſſions, and a farther abrigement of regal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealouſies. Finding the King ſupported by more forces and a greater party, than they had ever looked for, they ſeemingly abated ſomewhat of thoſe exorbitant conditions, which they had formerly claimed; but their demands were ſtill too great for an equal treaty. Beſide other articles, to which a compleat victory could alone intitle them; they required the King, in expreſs terms, utterly to aboliſh epiſcopacy; a demand, which, before, they only inſinuated: And they required, that all other eccleſiaſtical controverſies ſhould be determined by their aſſembly of divines; that is, in the manner the moſt repugnant to the inclinations of the King and all his partizans. They likeways deſired him to acquieſce in their ſettlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the intire authority of the ſword. And in anſwer to the King's propoſition, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ſhips, ſhould be reſtored to him, the parliament required, that they ſhould be put into ſuch hands as they could confide in. The nineteen propoſitions,

which

which they formerly ſent the King, ſhewed their *inclination* to aboliſh monarchy: They only aſked, at preſent, the *power* of doing it. And having now, in the eye of the law, been guilty of treaſon, by levying war againſt their ſovereign; it is evident, that their fears and jealouſies muſt, on that account, have multiplied extremely, and have rendered their perſonal ſafety, which they interwove with the national, ſtill more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. Tho' the well-known gentleneſs and lenity of the King's temper might have enſured them againſt all ſchemes of future vengeance; they preferred an independent ſecurity, accompanied too with ſovereign power, before the ſtation of ſubject, and that not intirely guarded from all apprehenſions of danger *.

THE conferences went no farther than the firſt demand on each ſide. The parliament, finding, that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, ſuddenly recalled their commiſſioners.

A military enterprize, which they had concerted early in the ſpring, was immediately undertaken. Reading, that garriſon of the King, which lay neareſt London, was eſteemed a place of conſiderable ſtrength, in that age, when the art of attacking towns was not well underſtood in Europe, and was totally unknown in England. Before this town the Earl of Eſſex ſat down with an army of 18000 men; and he carried on his attack by regular approaches. Sir Arthur Aſton, the governor, being wounded, Collonel Fielding ſucceeded to the com- 15th April.

* Whitlocke, who was one of the commiſſioners, ſays, "In this treaty, the King manifeſted "his great parts and abilities, ſtrength of reaſon and quickneſs of apprehenſion, with much pa- "tience in hearing what was objected againſt him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would "himſelf ſum up the arguments and give a moſt clear judgment upon them. His unhappineſs was, "that he had a better opinion of other's judgments than of his own, tho' they were weaker than "his own; and of this the parliament-commiſſioners had experience to their great trouble. They "were often waiting on the King, and debating ſome points of the treaty with him, until midnight, "before they could come to a concluſion. Upon one of the moſt material points, they preſſed his "Majeſty with their reaſons and beſt arguments they could uſe to grant what they deſired. The "King ſaid, he was fully ſatisfied, and promiſed to give them his anſwer in writing according to "their deſire; but, becauſe it was then paſt midnight, and too late to put it into writing, he "would have it drawn up next morning (when he commanded them to wait on him again) and "then he would give them his anſwer in writing, as it was now agreed upon. But next morning "the King told them, that he had altered his mind: And ſome of his friends, of whom the "commiſſioners inquired, told them, that after they were gone, and even his council retired, ſome "of his bed-chamber never left preſſing and perſuading him till they prevailed on him to change "his former reſolutions." It is difficult, however, to conceive, that any treaty could have place betwixt the King and parliament, while the latter inſiſted, as they all along did, on a total ſubmiſſion to all their demands, and challenged the whole power, which they intended to employ to the puniſhment of all the King's friends.

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mand. In a little time, the town was found to be no longer in a condition of defence; and, tho' the King approached, with an intention of obliging Eſſex to raiſe the ſiege, the diſpoſition of the parliamentary army was ſo ſtrong, as rendered that deſign impracticable. Fielding, therefore, was content to yield the
27th April. town, on condition, that he ſhould bring off all the garriſon with the honors of war, and deliver up deſerters. This laſt condition was eſteemed ſo ignominious and ſo prejudicial to the King's intereſt, that the governor was tried by a council of war, and condemned to loſe his life for conſenting to it. His ſentence was afterwards remitted by the King.

ESSEX'S army had been fully ſupplied with all the neceſſaries of life from London: Even many of the ſuperfluities and luxuries were ſent them by the care of the zealous citizens: Yet the hardſhips, which they ſuffered from the ſiege, during ſo early a ſeaſon, had weakened them to ſuch a degree, that they were no longer fit for any new enterprize. And the two armies, for ſome time, encamped in the neighborhood of each other, without attempting, on either ſide, any action of moment.

BESIDE the military operations betwixt the principal armies, which lay in the center of England; each county, each town, each family, almoſt, was divided within itſelf; and the moſt violent convulſions ſhook the whole kingdom. Thro'out the winter, continual efforts had every where been made by each party to ſurmount its antagoniſt; and the Engliſh, rouzed from the lethargy of peace, with eager, tho' unſkillful hands, employed againſt their fellow-citizens their long neglected weapons. The furious zeal for liberty and preſbyterian diſcipline, which had hitherto run uncontroled thro' the nation, now at laſt excited an equal ardor for monarchy and epiſcopacy; when the intention of aboliſhing theſe antient modes of government was openly avowed by the parliament. A convention for neutrality, tho', in ſeveral counties, it had been entered into, and confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths, yet being voted illegal by the two houſes, was immediately broke; and the fire of diſcord was ſpred into every corner. The altercation of diſcourſe, the controverſies of the pen, but above all, the declamations of the pulpit, indiſpoſed the minds of men towards each other, and propagated the blind rage of party. Fierce, however, and enflamed as were the diſpoſitions of men, by a war, both civil and religious, that great deſtroyer of humanity; all the events of this period are leſs diſtinguiſhed by atrocious deeds, either of treachery or cruelty, than were ever any inteſtine diſcords, which had ſo long a continuance. A circumſtance, which, if duely weighed, will be found to imply great praiſe of the national character of that people, now ſo unhappily rouzed to arms.

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In the north, the Lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, the Earl of Newcaſtle for the King. This laſt Nobleman began thoſe aſſociations, which were afterwards ſo much practiſed in other parts of the kingdom. He united in a league for the King the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and the Biſhopric, and engaged, ſome time after, other counties in the ſame aſſociation. Finding that Fairfax, aſſiſted by Hotham and the garriſon of Hull, was making progreſs in the ſouthern parts of Yorkeſhire; he advanced with a body of four thouſand men and took poſſeſſion of Yorke. At Tadcaſter, he attacked the forces of the parliament and diſlodged them: But his victory was not deciſive. In other rencounters he obtained ſome inconſiderable advantages. But the chief benefit, which reſulted from his enterprizes, was the eſtabliſhing the King's authority in all the northern provinces.

In another part of the kingdom, the Lord Broke was killed by a ſhot, while he was taking poſſeſſion of Litchfield for the parliament. After a ſharp combat, near Stafford, betwixt the Earl of Northampton and Sir John Gell, the former, who commanded the King's forces, was killed while he combated with extreme valor; and his forces, diſcouraged by his death, tho' they had obtained the advantage in the action, retreated into the town of Stafford.

Sir William Waller began to diſtinguiſh himſelf among the generals of the parliament. Active and indefatigable in his operations, rapid and enterprizing; his genius was ſuited to the nature of the war; which being managed by raw troops, conducted by unexperienced commanders, afforded ſucceſs to every bold and ſudden undertaking. After taking Wincheſter and Chicheſter, he advanced towards Gloceſter, which was in a manner blockaded by Lord Herbert, who had levied conſiderable forces in Wales for the royal party. While he attacked the Welch on one ſide, a ſally from Gloceſter made impreſſion on the other. Herbert was defeated; five hundred of his men killed on the ſpot; a thouſand taken priſoners; and he himſelf eſcaped with ſome difficulty to Oxford. Hereford, eſteemed a ſtrong town, defended by a conſiderable garriſon, was ſurrendered to Waller, from the cowardice of Collonel Price, the governor. Teukeſbury underwent the ſame fate. Worceſter refuſed him admittance; and Waller, without placing any garriſons in his new conqueſts, retired to Gloceſter, and from thence to Eſſex's army.

Victories of the royaliſts in the weſt.

But the moſt memorable actions of valor, during this winter-ſeaſon, were performed in the weſt. When Sir Ralph Hopton, with his ſmall troop, retired into Cornwall before the Earl of Bedford, that Nobleman, deſpiſing ſo inconſiderable a force, abandoned the purſuit, and committed the ſuppreſſion of the royal party to the ſheriffs of the county. But the affections of Cornwall were much inclined

Chap. VII. 1643. clined to the King's ſervice. While Sir Richard Buller and Sir Alexander Carew, lay at Launceſton, and employed themſelves in executing the parliament's ordinance for the militia, a meeting of the county was aſſembled at Truro; and after Hopton produced his commiſſion from the Earl of Hertford, the King's general, it was agreed to execute the laws and to expel theſe invaders of the county. The trained bands were accordingly levied, Launceſton taken, and all Cornwall reduced to peace and obedience to the King.

IT had been uſual for the royal party, on the commencement of theſe diſorders, to claim, on all occaſions, the ſtrict execution of the laws, which, they knew, were favorable to them; and the parliament, rather than have recourſe to the plea of neceſſity, and avow the tranſgreſſion of any ſtatute, had alſo been accuſtomed to warp the laws, and by forced conſtructions to interprete them in their own favor. But tho the' King was naturally the gainer by ſuch a method of conducting war, and it was by favor of law, that the trained bands were raiſed in Cornwall; it appeared that theſe maxims were now prejudicial to the royal party. Theſe troops could not legally, without their own conſent, be carried out of the county; and conſequently, the advantages which they had obtained, it was impoſſible to puſh into Devonſhire. The Corniſh royaliſts, therefore, bethought themſelves of levying a force, which might be more ſerviceable. Beſide Sir Ralph Hopton; Sir Bevil Granville, the moſt beloved man of that country, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevannion, undertook, at their own charges, to raiſe an army for the King; and their great intereſt in Cornwall ſoon enabled them to effect their purpoſe. The parliament, alarmed at this appearance of the royaliſts, gave a commiſſion to Ruthven, a Scotchman, governor of Plymouth, to march with the whole forces of Dorſet, Somerſet, and Devon, and make an intire conqueſt of Cornwall. The Earl of Stamford followed him, at ſome diſtance, with a conſiderable ſupply. Ruthven, having entered Cornwall by bridges thrown over the Tamar, haſtened to an action; leſt Stamford ſhould join him and obtain the honor of that victory, which he looked for with aſſurance. The royaliſts, in like manner, were impatient to bring the affair to a deciſion, before Ruthven's army ſhould receive ſo conſiderable a reinforcement. The battle was fought at Bradoc-down; and the King's forces, tho' inferior in number, gave a total defeat to their enemies. Ruthven with a few broken troops fled to Saltaſh; and when that town was taken, he eſcaped, with ſome difficulty, and almoſt alone, into Plymouth. Stamford retired, and diſtributed his forces into Plymouth and Exeter.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe advantages, the extreme neceſſities both of money and ammunition, under which the royaliſts labored, obliged them to enter into

into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonſhire; and this neutrality held all the winter-ſeaſon. In the ſpring it was broke by the authority of the two houſes; and war re-commenced with great appearance of diſadvantage to the King's party. Stamford, having aſſembled a ſtrong body of near ſeven thouſand men, well ſupplied with money, proviſions, and ammunition, advanced upon the royaliſts, who were not half his number, and were oppreſſed by every ſpecies of neceſſity. Deſpair, joined to the natural gallantry of theſe troops, commanded by the prime gentry of the county, made them reſolve, by one vigorous effort, to overcome all theſe diſadvantages. Stamford being encamped on the top of a high hill near Stratton, they attacked him in four diviſions, at five in the morning, having lain all night under arms. One diviſion was commanded by Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley, a third by Slanning and Trevannion, a fourth by Baſſet and Godolphin. In this manner the action begun; the King's forces preſſing with the utmoſt vigor thoſe four ways up the hill, and their enemies as obſtinately defending themſelves. The fight continued with very doubtful ſucceſs, till word was brought to the chief officers of the Corniſh, that their ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four barrels of powder. This defect, which they concealed from the ſoldiers, they reſolved, by their valor, to ſupply. By means of meſſengers, they agreed to advance without firing till they reached the top of the hill, and could be on equal ground with the enemy. The officers' courage was, by the ſoldiers, ſo well ſeconded, that the royaliſts began, on all ſides, to gain ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliament-army, (for Stamford kept at a diſtance) failed not in his duty; and when he ſaw his men recoil, himſelf advanced with a good ſtand of pikes, and piercing into the thickeſt of the enemy, was at laſt overpowered with numbers and taken priſoner. His army, upon this diſaſter, gave ground apace; inſomuch that the four parties of the royaliſts, growing nearer and nearer as they aſcended, at laſt all met together upon the plain at the top; where they embraced with unſpeakable joy, and ſignalized their victory with loud ſhouts and mutual congratulations.

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Battle of Stratton.

16th of May.

AFTER this ſucceſs, the attention of both King and parliament was turned towards the weſt, as to a very important ſcene of action. The King ſent the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with a reinforcement of cavalry; who having joined the Corniſh army, ſoon over-ran the county of Devon: and advancing into that of Somerſet, began to reduce it to obedience. On the other hand, the parliament having ſupplied Sir William Waller, to whom they much truſted, with a compleat army, diſpatched him weſtwards, in order to check the progreſs of the royaliſts. After ſome ſkirmiſhes, the two armies met at Lanſdown, near Bath, and

Battle of Lanſdown.

5th of July.

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and fought a pitched battle, with great loſs on both ſides, but without any deciſive event. The gallant Granville was there killed; and Hopton, by the blowing up of ſome powder, was dangerouſly hurt. The royaliſts next attempted to march eaſtwards and to join their forces to the King's at Oxford: But Waller hung on their rear, and infeſted their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced by additional troops, which flocked to him from all quarters; he ſo much ſurpaſſed the royaliſts in number, that they durſt no longer proſecute their march or expoſe themſelves to the danger of an action. It was reſolved that Hertford and Prince Maurice ſhould proceed with the cavalry; and having received a reinforcement from the King, ſhould haſten back to the relief of their diſtreſſed friends in the Devizes. Waller was ſo confident of taking this body of infantry, now abandoned by their friends, that he wrote to the parliament, that their work was done, and that, by the next poſt, he would inform them of the number and quality of the priſoners. But the King, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which his weſtern army was reduced, had prepared a conſiderable body of horſe, which he immediately diſpatched under the command of Lord Wilmot. Waller drew up on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes; and advancing with his horſe to fight Wilmot and prevent his conjunction with the Corniſh infantry, was received with equal valor by the royaliſts. After a ſharp action he was totally routed, and flying with a few horſe, eſcaped to Briſtol. Wilmot ſeizing the enemies cannon, and having joined his friends, whom he came to relieve, attacked Waller's infantry with redoubled courage, drove them off the field, and routed and diſperſed the whole army.

Battle of Roundway-down.

13th of July.

THIS important victory, following ſo quick after many other ſucceſſes, ſtruck great diſmay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their principal army, commanded by Eſſex. Waller exclaimed loudly againſt that general, for allowing Wilmot to paſs him, and proceed without any interruption to the ſuccor of the diſtreſſed infantry at the Devizes. But Eſſex, finding that his army fell continually to decay after the ſiege of Reading, was reſolved to remain upon the defenſive; and the weakneſs of the King, and his want of all military ſtores, had alſo reſtrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one ſkirmiſh, which, of itſelf, was of no great conſequence, and was rendered memorable by the death alone of the famous Hambden.

COLLONEL Urrey, a Scotchman, who ſerved in the parliament's army, having received ſome diſguſt, came to Oxford, and offered his ſervice to the King. In order to prove the ſincerity of his converſion, he informed Prince Rupert of the

the looſe diſpoſition of the enemies quarters, and exhorted him to form ſome attempt upon them. The Prince, who was intirely fitted for that kind of ſervice, falling ſuddenly upon the diſperſed bodies of Eſſex's army, routed two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and carried his ravages within two miles of the general's quarters. The alarm being given, every one mounted on horſeback, in order to purſue the Prince, to recover the priſoners, and to repair the diſgrace, which the army had ſuffered. Among the reſt, Hambden, who had a regiment of infantry, that lay at a diſtance, joined the horſe as a ſimple volunteer; and overtaking the royaliſts on Chalgrave field, entered into the thickeſt of the battle. By the bravery and activity of Rupert, the King's troops were brought off, and a great booty, along with two hundred priſoners, conveyed to Oxford. But what moſt pleaſed the royaliſts was the expectation, that ſome diſaſter had happened to Hambden, their capital and much dreaded enemy. One of the priſoners taken in the action, ſaid, that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt: For he ſaw him, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, ride off the field, before the action was finiſhed; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horſe's neck. Next day, the news arrived, that he was ſhot in the ſhoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after, with exquiſite pain, he died of his wound; nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, be caſt into greater conſternation. The King himſelf ſo highly valued him, that, either from generoſity or policy, he offered to ſend his own ſurgeon to aſſiſt at his cure *.

MANY were the virtues and talents of this eminent perſonage; and his valor, during the war, had ſhone out with a luſtre, equal to that of all the other accompliſhments, by which he had ever been ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Affability in converſation; temper, art, and eloquence in debate; penetration and diſcernment in council; induſtry, vigilance, and enterprize in action; all theſe praiſes, by hiſtorians of the moſt oppoſite parties, are unanimouſly aſcribed to him. His virtue too and integrity, in all the duties of private life, are allowed to have been beyond exception: We muſt only be cautious, notwithſtanding his generous zeal for liberty, how we aſcribe to him the praiſes of a good citizen. Thro' all the horrors of civil war, he ſought the abolition of monarchy and ſubverſion of the conſtitution; an end, which, had it been attainable by peaceful meaſures, ought carefully to have been avoided, by every lover of his country. But whether, in the purſuit of this violent enterprize, he was actuated by private ambition, or by honeſt prejudices, derived from the former abuſes of royal authority, it be-

* Warwic's Memoirs.

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longs not to an hiſtorian of this age, ſcarce even to an intimate friend, poſitively to determine.

ESSEX, diſcouraged by this event, diſmayed by the total rout of Waller, was farther informed, that the Queen, who had landed in Burlington bay, was advanced to Oxford, and had brought from the north a reinforcement of three thouſand foot and fifteen horſe. From Thame and Ayleſbury, where he had hitherto lain, he thought proper to retreat nearer London, and he ſhowed to his friends his broken and diſheartened forces, which a few months before, he had led to the field in ſo flouriſhing a condition. The King, diſembarraſſed of this enemy, ſent his army weſtward under Prince Rupert; and by conjunction with the Corniſh troops, a very formidable force, for numbers, as well as reputation and valor, was compoſed. That an enterprize, correſpondent to men's expectations, might be undertaken, the Prince reſolved to lay ſiege to Briſtol, the ſecond town for riches and greatneſs in the kingdom. Nathaniel Fiennes, ſon to Lord Say, himſelf, as well as his father, a great parliamentary leader, was governor, and commanded a garriſon of two thouſand five hundred foot, and two regiments, one of horſe, another of dragoons. The fortifications not being compleat or regular, it was reſolved by Rupert to ſtorm the city; and next morning, with little other proviſions, ſuitable to ſuch a work, beſide the courage of the troops, the aſſault began. The Corniſh, in three diviſions, attacked the weſt ſide, with a reſolution, which nothing but death could control: But tho' the middle diviſion had already mounted the wall, ſo great was the diſadvantage of the ground, and ſo brave the defence of the garriſon, that in the end the aſſailants were repulſed, with a conſiderable loſs both of officers and ſoldiers. On the Prince's ſide, with equal courage, and almoſt with equal loſs, but with better ſucceſs, was the aſſault conducted. One diviſion, led by Lord Grandiſon, was beat off, and the commander himſelf mortally wounded: Another, conducted by Collonel Bellaſis, met with a like fate: But Waſhington with a leſs party, finding a place in the curtaine weaker than the reſt, broke in, and quickly made room for the horſe to follow. By this irruption, however, nought but the ſuburbs was yet gained: The entrance into the town was ſtill more difficult: And by the loſs already ſuſtained, as well as by the proſpect of farther danger, was every one extremely diſcouraged: When to the great joy of the whole army, the city beat a parley. The garriſon were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. For this inſtance of cowardice, Feinnes was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and condemned to loſe his head; but the ſentence was remitted by the general.

Briſtol taken.

25th of July.

GREAT

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GREAT complaints were made of violences, exerciſed on the garriſon, contrary to the capitulation. An apology was made, by the royaliſts, as if theſe were a retaliation for ſome violences, committed on their friends at the ſurrender of Reading. And under pretext of like retaliations, but really from the extreme hatred of the parties, were ſuch irregularities continued during the whole courſe of the war.

THE loſs, ſuſtained by the royaliſts in the aſſault of Briſtol, was conſiderable. Five hundred excellent ſoldiers periſhed. Among thoſe of condition were Grandiſon, Slanning, Trevannion, and Moyle: Bellaſis, Aſhley, and Sir John Owen, were wounded: Yet was the ſucceſs, upon the whole, ſo conſiderable as mightily elated the one party, and depreſſed the other. The King, to ſhow that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, nor aſpired to a total victory over the parliament, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he renewed the proteſtation formerly taken, with great ſolemnity, at the head of his army, and expreſſed his firm intention of making peace upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution. Having joined the camp at Briſtol, and ſent Prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonſhire, he deliberated how to employ the remaining forces, in an enterprize of importance. Some propoſed, and ſeemingly with great reaſon, to march directly to London, where every thing was in great confuſion, where the army was baffled, weakened and diſmayed, and where, it was hoped, either by an inſurrection, by victory, or by treaty, a ſpeedy end might be put to the civil diſorders: But this undertaking, by reaſon of the great number and force of the London militia, was thought by ſeveral to be attended with conſiderable difficulties. Gloceſter, lying within twenty miles, preſented an eaſier, and yet a very important conqueſt. It was the only remaining garriſon poſſeſſed by the parliament in thoſe parts. Could that city be reduced, the King held the whole courſe of the Severn under his command; the rich and male-content counties of the weſt, having loſt all protection from their friends, might be enforced to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their diſaffection; an open communication could be preſerved betwixt Wales and theſe new conqueſts; and half of the kingdom, being intirely free'd from the enemy, and thus united into one firm body, might be employed in re-eſtabliſhing the King's authority thro'out the remainder. Theſe were the reaſons for embracing that reſolution; fatal, as it was ever eſteemed, to the royal party.

Siege of Gloceſter.

THE governor of Gloceſter was Maſſey, a ſoldier of fortune, who, before he engaged with the parliament, had offered his ſervice to the King; and as he was free from the fumes of enthuſiaſm, by which moſt of the officers on that ſide, were intoxicated, he would lend an ear, it was preſumed, to propoſals for

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accommodation. But Maſſey was reſolute to preſerve an intire fidelity to his maſters; and tho' no fanatic himſelf, he well knew how to employ to advantage that fanatical ſpirit, ſo prevalent over his city and garriſon. The ſummons to ſurrender allowed two hours for an anſwer: But before that time expired, there appeared before the King two citizens, with lean, pale, ſharp, and diſmal viſages: Faces, ſo ſtrange and uncouth, according to Lord Clarendon; figures, ſo habited and accoutered; as at once moved the moſt ſevere countenances to mirth, and the moſt cheerful hearts to ſaddneſs. It ſeemed impoſſible, that ſuch ambaſſadors could bring leſs than a defiance. The men, without any circumſtance of duty or good manners, in a pert, ſhrill, undiſmayed accent, ſaid, that they brought an anſwer from the godly city of Gloceſter: And extremely ready were they, according to the hiſtorian, to give inſolent and ſeditious replies to any queſtions; as if their buſineſs were chiefly, by provoking the King, to make him violate his own ſafe conduct. The anſwer from the city was in theſe words. "We the "inhabitants, magiſtrates, officers and ſoldiers, within the garriſon of Gloceſter, "unto his Majeſty's gracious meſſage, return this humble anſwer: That we do "keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the uſe of his "Majeſty and his royal poſterity: And do accordingly conceive ourſelves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majeſty ſignified by both houſes of parliament: And are reſolved by God's help to keep this city accordingly." After theſe preliminaries, the ſiege was reſolutely undertaken by the army and as reſolutely ſuſtained by the garriſon.

WHEN intelligence of the ſiege of Gloceſter arrived in London, the conſternation, among the inhabitants, was as great, as if the enemy were already at their gates. The rapid progreſs of the royaliſts threatened the parliament with a ſudden conqueſt: The factions and diſcontents, among themſelves, in the city, and thro'out the neighboring counties, prognoſticated ſome dangerous diviſion or inſurrection. Thoſe parliamentary leaders, it muſt be owned, who had introduced ſuch mighty innovations in the Engliſh conſtitution, and who had projected ſo much greater, had not engaged in an enterprize, which exceeded their courage and capacity. Great vigor, from the beginning, as well as wiſdom, had they diſplayed in all their councils; and a furious, head-ſtrong body, broke looſe from the reſtraint of law, had hitherto been retained in ſubjection by their authority, and firmly united by zeal and paſſion, as by the moſt legal and eſtabliſhed government. A ſmall committee, on whom the two houſes devolved their power, had directed all their councils, and had preſerved a ſecrecy in deliberation, and a promptitude in execution, beyond what the King, notwithſtanding the advantages poſſeſſed by a ſingle leader, had ever been able to attain. Senſible that no jealouſy

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louſy was by their partizans entertained againſt them, they had, on all occaſions, exerted an authority much more deſpotic, than by the royaliſts, even during the preſſing exigences of war, could with patience be endured in their ſovereign. Whoever incurred their diſpleaſure, or was expoſed to their ſuſpicion, was committed to priſon, and proſecuted under the notion of delinquency: After all the old jails were full, many new ones were erected; and even the ſhips were crowded with the royaliſts, both gentry and clergy, who languiſhed below decks, and periſhed in thoſe unhealthy confinements: Taxes, the heavieſt, and of the moſt unuſual nature, they impoſed by an ordinance of the two houſes: A commiſſion for ſequeſtration they voted; and they ſeized, where-ever they had power, the revenues of all the King's party *: And knowing, that themſelves and all their miniſters, by reſiſting the prince, were expoſed to the penalties of law, they reſolved, with a ſevere adminiſtration, to overcome theſe terrors, and retain the people in obedience, by penalties of a more immediate execution. In the beginning of this ſummer, a combination, formed againſt them in London, had obliged them to exert the plenitude of their authority.

EDMOND WALLER, the great refiner of Engliſh verſification, was a member of the lower houſe; a man of conſiderable fortune, and not more diſtinguiſhed by his poetical genius, than by his parliamentary talents, and by the politeneſs and elegance of his manners. As full of keen ſatyre and invective in his eloquence, as of tenderneſs and panegyric in his poetry, he caught the attention of his hearers, and exerted the utmoſt boldneſs in blaming thoſe violent councils, by which the commons were governed. Finding all oppoſition within doors to be fruitleſs, he endeavored to form a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept of reaſonable conditions and reſtore peace to the nation. The charms of his converſation, joined to his character of courage and integrity, had procured him the intire confidence of Northumberland, Conway, and every eminent perſon of either ſex who reſided in London. Without reſerve, they opened their breaſt to him, and expreſſed their deteſtation of the furious meaſures, purſued by the commons, and their wiſhes, that ſome expedient could be found for ſtopping ſo impetuous a career. Tomkins, Waller's brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, had entertained like ſentiments; and as the connexions of theſe two gentlemen lay chiefly in the city, they informed Waller, that the ſame abhorrence of war prevailed there, among all men of reaſon and moderation. Upon reflection, it ſeemed not impracticable, that a combination might be framed betwixt the lords and citizens; and, by mutual concert,

* The King afterwards copied from this example; but as the far greateſt part of the nobility and landed gentry were his friends, he reaped much leſs profit from this meaſure.

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cert, the illegal taxes be refuſed, which the parliament, without the royal aſſent, impoſed on the people. While the affair was in agitation, and liſts were forming of ſuch as they conceived to be well affected to their deſign; a ſervant of Tomkins, who had overheard their diſcourſe, immediately carried the intelligence to Pym. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner were ſeized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all three condemned, and the two latter executed on gibbets, erected before their own doors. A covenant, as a teſt, was taken * by the lords and commons, and impoſed on their army, and on all who lived within their quarters. Beſide reſolving to amend and reform their lives, the covenanters vow, that they never will lay down arms, ſo long as the papiſts, now in open war againſt the parliament, ſhall, by force of arms, be protected againſt juſtice; they expreſs their abhorrence of the late conſpiracy; and they promiſe to aſſiſt to the utmoſt the forces, raiſed by both houſes, againſt the forces, levied by the King.

WALLER, as ſoon as impriſoned, ſenſible of the mighty danger, into which he was fallen, was ſo ſeized with the dread of death, that all his former ſpirit deſerted him; and he confeſſed whatever he knew, without ſparing his moſt intimate friends, without regard to the ſacred confidence repoſed in him, without diſtinguiſhing betwixt the negligence of familiar converſation and the ſchemes of a regular conſpiracy. With the moſt profound diſſimulation, he counterfeited ſuch remorſe of conſcience, that his trial was put off, out of mere chriſtian-compaſſion, till he might recover the uſe of his underſtanding. Viſits he invited from the ruling clergy of all ſects; and while he expreſſed his own penitence, he received their devout exhortations with humility and reverence, as conveying clearer conviction and information, than in his life he had ever before attained. Preſents too, of which, as well as of flattery, theſe holy men were not inſenſible, he diſtributed among them; as a ſmall retribution for their prayers and ghoſtly council. And by all theſe artifices, more than from any regard to the beauty of his genius, of which, during that time of furious cant and faction, ſmall account would be made, he prevailed ſo far as to have his life ſpared, and a fine of ten thouſand pounds accepted in lieu of it.

THE ſeverity, exerciſed againſt the conſpiracy or rather project of Waller, increaſed the authority of the parliament, and ſeemed to enſure them againſt like attempts for the future. But, by the progreſs of the King's arms, the defeat of Sir William Waller, the taking of Briſtol, the ſiege of Gloceſter, a cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. Crowds of women, with a petition for that purpoſe, flocked about the houſe, and were ſo clamorous and importunate, that orders were given for diſperſing them; and ſome of the females

* 6th of June.

females were killed in the fray. Bedford, Holland, and Conway, had deſerted the parliament, and had gone to Oxford; Clare and Lovelace had followed them: Northumberland had retired to his country-ſeat: Eſſex himſelf ſhowed extreme diſatisfaction, and exhorted the parliament to make peace. The upper houſe ſent down terms of accommodation more moderate than had hitherto been inſiſted on. It even paſſed by a majority among the commons, that theſe propoſals ſhould be tranſmitted to the King. The violent took the alarm. A petition againſt peace was framed in the city and preſented by Pennington, the factious mayor. Multitudes attended him, and renewed all the former menaces againſt the moderate party *. The pulpits thundered, and rumors were ſpred of twenty thouſand Iriſh, who had landed, and were to cut the throats of every proteſtant. The majority was turned to the other ſide; and all thoughts of pacification being diſmiſſed, every preparation was made for reſiſtance, and for the immediate relief of Gloceſter, on which, the parliament were ſenſible, all their ſucceſs in the war did ſo much depend. Chap. VII. 1643.

Massey, being reſolute to make a vigorous defence, and, having under his command a city and garriſon, ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, had hitherto maintained the ſiege with courage and capacity, and had much retarded all the advances of the King's army. By continual ſallies, he infeſted them in their trenches and gained ſudden advantages over them: By diſputing every inch of ground, he repreſſed the vigor and alacrity of their courage, elated by former ſucceſſes. His garriſon, however, was reduced to the laſt extremity; and he took care, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, he would be neceſſitated, from the extreme want of proviſions and ammunition, to open his gates to the enemy.

The parliament, in order to repair their broken condition, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence, now exerted to the utmoſt their power and authority. They voted that an army ſhould be levied under Sir William Waller, whom, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, they loaded with extraordinary careſſes. Having aſſociated in their cauſe, the counties of Hertford, Eſſex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Huntington, they gave the Earl of Mancheſter a commiſſion to be general of the aſſociation, and appointed an army to be levied under his command. But above all, they were intent that Eſſex's army, on which their whole fortune depended, ſhould be put into a condition of marching againſt the King. Their preachers they afreſh excited to furious declamations againſt the royal cauſe: Even the expedient of preſſing, tho' aboliſhed by a late law, for which they had ſtrenuouſly contended, they now employed: And they engaged

* Clarendon, Hollis, &c.

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engaged the city to ſend along four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloceſter. All ſhops, in the mean while, they ordered to be ſhut; and every man expected, with the utmoſt anxiety, the event of that important enterprize.

ESSEX, carrying along with him a well appointed army of 14000 men, took the road of Bedford and Lieceſter; and, tho' inferior in cavalry, yet, by the mere force of conduct and diſcipline, he paſſed over thoſe open champaigne countries, and defended himſelf from the enemies' horſe, who had advanced to meet him, and who infeſted him during his whole march. As he approached to Gloceſter, the King was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and open the way for Eſſex's entrance into that city. The neceſſities of the garriſon were extreme. One barrel of powder was their whole ſtock of ammunition remaining; and their other proviſions were in the ſame proportion. Eſſex had brought along military ſtores; and, with victuals of every kind, the neighboring country abundantly ſupplied him. The inhabitants had carefully concealed all proviſions from the King's army, and pretending to be quite exhauſted, had reſerved their ſtore for that cauſe which ſo zealouſly they favored.

5th Sept.

THE chief difficulty ſtill remained. A battle with the King's army, Eſſex dreaded from their great ſuperiority of horſe; and he reſolved to return, if poſſible, without running that hazard. At Teukeſbury, which was his firſt ſtage, he lay five days, and feigned by ſome preparations, to point towards Worceſter. By a forced march, during the night, he reached Cirenceſter, and obtained the double advantage, of paſſing unmoleſted an open country, and of ſurprizing a convoy of proviſions, which lay in that town. Without delay, he proceeded towards London; but, when he reached Newbury, he was ſurprized to find, that the King, by haſty marches, had arrived before him, and was already poſſeſſed of that place.

20th Sept. Battle of Newbury.

AN action was now unavoidable; and Eſſex prepared for it with preſence of mind and not without military conduct. On both ſides the battle was fought with deſperate valor and a ſteddy bravery. Tho' Eſſex's horſe were ſeveral times broke by the King's, his infantry maintained themſelves in firm array; and, beſides giving a continued fire, they preſented an invincible rampart of pikes againſt the furious impulſe of Prince Rupert and thoſe gallant troops of gentry, of which the royal cavalry were chiefly compoſed. The London militia eſpecially, tho' utterly unacquainted with action, tho' drawn but a few days before from their ordinary occupations, yet, having exactly learned all military exerciſes, and being animated with unconquerable zeal for the cauſe, in which they were engaged, equalled, on this occaſion, what could be expected from the moſt veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmoſt ardor, night put an end to the action,

action, and left the event undecided. Next morning, Eſſex proceeded on his march; and tho' his rear was once put into ſome diſorder by an incurſion of the King's horſe, he reached London in ſafety, and received deſerved applauſe for his conduct and ſucceſs in the whole enterprize. The King followed him on his march, and having taken poſſeſſion of Reading, after the Earl left it, he there eſtabliſhed a garriſon; and ſtraitened, by its means, London and the quarters of the enemy. Chap. VII. 1643.

In the battle of Newbury, on the part of the King, beſide the Earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two Noblemen of very promiſing hopes; was unfortunately ſlain, to the great regret of every lover of ingenuity and virtue thro'out the kingdom, Lucius Cary, Lord Viſcount Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate. Before aſſembling the preſent parliament, this man, devoted to the purſuits of learning, and to the ſociety of all the polite and elegant, had enjoyed himſelf in every pleaſure, which a fine genius, a generous diſpoſition, and an opulent fortune could afford. Called into public life, amidſt all the attacks on regal uſurpations he ſtood foremoſt, and diſplayed that maſculine eloquence, and undaunted love of liberty, which, from his intimate acquaintance with the ſublime ſpirits of antiquity, he had greedily imbibed. When civil convulſions proceeded to extremity, and it became requiſite for him to chooſe his ſide; he tempered the ardor of his zeal, and embraced the defence of thoſe limited powers, which remained to monarchy, and which he eſteemed requiſite for the ſupport of the Engliſh conſtitution. Still anxious, however, for his country, he ſeems to have dreaded the too proſperous ſucceſs of his own party as much as of the enemy; and, among his intimate friends, often, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, he would, with a ſad accent, re-iterate the word, *Peace*. In excuſe for the too free expoſing of his perſon, which ſeemed unſuitable in a ſecretary, he alleged, that it became him to be more active than other men in all hazardous enterprizes, leſt his impatience for peace might bear the imputation of cowardice or puſillanimity. From the commencement of the war his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity became clouded; and even his uſual attention to dreſs, required by his birth and ſtation, gave way to a negligence, which was eaſily obſervable. On the morning of the battle, in which he fell, he had ſhown ſome care for the adorning his perſon; and gave for a reaſon, that the enemy ſhould not find his body in any ſlovenly, indecent ſituation. "I am weary," ſubjoined he, "of the times, and foreſee much miſery to my country; but believe, that I ſhall "be out of it 'ere night." This excellent perſon was but thirty four years of age, when a period was put to his life.

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THE loss sustained on both sides, in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter-quarters.

Actions in the north.

IN the north, during this summer, the great interest and popularity of the Earl, now created Marquis of Newcastle, had raised a very considerable force for the King; and great hopes of success were entertained from that quarter. There appeared, however, in opposition to him, two men, on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began, about this time, to be remarked for their valor and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwel. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield * over a detachment of royalists, and took General Goring prisoner: The latter obtained a victory at Gainsborow † over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action. But both these defeats of the royalists were more than sufficiently compensated by the total rout of Lord Fairfax at Atherton moor ‡, and the dispersion of his whole army. After this victory, Newcastle, with an army of 15000 men, sat down before Hull, of which Hotham was no longer governor. That gentleman and his son, partly from a jealousy of Lord Fairfax, partly from a repentance of their engagements against the King, had entered into a correspondence with Newcastle, and had expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands. But their conspiracy being discovered, they were arrested and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell, both of them, victims to the severity of the parliament.

NEWCASTLE, having carried on the attack of Hull for some time, was beat off by a sally of the garrison ‖, and suffered so much, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, Manchester, who advanced from the eastern associated counties, having joined Cromwel and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable victory over the royalists at Horn-Castle; where the two officers last mentioned gained great renown for their conduct and gallantry. And tho' fortune had thus ballanced her favors, the King's party still remained much superior in those parts of England; and had it not been for the garrison of Hull, which kept Yorkeshire in awe, a conjunction of the northern forces, with the army in the south, had probably enabled the King, instead of entering on the unfortunate, perhaps imprudent, enterprize of Gloucester, to march directly to London, and put an end to the war.

WHILE the military enterprizes were carried on with vigor in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eyes towards the neighboring kingdoms, and sought assistance for the finishing that enterprize, in

* 21st of May. † 31st of July. ‡ 30th of June. ‖ 12th of October.

in which their own forces experienced ſuch furious contraſt and oppoſition. The parliament had recourſe to Scotland; the King, to Ireland. Chap. VII. 1643.

When the Scotch covenanters obtained that end for which they ſo earneſtly longed, the eſtabliſhment of preſbyterian diſcipline in their own country, they were not ſatisfied, but indulged ſtill an ardent paſſion for propagating, by all methods, that mode of religion in the neighboring kingdoms. Having flattered themſelves, in the fervor of their zeal, that, by ſupernatural aſſiſtances, they would be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itſelf, it behoved them firſt to render it prevalent in England, which already ſhowed ſo prompt a diſpoſition to receive it. Even in the articles of pacification, they expreſſed a deſire of uniformity in worſhip with England; and the King, employing general expreſſions, had approved of this inclination, as pious and laudable. No ſooner was there any appearance of a rupture, than the Engliſh parliament, in order to allure that nation into a cloſe confederacy, openly declared their wiſhes of eccleſiaſtical reformation, and of imitating the example of their northern brethren. And when war was actually commenced, the ſame artifices were uſed; and the Scotch beheld, with the utmoſt impatience, a ſcene of action where they could not eſteem themſelves indifferent ſpectators. Should the King, they ſaid, be able, by force of arms, to prevail over the parliament of England, and re-eſtabliſh his authority in that powerful kingdom, he will undoubtedly retract all thoſe conceſſions, which, with ſo many circumſtances of violence and indignity, the Scotch have extorted from him. Beſide a ſenſe of his own intereſt and a regard to royal power, which has been entirely annihilated in his native country; his very paſſion for prelacy and for religious ceremonies muſt lead him to invade a church, which he has ever been taught to regard as antichriſtian and unlawful. Let us but conſider who the perſons are that compoſe the factions now ſo furiouſly engaged in arms. Does not the parliament conſiſt of thoſe very men, who have ever oppoſed all war with Scotland, who have puniſhed the authors of our oppreſſions, who have obtained us the redreſs of every grievance, and who, with many honorable expreſſions, have conferred on us an ample reward for our brotherly aſſiſtance? And is not the court full of papiſts, prelates, malignants; all of them zealous enemies to our religious model, and reſolute to ſacrifice their lives for their idolatrous eſtabliſhments? Not to mention our own neceſſary ſecurity; can we better expreſs our gratitude to heaven for that pure light, with which we are, above all nations, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, than by conveying the ſame divine knowlege to our unhappy neighbors, who are ſwimming thro' an ocean of blood in order to attain it? Theſe were in Scotland the topics of every converſation: With theſe doctrines the pulpits ecchoed:

Chap. VII. 1643.

And the famous curſe of Meroz, that curſe ſo ſolemnly denounced and re-iterated, againſt neutrality and moderation, reſounded from all quarters *.

THE parliament of England had ever invited the Scotch, from the commencement of the civil diſſentions, to interpoſe their mediation, which, they knew, would be ſo little favorable to the King: And the King, for that very reaſon, had ever endeavored, with the leaſt offenſive expreſſions, to decline it. Early this ſpring, Loudon, Lord chancellor, along with other commiſſioners, and attended by Henderſon, a popular and intriguing preacher, was ſent to the King at Oxford, and renewed the offer of mediation; but with the ſame ſucceſs as before. The commiſſioners were alſo empowered to preſs the King on the article of religion, and to recommend to him the Scotch model of eccleſiaſtical worſhip and diſcipline. This was touching Charles in a very tender point: His honor, his conſcience, as well as his intereſt, he believed to be intimately concerned in ſupporting prelacy and the liturgy. He begged the commiſſioners, therefore, to reſt ſatisfied with the conceſſions which he had made to Scotland; and having ordered their own church according to their own principles, to leave their neighbors in the like liberty, and not to intermeddle with affairs, of which they could not be ſuppoſed competent judges.

THE divines of Oxford, ſecure, as they imagined, of a victory, by means of their authorities from church hiſtory, their citations from the fathers, and their ſpiritual arguments, deſired a conference with Henderſon, and undertook, by dint of reaſoning, to convert that great apoſtle of the north: But Henderſon, who had ever regarded as impious the leaſt doubt with regard to his own principles, and who knew of a much better way for reducing opponents than the employing any theological topics, abſolutely refuſed all diſputation or controverſy. The Engliſh divines went away, full of admiration at the blind aſſurance and bigotted prejudices of the man: He, on his part, was moved with equal wonder at their obſtinate attachment to ſuch groſs errors and deluſions.

BY the conceſſions which the King had granted to Scotland, it became neceſſary for him to ſummon a parliament once in three years; and in June of the ſubſequent year, was fixed the period for the meeting of that aſſembly. Before that time elapſed, Charles flattered himſelf, that, by ſome deciſive advantage, he would be able to reduce the Engliſh parliament to a reaſonable ſubmiſſion, and might then expect with ſecurity the meeting of a Scotch parliament. Tho' earneſtly ſollicited by Loudon to ſummon preſently that great council of the nation,

* Curſe ye Meroz, ſaid the angel of the Lord; curſe ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof: becauſe they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord againſt the mighty. Judges, chap. V. ver. 23.

nation, he abſolutely refuſed to give authority to men, who had already excited ſuch dangerous commotions, and who ſhowed ſtill the ſame diſpoſition to reſiſt and invade his authority. The commiſſioners, therefore, not being able to prevail in any of their demands, deſired the King's paſſport for London, where they propoſed to confer with the Engliſh parliament; and being likeways denied this requeſt, they returned with extreme diſſatisfaction to Edinburgh. Chap. VII. 1643.

THE office of conſervators of the peace was newly erected in Scotland, in order to maintain the confederacy betwixt the two kingdoms; and theſe, inſtigated by the clergy, were reſolved, ſince they could not obtain the King's conſent, to ſummon, in his name, but by their own authority, a convention of eſtates; and to bereave their ſovereign of this article, the only one which remained of his prerogative. Under pretext of providing for national peace, endangered by the neighborhood of Engliſh armies, was a convention called *; an aſſembly, which, tho' it meets with leſs ſolemnity, has the ſame authority as a parliament, in raiſing money and levying forces. Hamilton, and his brother the Earl of Laneric, who had been ſent into Scotland, in order to oppoſe theſe meaſures, wanted either authority or ſincerity; and paſſively yielded to the torrent. The general aſſembly of the church met along with the convention, and exerciſing an authority almoſt abſolute over the whole civil power, made every political conſideration yield to their theological zeal and prejudices.

THE Engliſh parliament were, at that time, fallen into great diſtreſs, from the progreſs of the King's arms; and they gladly ſent to Edinburgh commiſſioners, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scotch nation. The perſons employed were the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher and Henry Darley, attended with Marſhal and Nye, two clergymen of ſignal authority. In this negotiation, the man chiefly truſted to was Vane, who, in eloquence, addreſs, capacity, as well as in art and diſſimulation, was not ſurpaſſed by any one, even during that age, ſo famous for active talents. By his perſuaſion was formed at Edinburgh that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT; which effaced all the former proteſtations and vows, taken in both kingdoms; and long maintained its credit and authority. This covenant, beſide mutual defence againſt all opponents, bound the ſubſcribers to endeavor, without reſpect of perſons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, along with the king's authority; and to diſcover and bring to juſtice all incendiaries and malignants. Solemn league and covenant.

THE

* 22d of June.

Chap. VII. 1643.

THE ſubſcribers to the covenant vowed alſo to preſerve the reformed religion eſtabliſhed in the church of Scotland; but by the artifice of Vane no more explicite declaration was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that theſe kingdoms ſhould be reformed, according to the word of God and the example of the pureſt churches. The Scotch zealots, when prelacy was abjured, eſteemed this expreſſion quite free from ambiguity, and regarded their own model as the only one which correſponded, in any degree, to ſuch a deſcription: But that able politician had other views; and while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the preſbyterians, and ſecretly laughed at their ſimplicity, he had blindly devoted himſelf to the maintainance of ſyſtems, ſtill more abſurd and more dangerous.

IN the Engliſh parliament there remained ſome members, who, tho' they had been induced, either by private ambition or by zeal for civil liberty, to concur with the majority, ſtill retained an attachment to the hierarchy and to the antient modes of worſhip. But in the preſent danger, which threatened their cauſe, all ſcruples were removed; and the covenant, by whoſe means alone, they could expect to obtain ſo conſiderable a re-inforcement, as the acceſſion of the whole Scotch nation, was received without oppoſition. The parliament, therefore, having firſt ſubſcribed it themſelves, ordered it to be received by all who lived under their authority.

Sept. 17.

GREAT were the rejoicings among the Scotch, that they ſhould be the happy inſtruments of extending the kingdom of Chriſt, and diſſipating that profound darkneſs in which their neighboring nations were involved. The general aſſembly applauded this glorious imitation of the piety diſplayed by their anceſtors, who, by three different applications, during the reign of Elizabeth, had endeavored to engage the Engliſh, by perſuaſion, to lay aſide the uſe of the ſurplice, tippet, and corner cap. The convention too, in the height of their zeal, ordered every one to ſwear to this covenant, under the penalty of confiſcation, beſide what farther puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe the enſuing parliament to inflict on the refuſers, as enemies to God, to the king, and to the kingdom. And being determined that the ſword ſhould carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themſelves, with great vigilance and activity, for their military enterprizes. By means of a hundred thouſand pounds, which they received from England; by the hopes of good pay and warm quarters; not to mention men's favorable diſpoſition towards the cauſe; they ſoon compleated their levies. And having added the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready, about the end of the year, to enter into England, under the command of their old general, Leven, with an army of above twenty thouſand men.

Arming of the Scotch.

THE

Chap. VII. 1643.

THE King, foreſeeing this tempeſt which was gathering upon him, endeavored to ſecure himſelf by every expedient; and he caſt his eyes towards Ireland, in hopes, that that kingdom, from which his cauſe had already received ſo much prejudice, might, at laſt, contribute ſomewhat towards his protection and ſecurity.

State of Ireland.

AFTER the commencement of the Iriſh inſurrection, the Engliſh parliament, tho' they undertook the ſuppreſſion of it, had ever been too much engaged, either in military projects or expeditions at home, to take any effectual ſtep towards the finiſhing that enterprize. They had entered indeed into a contract with the Scotch, for ſending over an army of ten thouſand men into Ireland; and in order to engage that nation into ſuch an undertaking, beſide the promiſe of pay, they agreed to put Caric-Fergus into their hands, and to inveſt their general with an authority quite independent of the Engliſh government. Theſe troops, ſo long as they were allowed to remain, were uſeful, by diverting the force of the Iriſh rebels, and protecting in the north the ſmall remnants of the Britiſh planters. But except this contract with the Scotch nation, all the other meaſures of the parliament were hitherto either abſolutely inſignificant, or tended rather to the prejudice of the proteſtant cauſe in Ireland. By continuing their furious perſecution, and ſtill more furious menaces againſt prieſts and papiſts, they rendered the Iriſh catholics obſtinate in their rebellion, and cut off all hopes of indulgence and toleration. By diſpoſing before-hand of all the Iriſh forfeitures to ſubſcribers or adventurers, they rendered all men of property deſperate, and ſeemed to threaten a total extirpation of the natives. And while they thus infuſed ſpirit and animoſity into the enemy, no meaſure was purſued, which could tend to ſupport or encourage the proteſtants, who were reduced to the laſt extremity.

So great is the aſcendant, which, from a long courſe of ſucceſſes, the Engliſh has acquired over the Iriſh nation, that tho' the latter, when they receive military diſcipline among foreigners, are not ſurpaſſed by any European people, they have never, in their own country, been able to make any vigorous effort for the defence or recovery of their liberties. In many rencounters, the Engliſh, under Lord More, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Frederic Hamilton, and others, with great diſadvantage of ſituation and numbers, had put the Iriſh to rout, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The ſiege of Tredah, the rebels raiſed, after an obſtinate defence made by the garriſon. Ormond had obtained two compleat victories, at Kilruſh and Roſs; and had brought relief to all the forts, which were beſieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But notwithſtanding all theſe ſucceſſes, even the moſt common neceſſaries of life were wanting to the victorious armies. The Iriſh, in their wild rage againſt the Britiſh planters, had laid

Chap. VII. 1643.

laid waſte the whole kingdom, and were themſelves totally unfit, from their barbarous ſloth and ignorance, to raiſe any convenience of human life. During the courſe of ſix months, no ſupplies had come from England; except the fourth part of one ſmall veſſel's lading. Dublin, to ſave itſelf from ſtarving, had been obliged to ſend the greateſt part of its inhabitants to England. The army had little ammunition, ſcarce exceeding 40 barrels of powder; not even ſhoes or cloaths; and for want of food, the cavalry had been obliged to eat their own horſes. And tho' the diſtreſſes of the Iriſh were not much inferior; beſide that they were more hardened againſt ſuch extremities, it was but a melancholy proſpect, that the two nations, while they continued their furious animoſities, ſhould make deſolate that fertile iſland, which might ſerve to the ſubſiſtence and happineſs of both.

By the intereſt chiefly and authority of Ormond, the juſtices and council of Ireland had fallen into an entire dependance on the King. Parſons, Temple, Loftus, and Meredith, who ſeemed to incline towards the oppoſite party, had been removed; and Charles had ſupplied their place by others better affected to his ſervice. A committee of the commons, which had been ſent over to Ireland, in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council, in obedience to orders tranſmitted from the King. And theſe were reaſons ſufficient, beſide the great difficulties under which they themſelves labored, why the parliament were unwilling to ſend ſupplies to an army, which, tho' engaged in a cauſe they much favored, was entirely governed by their declared enemies.

The King, as he had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor proviſions to ſpare from his own urgent wants; reſolved to embrace an expedient, which might, at once, relieve the neceſſities of the Iriſh proteſtants, and contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. A ceſſation with the rebels, he thought, would enable his ſubjects in Ireland to provide for their own ſupport, and procure him the aſſiſtance of the army againſt the Engliſh parliament. But as a treaty with a nation, ſo odious for their religion and their barbarities, might be repreſented in very invidious colors, and renew all thoſe calumnies with which he had been loaded; it was neceſſary to proceed with great caution in conducting that meaſure. A remonſtrance from the army was made to the Iriſh council, repreſenting their intolerable neceſſities, and craving permiſſion to leave the kingdom: And if that was refuſed, *We muſt have recourſe*, they ſaid, *to that firſt and primary law, with which God has endowed all men; we mean the law of nature, which teaches every creature to preſerve itſelf.* Memorials both to the King and

and parliament were tranſmitted by the juſtices and council, in which their wants and dangers are ſtrongly ſet forth; and tho' the general expreſſions in theſe memorials might perhaps be liable to exaggeration, yet, from the particular facts mentioned, from the confeſſion of the Engliſh parliament, and from the very nature of things, it is apparent, that the Iriſh proteſtants were reduced to great extremities *; and it became prudent in the King, if not abſolutely neceſſary, to embrace ſome expedient, which might ſecure them, for a time, from the ruin and miſery with which they were threatened.

ACCORDINGLY, the King gave orders† to Ormond and the juſtices to conclude, for a year, a ceſſation with the council of Kilkenny, by whom the Iriſh were governed, and to leave both ſides in poſſeſſion of their preſent advantages. The parliament, whoſe buſineſs it was to find fault with every meaſure adopted by the oppoſite party, and who would not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of reproaching the King with his favor for the Iriſh papiſts, exclaimed loudly againſt this ceſſation. Among other reaſons, they inſiſted upon the divine vengeance, which England might juſtly dread for tolerating antichriſtian idolatry, under pretext of civil contracts and political agreements. Religion, tho' every day employed as the engine of their ambitious purpoſes, was ſuppoſed too ſacred to be yielded up to the temporal intereſts or ſafety of kingdoms.

THE army, after the ceſſation, there was little neceſſity, as well as no means, of ſubſiſting in Ireland. The King ordered Ormond, who was entirely devoted to him, to ſend over conſiderable bodies of it to England. Moſt of them continued in his ſervice: But a ſmall part of them, having foſtered in Ireland a high animoſity againſt the catholics, and hearing the King's party univerſally reproached with popery, ſoon after deſerted to the parliament.

SOME Iriſh catholics came over, along with theſe troops, and joined the King's army, where they continued the ſame cruelties and diſorders, to which they had been accuſtomed. The parliament voted, that no quarter, in any action, ſhould ever be granted them: But Prince Rupert, by uſing ſome reprizals, ſoon repreſſed this inhumanity.

* See farther Cartes Ormond, Vol. iii. No. 113, 127, 128, 129, 134, 136, 141, 144, 149, 158, 159. All theſe papers put it paſt doubt, that the neceſſities of the Engliſh army in Ireland were extreme.

† 2d of September.

CHAP. VIII.

Invaſion of the Scotch.——Battle of Marſton-moor——Battle of Cropredy-bridge.——Eſſex's forces diſarmed.——Second battle of Newberry.——Riſe and character of the independents.——Self-denying ordinance.——Fairfax, Cromwel.——Treaty of Uxbridge.——Execution of Laud.——

1644. THE King had hitherto, during the courſe of the war, obtained many advantages over the parliament, and had raiſed himſelf from that low condition, in which he was at firſt placed, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adverſaries. Yorkeſhire, and all the northern counties, were ſubjected by the Marquis of Newcaſtle; and, excepting Hull, the parliament was maſter of no garriſon in theſe quarters. In the weſt, Plymouth alone, having been in vain beſieged by Prince Maurice, reſiſted the King's authority: And had it not been for the diſappointment in the fatal enterprize of Gloceſter, the royal garriſons had extended, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other; and had occupied a greater extent of ground, than thoſe of the parliament. Many of the royaliſts flattered themſelves, that the ſame vigorous ſpirit, which had elevated them, to the preſent height of power, would ſtill favor their progreſs, and obtain them a final victory over their antagoniſts: But thoſe who judged more ſoundly, obſerved, that, beſide the acceſſion of the whole Scotch nation to the ſide of the parliament; the very principle, on which the royal ſucceſſes were founded, was every day acquired, more and more, by the oppoſite party. The King's troops, full of gentry and nobility, had exerted a valor ſuperior to their enemies, and had hitherto been ſucceſsful in almoſt every rencounter: But in proportion as the whole nation became warlike, by the continuance of civil diſcords, this advantage was more equally ſhared, and ſuperior numbers, it was expected, muſt at laſt obtain the victory. The King's troops alſo, ill paid, and deſtitute of every neceſſary, could not poſſibly be retained in equal diſcipline with the parliamentary forces, to whom all ſupplies were furniſhed from unexhauſted ſtores and treaſures. The ſeverity of manners, ſo much affected by theſe zealous religioniſts, aſſiſted their military inſtitutions; and the rigid inflexibility of character, by which the auſtere reformers of church and ſtate were diſtinguiſhed, enabled the parliamentary chiefs to reſtrain their ſoldiers within

within ſtricter rules and more exact order. And while the King's officers indulged themſelves in equal or greater licences, than thoſe to which, during times of peace, they had been accuſtomed, they were apt, both to neglect their duty, and to ſet a pernicious example of diſorder, to the ſoldiers under their command.

At the commencement of the civil wars, all Engliſhmen, who ſerved abroad, were invited over, and treated with extraordinary reſpect and reverence: And moſt of them, being deſcended of good families, and by reaſon of their abſence, unacquainted with the new principles, which depreſſed the dignity of the crown, had inliſted under the royal ſtandard. But it is obſervable, that tho' the military profeſſion requires great genius, and long experience, in the principal commanders, all its ſubordinate duties may be diſcharged by very ordinary talents, and from ſuperficial practice. Citizens and country-gentlemen ſoon became excellent officers; and the generals of greateſt fame and capacity happened, all of them, to ſpring up on the ſide of the parliament. The courtiers and great nobility in the other party, checked the growth of any extraordinary genius among the ſubordinate officers; and every man there, as in a regular eſtabliſhed government, was confined to the ſtation, in which his birth had placed him.

The King, that he might make preparations, during the winter, for the enſuing campaign, ſummoned to Oxford all the members of either houſe, who adhered to his intereſts; and endeavored to avail himſelf of the name of parliament, ſo paſſionately cheriſhed by the Engliſh nation. The houſe of peers was pretty full; and beſide the nobility, employed in diferent parts of the kingdom, it contained twice as many members as voted in Weſtminſter. The houſe of commons conſiſted of about 140; which amounted not to above half of the other houſe of commons.

So extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of *exciſe* was unknown to them; and among the other evils ariſing from theſe domeſtic wars, was the introduction of that impoſt into England. The parliament at Weſtminſter having voted an exciſe on beer, wine, and other commodities; thoſe at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the King. And in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the ſum of 100,000 pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the ſubject. The King circulated privy ſeals, counterſigned by the ſpeakers of both houſes, requiring the loan of particular ſums, from ſuch perſons as lived within his quarters. Neither party had yet got above the pedantry of reproaching its antagoniſt with theſe illegal meaſures.

Chap. VIII. 1644.

THE Weſtminſter parliament paſſed a whimſical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighborhood, to retrench a meal a-week, and to pay the value of it for the ſupport of the public cauſe. 'Tis eaſily imagined, that, provided the money was paid, they troubled themſelves very little about the execution of their ordinance.

SUCH was the King's ſituation, that, in order to reſtore peace to the nation, he had no occaſion to demand any other terms, than to reſtore the laws and conſtitution, to replace him in the ſame rights which had ever been enjoyed by his predeceſſors, and to re-eſtabliſh, on its antient baſis, the whole frame of government, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical. And that he might facilitate an end, ſeemingly ſo deſirable, he offered to employ means equally popular, an univerſal act of oblivion, and a toleration or indulgence to tender conſciences. Nothing therefore could contribute more to his intereſt, than every diſcourſe of peace, and every diſcuſſion of the conditions, upon which that bleſſing could be obtained. And for this reaſon, on all occaſions, he ſollicited a treaty, and deſired a conference and mutual examination of pretenſions, even when he entertained no hopes, that any concluſion could poſſibly reſult from it.

FOR like reaſons, the parliament wiſely avoided, as much as they could, all advances towards negotiation, and were cautious not to expoſe too eaſily to cenſure thoſe high terms, which their apprehenſions or their ambition made them previouſly demand of the King. Tho' their partizans were blinded with the thickeſt veil of religious prejudices, they dreaded to bring their pretenſions to the teſt, or lay them open before the whole nation. In oppoſition to the ſacred authority of the laws, to the venerable precedents of many ages, they were aſhamed to plead nothing but fears and jealouſies, which were not avowed by the conſtitution, and to which, neither the perſonal character of Charles, ſo full of virtue, nor his condition, ſo deprived of all independent authority, ſeemed to afford any reaſonable foundation. Grievances which had been fully redreſſed; powers, either legal or illegal, which had been entirely abandoned; it ſeemed unpopular, and invidious, and ungrateful, any farther to inſiſt on.

THAT he might abate the univerſal veneration, paid to the name of parliament, the King had iſſued a declaration, where he ſet forth all the tumults, by which himſelf and his partizans in both houſes, had been driven from London; and he thence inferred, that the aſſembly at Weſtminſter was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty was reſtored, was intitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obſtacle to all treaty, ſome contrivance ſeemed requiſite, in order to elude it.

A letter was wrote to the Earl of Eſſex, and ſubſcribed by the Prince, the Duke of Yorke, and forty three noblemen. They there exhort him to be an inſtrument for reſtoring peace, and to promote that happy end with thoſe, by whom he was employed. Eſſex, tho' much diſguſted with the parliament, tho' apprehenſive of the extremities to which they were driving, tho' deſirous of any reaſonable peace; yet was ſtill more reſolute to preſerve an honorable fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him. He replied, that as the paper ſent him, neither contained any addreſs to the two houſes of parliament, nor any acknowlegment of their authority, he could not communicate it to them. Like propoſals were reiterated by the King, during the enſuing campaign, and met ſtill with a like anſwer from Eſſex.

In order to make another trial for a treaty, the King, this ſpring, ſent a letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter: But as he alſo mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament aſſembled at Oxford, and declared that his ſcope and intention was to make proviſion how all the members of both houſes might ſecurely meet in a full and free convention; the parliament, clearly perceiving the concluſion which was implied, refuſed all treaty upon ſuch terms. And the King, who knew how ſmall hopes there were of concluding peace, would not abandon the pretenſions, which he had aſſumed, nor acknowlege the two houſes, more openly, for a free parliament.

This winter the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by the one party, as reſpected by the other. At London, he was conſidered as the victim to national liberty, who had abriged his life by inceſſant labors for the intereſt of his country: At Oxford, he was believed to have been ſtruck with an uncommon diſeaſe, and to have been conſumed with vermine; as a mark of divine vengeance, for his multiplied crimes and treaſons. He had been ſo little ſtudious of improving his private fortune in thoſe civil wars, of which he had been one chief inſtrument, that the parliament thought themſelves obliged, out of gratitude, to pay the debts, which he had contracted*. We now return to the military operations, which, during winter, were carried on with vigor in ſeveral places, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon.

The forces, brought from Ireland, were landed at Moſtyne in North-Wales; and being put under the command of Lord Biron, they took the caſtles of Lewarden, Beeſton, Acton, and Dedington houſe. No place in Cheſhire or the neighborhood, now held for the parliament, except Nantwich: And to this town Biron laid ſiege during the depth of winter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at ſo conſiderable a progreſs, aſſembled an army of 4000 men in Yorkeſhire,

* Journ. 13th of February 1643.

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ſhire, and having joined Sir William Brereton, was approaching to the camp of the royaliſts. Biron and his ſoldiers, elated with ſucceſſes obtained in Ireland, had entertained the moſt profound contempt for the parliamentary forces; a diſpoſition, which, if confined to the army, may be regarded as a good preſage of victory; but if it extend to the general, is the moſt probable forerunner of a defeat. Fairfax ſuddenly attacked the camp of the royaliſts. The ſwelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from the other. That part expoſed to Fairfax, being beat from their poſt, retired into the church of Acton, and were all taken priſoners: The other retreated with precipitation. And thus was diſſipated or rendered uſeleſs that body of forces, which had been drawn from Ireland; and the parliamentary party revived in thoſe north-weſt counties of England.

25th of Jan.

Invaſion from Scotland.

THE invaſion from Scotland was attended with conſequences of much greater importance. Having ſummoned in vain Newcaſtle, which was fortified by the vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, the Scotch paſſed the Tyne; and faced the Marquis of Newcaſtle, who lay at Durham with an army of 14000 men. After ſome military operations, in which that general reduced the Scotch to difficulties for forrage and proviſions, he received intelligence of a great diſaſter, which had befallen his forces in Yorkeſhire. Collonel Bellaſis, whom he had left with a conſiderable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheſhire, with his victorious forces. Afraid of being encloſed betwixt two armies, Newcaſtle retreated; and Leven having joined Lord Fairfax, they ſat down before Yorke, in which the army of the royaliſts had ſhut up themſelves. But as the Scotch and parliamentary forces, were not numerous enough to beleaguer ſo large a town, divided by a river, they contented themſelves to incommode it by a looſe blockade; and affairs remained, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe betwixt theſe oppoſite armies.

22d of Feb.

11th of April.

DURING this winter and ſpring, other parts of the kingdom had alſo been harraſſed with war. Hopton, having aſſembled an army of 14000 men, endeavored to break into Suſſex, Kent, and the ſouthern aſſociation, which ſeemed well diſpoſed to receive him. Waller fell upon him at Cherington, and gave him a defeat * of conſiderable importance. In another part, ſiege being laid to Newark, Rupert prepared himſelf for relieving a town of ſuch conſequence, which alone preſerved the communication betwixt the King's ſouthern and northern quarters. With a ſmall force, but that animated by his active courage, he broke thro' the enemy, relieved the town, and totally diſſipated that army of the parliament †.

BUT

* 29th of March. † 21ſt of March.

BUT tho' fortune ſeemed to have divided her favors betwixt the parties, the King found himſelf, in the main, a conſiderable loſer by this winter-campaign; and he prognoſticated a ſtill worſe event from the enſuing ſummer. The preparations of the parliament were great and much exceeded the ſlender reſources, of which he was poſſeſſed. In the eaſtern aſſociation, they levied 14000 men, under the Earl of Mancheſter, ſeconded by Cromwel. An army of ten thouſand men under Eſſex; another of nearly the ſame force under Waller, were aſſembled in the neighborhood of London. The former was deſtined to oppoſe the King: The latter was appointed to march into the weſt, where Prince Maurice, with a ſmall army which went continually to decay, was ſpending his time in vain before Lyme, an inconſiderable town upon the ſea-coaſt. The utmoſt efforts of the King could not raiſe above ten thouſand men at Oxford; and on their ſword chiefly, during the campaign, were theſe to depend for ſubſiſtance.

THE Queen, terrified with the dangers, which every way environed her, and afraid of being encloſed at Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where, ſhe hoped, in tranquillity to bear the child, of which ſhe was now pregnant, and from whence ſhe had an eaſy eſcape into France, if preſſed by the forces of the enemy. She knew the implacable hatred, which, on account of her religion and her credit with the King, the parliament had all along borne her. Laſt ſummer, the commons had ſent up to the peers an impeachment of high treaſon againſt her; becauſe, in his utmoſt diſtreſſes, ſhe had aſſiſted her huſband with arms and ammunition, which ſhe had bought in Holland. And had ſhe fallen into their hands, neither her ſex, ſhe knew, nor high ſtation, would protect her againſt inſults, at leaſt, if not danger, from thoſe fierce republicans, who ſo little affected to conduct themſelves by the maxims of gallantry and politeneſs.

FROM the beginning of theſe diſſenſions, the parliament, 'tis remarkable, had, in all things, aſſumed an extreme aſcendant over their ſovereign, and had diſplayed a violence and arrogated an authority, which, on his ſide, would not have been compatible, either with his temper or ſituation. While he ſpoke perpetually of pardoning all *Rebels*; they talked of nothing but the puniſhment of *Delinquents* and *Malignants*: While he offered a toleration and an indulgence to tender conſciences; they threatened the utter extirpation of prelacy: To his profeſſions of lenity, they oppoſed declarations of rigor: And the more the antient tenor of the laws inculcated a reſpectful ſubordination to the crown, the more careful were they, by their lofty pretenſions, to cover that defect, under which they labored.

THEIR

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THEIR great ſucceſſes in the north ſeemed to ſecond their ambition, and finally to promiſe ſucceſs to their unwarrantable enterprizes. Mancheſter, having taken Lincoln, had united his army to thoſe of Leven and Fairfax; and Yorke was now cloſely beſieged by their combined forces. That town, tho' vigorouſly defended by Newcaſtle, was reduced to great extremity; and the parliamentary generals, after enduring great loſſes and fatigue, flattered themſelves that all their labors would at laſt be crowned by that important conqueſt. On a ſudden, they were alarmed with the approach of Rupert. That gallant Prince, having vigorouſly exerted himſelf in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, had collected a conſiderable army; and joining Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcaſtle's horſe, haſtened to the relief of Yorke with an army of 20,000 men. The Scotch and parliamentary generals raiſed the ſiege, and drawing up on Marſton-moor, propoſed to give battle to the royaliſts. Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and interpoſing the river Ouſe, betwixt him and the enemy, ſafely conjoined his forces to thoſe of Newcaſtle. The Marquis endeavored to perſuade him, that, having ſo ſucceſsfully effected his purpoſe, he ſhould be contented with the preſent advantage, and leave the enemy, now much diminiſhed by their loſſes, and diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs, to diſſolve by thoſe mutual diſſenſions, which had taken place among them. The Prince, whoſe martial diſpoſition was not ſufficiently tempered with prudence, nor ſoftened by complaiſance, pretending a poſitive order from the King, without deigning to conſult with Newcaſtle, whoſe great merit and ſervices deſerved better treatment, immediately gave order for battle, and drew out the whole army to Marſton-moor. This action was obſtinately diſputed betwixt the moſt numerous armies, which were engaged during the whole courſe of theſe wars; nor were the forces on both ſides much different in their number. Fifty thouſand Britiſh troops were led to mutual ſlaughter; and the victory ſeemed long undecided betwixt them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royaliſts, was oppoſed to Cromwel *, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. After a ſharp combat, the cavalry of the royaliſts gave way; and the infantry, who ſtood next them, were likeways borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, reſolute to conquer or to periſh, obſtinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the ſame order, in which they had at firſt been arranged. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Collonel Lambert, along with ſome troops, broke thro' the royaliſts; and, tranſported by the fury of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends, engaged

2d of July.

Battle of Marſton-moor.

* Ruſh. part. 3. vol. ii. p. 633.

gaged alſo in purſuit of the enemy. But after that tempeſt was paſt, Lucas, who commanded the royaliſts in this wing, reſtoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into diſorder, puſhed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to ſeize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwel, who was now returned from purſuit of the other wing. Both ſides were not a little ſurpriſed to find that they muſt again renew the combat for that victory, which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged, and each army occupied the ground, which had been poſſeſſed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This ſecond battle was equally furious and deſperate as the firſt: But after the utmoſt efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly inclined to the ſide of the parliament. The Prince's train of artillery was taken; and his whole army puſhed off the field of battle. Chap. VIII. 1644.

THIS event was, in itſelf, a mighty blow to the King; but proved much more fatal in its conſequences. The Marquis of Newcaſtle was intirely loſt to the royal cauſe. That Nobleman, the ornament of the court and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his diſpoſition, into theſe military operations, merely by a high ſenſe of honor and a perſonal regard to his maſter. From his determined valor, the dangers of war were diſregarded: Its fatigues were oppreſſive to his natural indolence. Munificent and generous in his expence; polite and elegant in his taſte; courteous and humane in his behavior; he brought a great acceſſion of friends and of credit to the party, which he embraced. But amidſt all the hurry of action, his inclinations were ſecretly drawn to the ſoft arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charms of poetry, muſic, and converſation ſtole him often from his rougher occupations. Sir William Davenant, an ingenious poet, he named his lieutenant-general: The other perſons, in whom he placed confidence, were more the inſtruments of his refined pleaſures, than qualified for the buſineſs which they undertook: And the ſeverity and application, requiſite to the ſupport of diſcipline, were qualities of which he was intirely devoid.

WHEN Prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, reſolved on this battle, and iſſued all orders without communicating them to him; he took the field, but, he ſaid, intirely as a volunteer; and, except by his perſonal courage, which ſhone out with luſtre, he had no ſhare in the action. Enraged to find, that all his ſucceſsful labors were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, terrified with the proſpect of renewing all his pains and fatigue, he reſolved no longer to maintain the few reſources which remained to a deſperate cauſe and thought,

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that the ſame regard to honor, which had at firſt called him to arms, now required him to abandon a party, where he met with ſuch unworthy treatment. Next morning early, he ſent word to the Prince, that he was inſtantly to leave the kingdom; and without delay, he went to Scarborow, where he found a veſſel, which carried him beyond ſeas. During the enſuing years, till the reſtoration, he lived abroad in great neceſſity, and ſaw with indifference his opulent fortune ſequeſtered by thoſe who aſſumed the government of England. By ſubmiſſion or compoſition, he diſdained to mark obeiſance to their uſurped authority; and the leaſt favorable cenſors of his merit allowed, that the fidelity and ſervices of a whole life, had ſufficiently atoned for one raſh action, into which his paſſion had betrayed him.

PRINCE Rupert with equal precipitation drew off the remains of his army, and
16th of July. retired into Lancaſhire. Glenham, in a few days, was obliged to ſurrender Yorke; and he marched out his garriſon with all the honors of war. Lord Fairfax, remaining in the town, eſtabliſhed his government in that whole county, and ſent a thouſand horſe into Lancaſhire, to join with the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and attend the motions of Prince Rupert: The Scotch army marched northwards, in order to join with the Earl of Calendar, who was advancing with ten thouſand additional forces; and to reduce the town of Newcaſtle, which they took by ſtorm: The Earl of Mancheſter, along with Cromwel, to whom the fame of this great victory was chiefly aſcribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eaſtern aſſociation, in order to recruit his army.

WHILE theſe events paſſed in the north, the King's affairs in the ſouth were conducted with more ſucceſs and more ability. Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been created Earl of Brentford, acted, under the King, as general.

THE parliament ſoon compleated their two armies commanded by Eſſex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many ſpeeches, by the parliamentary leaders, were made to the citizens, in order to excite their ardor. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to ſpare, on this important occaſion, either their purſes, their perſons, or their prayers; and they were ſufficiently liberal, it muſt be confeſſed, in all theſe contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the King ſhut himſelf up in that city, to lay ſiege to it, and by one enterprize put a period to the war. The King, leaving a great garriſon in Oxford, paſſed with dexterity betwixt the two armies, which had taken Abingdon and had encloſed him on both ſides *. He marched towards Worceſter; and Waller received

* 3d of June.

ved orders from Eſſex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himſelf marched into the weſt, in queſt of Prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only ſeparated from it by the Severn, when he received intelligence, that the King was advanced to Beudly, and directed his courſe towards Shrewſbury. In order to prevent him, Waller preſently diſlodged, and haſtened by quick marches to that city: When the King, ſuddenly returning upon his own foot-ſteps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garriſon, now in his turn marched out in ſearch of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge near Banbury; but the Charwell ran betwixt them. Next day, the King diſlodged and marched towards Daventry. Waller ordered a conſiderable body to paſs the bridge, with an intention of falling on the rear of the royaliſts. He was repulſed, routed, and purſued with conſiderable loſs. Stunned and diſheartened witht his blow, his army decayed and melted away by deſertion; and the King thought that he might ſafely leave it, and march weſtward againſt Eſſex. That general, having obliged Prince Maurice to raiſe the ſiege of Lyme, having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced ſtill in his conqueſts, and met with no equal contraſt or oppoſition. The King followed him, and having re-inforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army ſuperior to the enemy. Eſſex, retreating into Cornwall, informed the parliament of his danger, and deſired them to ſend an army, which might fall on the King's rear. General Middleton received a commiſſion to execute that ſervice; but came too late. Eſſex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Leſtithiel, deprived of all forrage and proviſions, and ſeeing no proſpect of ſuccor, was reduced to the laſt extremity. The King preſſed them on one ſide; Prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Eſſex, Robarts, and ſome of the principal officers, eſcaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with his horſe paſſed the King's guards, in a deep miſt, and got ſafely to the garriſons of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to ſurrender their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were diſmiſſed. By this advantage, which was much boaſted of, the King, beſide the honor of the enterprize, obtained what he ſtood extremely in need of: The parliament, having preſerved the men, loſt what they could eaſily repair.

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Battle of Cropredy-bridge.

1ſt of Sept.

Eſſex's forces diſarmed.

No ſooner did this news arrive in London, than the committee of the two kingdoms voted thanks to Eſſex for his fidelity, courage, and conduct; and this method of proceeding, no leſs politic than magnanimous, the parliament preſerved thro' the whole courſe of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and

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rigorous to their enemies, they employed, with ſucceſs, theſe two powerful engines of reward and puniſhment, in confirmation of their authority.

THAT the King might have leſs reaſon to exult in the advantages, which he had obtained in the weſt, the parliament oppoſed to him very numerous forces. Having armed anew Eſſex's ſubdued, but not diſheartened troops, they ordered Mancheſter and Cromwel to march with their recruited forces from the eaſtern aſſociation; and conjoining their armies to thoſe of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Eſſex, offer battle to the King. At Newberry, where Charles choſe his poſt, they attacked him with great vigor; and that town was a ſecond time the ſcene of the bloody animoſities of the Engliſh. Eſſex's ſoldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honor, and revenge the diſgrace of Leſtithiel, made an impetuous aſſault on the royaliſts; and having recovered ſome of their cannon, loſt in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. Tho' the King's troops defended themſelves with great valor, they were overborne by numbers; and the night came very ſeaſonably to their relief, and prevented a total overthrow. Immediately, Charles, having left his baggage and cannon in Dennington caſtle, near Newberry, retreated to Wallingford, and from thence to Oxford. There, Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton joined him, with conſiderable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened with this re-inforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed before Dennington caſtle. Eſſex, detained by ſickneſs, had not joined the army; ſince his misfortune in Cornwall. Mancheſter, who commanded, tho' his forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of the King, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwel's advice, who earneſtly preſſed him not to neglect ſo favorable an opportunity of finiſhing the war. The King's army, by bringing off their cannon from Dennington-houſe, in the face of the enemy, ſeemed ſufficiently to repair the honor, which they had loſt at Newberry; and Charles having the ſatisfaction to excite, betwixt Mancheſter and Cromwel, equal animoſities with thoſe which formerly took place betwixt Eſſex and Waller, diſtributed his army into winter-quarters.

Second battle of Newberry.

27th of Oct.

9th of Nov.

23d of Nov.

THOSE conteſts among the parliamentary generals, which had diſturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter; and each being ſupported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accuſations agitated the whole city and parliament. There had long prevailed, in that party, a ſecret diſtinction, which, tho' the dread of the King's power had hitherto ſuppreſſed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of ſucceſs became nearer and more immediate, began to diſcover itſelf, with high conteſt and animoſity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had, at firſt, taken ſhelter and concealed themſelves under

der the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. We must here endeavor to explain the genius of this party, and of its leaders, who henceforth occupy the scene of action. Chap. VIII. 1644.

DURING those times, when the fanatical spirit met with such honor and encouragement, and was the immediate means of all distinction and preferment; it was impossible to set bounds to these holy fervors, or confine within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man, as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavored to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and perfection. In proportion to its degrees of fanaticism, each sect became dangerous and destructive; and as the independents went a note higher than the presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this distinction, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects. Rise and character of the independents.

THE independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no church-courts, no government among pastors, no interposal of the magistrate in spiritual concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed, within itself, a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one devoid of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinction was denied betwixt the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no laying on of hands, was supposed, as in all other churches, to be requisite in order to convey a right to the holy order. The fanaticism of the presbyterians led them to shake off the authority of prelates, to reject the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office: The fanaticism of the independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished all ecclesiastical government, disdained all creeds and systems, rejected every ceremony, and confounded each rank and order. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervors of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, gave up himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with Heaven.

THE catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution: The presbyterians, imagining, that

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that such clear and certain tenets, as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified, to the full, their bigotted zeal in a like doctrine and practice: The independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were conducted into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations, in which a fanatic indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to extend to others. Of all christian sects, this was the first, which, during its prosperity, as well as adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and, 'tis remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and enthusiasm.

POPERY and prelacy, alone, whose genius verged towards superstition, the independents were inclined to treat with rigor. The enthusiastic doctrines too of fate or destiny, they were apt to esteem essential to all religion. In these rigid opinions, the whole sectaries, amidst all their other differences, unanimously concurred.

THE political system of the independents kept pace exactly with their religious. Not contented with confining, to very narrow limits, the power of their sovereign, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate; which was the project of the presbyterians; this sect, more ardent in the pursuit of liberty, aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an intire equality of rank and order, in a republic, quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as, they knew, it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the injured prince, they had engaged greater numbers into the opposition against peace, than had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion. And the great success, which had attended the arms of the parliament, and the greater, which was soon expected, confirmed them still further in this obstinacy.

SIR Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwel, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver Sir John, the sollicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. The Earl of Essex, disgusted with a war, of which he began to foresee the pernicious consequences, adhered to the presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The Earl of Northumberland, fond of his rank and dignity, regarded with horror a scheme, which, if it took place, would confound himself

himſelf and his family with the loweſt in the kingdom. The Earls of Warwic, and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Maſſey, Whitelocke, Mainard, Glyn, had embraced the ſame ſentiments. In the parliament, a conſiderable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the preſbyterian party; and it was only by means of cunning and deceit at firſt, and afterwards of violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of ſucceſs. Chap. VIII. 1644.

THE Earl of Mancheſter, provoked at the violent impeachment, which the King had lodged againſt him, had long forwarded the war with great alacrity; but, being a man of humanity and principles, the view of public calamities, and the proſpect of a total ſubverſion of government, began to moderate his ardor, and inclined him to promote peace on any ſafe or honorable terms. He was even ſuſpected, in the field, not to have puſhed to the utmoſt againſt the King the advantages, obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwel, in the public debates, revived the accuſation, that he had wilfully neglected at Dennington caſtle, a favorable opportunity of finiſhing the war by a total defeat of the royaliſts. "I ſhowed him evidently," ſaid Cromwel, "how this ſucceſs "might be obtained; and only deſired leave, with my own brigade of horſe, "to charge the King's army in their retreat; leaving it in the Earl's choice, if "he thought proper, to remain neuter with the reſt of his forces: But, notwithſtanding all importunity, he poſitively and obſtinately refuſed his conſent; "and gave no other reaſon but that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end "of our pretenſions: We ſhould all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and "forefeited by the law."

MANCHESTER, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that at another time, Cromwel having propoſed ſome ſcheme, which, it ſeemed improbable, the parliament would agree to, he inſiſted and ſaid, *My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you ſhall find yourſelf at the head of an army, which will give law both to king and parliament.* "This diſcourſe," continued Mancheſter, "made the greater impreſſion on me, becauſe I knew the lieutenant-general to be "a man of very deep deſigns; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never "would be well with England till I was Mr. Montague, and there was ne'er "a lord or peer in the kingdom." So full was Cromwel of theſe republican projects, that, notwithſtanding his habits of profound hypocriſy, he could not ſo carefully guard his expreſſions, but that ſometimes his favorite notions would eſcape him.

THESE violent diſſentions brought matters to extremity, and puſhed the independents to the execution of their deſigns. The preſent generals, they thought, were

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were more desirous of protracting than finishing the war; and having entertained a scheme for preserving still some ballance in the constitution, they were afraid of intirely subduing the King, and reducing him to a condition, where he should be intitled to ask no concessions. A new model alone of the army would bring compleat victory to the parliament, and free the nation from those calamities, under which it labored. But how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority, as well as merits of Essex, were very great with the parliament. Not only he had served them all along with the most exact and scrupulous honor: It was, in some measure, to be ascribed to his popularity, that they had ever been enabled to levy an army or make head against the royal cause. Manchester, Warwic, and the other commanders had likeways great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them, but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. The Scotch nation and Scotch commissioners, jealous of the progress of the independents, were a new obstacle; which, without the utmost art and subtlety, it would be difficult to surmount. The methods by which this intrigue was conducted, are so singular, and mark so well the genius of the age, that we shall give a detail of them, as they are delivered by Lord Clarendon.

A fast, on the last Wednesday of every month, had, at the beginning of these commotions been ordered by the parliament; and their preachers, on that day, kept alive, by their vehement declamations, the popular prejudices entertained against the King, against prelacy, and against popery. The King, that he might combat the parliament with their own weapons, appointed likeways a monthly fast, where the people should be instructed in the duties of loyalty and of submission to the higher powers; and he chose the second Friday of every month for the devotion of the royalists. It was now proposed and carried in parliament, by the independents, that a more solemn fast should be voted; when they should implore the divine assistance for extricating them from those perplexities, in which they were at present involved. On that day, the preachers, after many political prayers, took care to treat of the reigning divisions in the parliament, and ascribed them intirely to the selfish ends, pursued by the members. In their hands, they said, are lodged all the considerable commands of the army, all the profitable offices in the civil administration: And while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and groans under an insupportable load of taxes; these men multiply possessions on possessions, and will, in a little time, be masters of all the riches in the kingdom. That such persons, who fatten in the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or ensuring a final success to the war, cannot reasonably be expected.

Lingering

Lingering expedients alone will be purſued: And the operations in the field concurring, in the ſame pernicious end, with the deliberations of the cabinet; civil commotions will, for ever, be perpetuated in the nation. After exaggerating theſe diſorders, the miniſters fell again to their prayers; and beſought the Lord that he would take his own work into his own hand; and if the inſtruments, whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to bring, to a concluſion, ſo glorious a deſign, that he would inſpire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, by eſtabliſhing true religion, and putting a ſpeedy period to the public miſeries.

On the day ſubſequent to theſe devout animadverſions, when the parliament met, a new ſpirit appeared in the looks of many. Sir Henry Vane told the commons, That, if ever God had appeared to them, it was in the holy ordinances of yeſterday: That, as he was credibly informed by many, who had been auditors in different congregations, the ſame lamentations and diſcourſes, which the godly preachers had made before them, had been heard in other churches: That ſo remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: That he therefore beſought them, in vindication of their own honor, in conſideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aſide all private ends, and renounce every office, attended with profit or advantage: That the abſence of ſo many members, occupied in different employments, had rendered the houſe extremely thin, and diminiſhed the authority of their determinations: And that he could not forbear, for his part, the accuſing himſelf as one who enjoyed a gainful office, that of treaſurer of the navy; and tho' he was poſſeſſed of it before the civil commotions, and owed it not to the favor of the parliament, yet was he ready to reſign it, and to ſacrifice, to the welfare of his country, every conſideration of private intereſt and advantage.

Cromwel acted next his part, and commended the preachers for having dealt with them plainly and impartially, and told them their errors, of which they were ſo unwilling to be inſtructed. Tho' they dwelt on many things, he ſaid, on which he had never before reflected; yet, upon revolving them, he could not but confeſs, that, till there was a perfect reformation in theſe particulars, nothing which they undertook could poſſibly proſper. The parliament, no doubt, continued he, had done wiſely in the commencement of the war, to engage ſeveral of their members in the moſt dangerous parts of it; and to ſatisfy the nation, that they intended to ſhare all hazards with the meaneſt of the people. But affairs are now changed. During the progreſs of military operations, there have ariſen, in the parliamentary armies, many excellent officers, who are qualified for higher commands than they are now poſſeſſed of. And tho' it be-

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comes not men, engaged in ſuch a cauſe, *to put truſt in the arm of fleſh*, yet he could aſſure them, that their troops contained generals, fit to command in any enterprize of Chriſtendom. The army indeed, he was ſorry to ſay, did not correſpond, by its diſcipline, to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the preſent vices and diſorders, which prevail among the ſoldiers, were repreſſed by a new model, that their forces would ever be attended with ſignal ſucceſs in any undertaking.

IN oppoſition to this reaſoning of the independents, many of the preſbyterians ſhowed the inconvenience and dangers of the projected alteration. Whitelocke, in particular, a man of honor, who loved his country, tho', in every change of government, he always adhered to the ruling power, ſaid, That, beſide the ingratitude of diſcarding, and that by fraud and ſubtilty, ſo many noble perſons, to whom the parliament had hitherto owed its chief ſupport; they would find it extremely difficult to ſupply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: That the rank alone, poſſeſſed by ſuch as were members of either houſe, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders: That greater confidence could be repoſed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who might entertain ſeparate views from thoſe embraced by the perſons, who employed them: That no maxim of policy was more undiſputed, than the neceſſity of preſerving an inſeparable connexion betwixt the civil and military powers, and retaining the latter in ſtrict ſubordination to the former: That the Greeks and Romans, the wiſeſt and moſt paſſionate lovers of liberty, had ever entruſted to their ſenators the command of armies, and had maintained an unconquerable jealouſy of all mercenary forces: And that thoſe alone whoſe intereſt was involved in that of the public, and who poſſeſſed a vote in the civil deliberations, would ſufficiently reſpect the authority of parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the ſword againſt thoſe, by whom it was committed to them.

Self-denying ordinance.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe reaſonings, a committee was choſen to frame what they called the *Self-denying ordinance*; by which the members of both houſes were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were ſpecified. This ordinance was the ſubject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the whole parliament and city into factions. But, at laſt, by the prevalence of envy with ſome; with others, of falſe modeſty; with a great many, of the republican and independent views; it paſſed the houſe of commons, and was ſent to the upper houſe. The peers; tho' the ſcheme was, in part, levelled againſt their order; tho' all of them were, at bottom, extremely averſe to it; poſſeſſed ſo little authority, that they durſt not oppoſe the reſolution of the commons;

mons; and they esteemed it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin, which they saw approaching. The ordinance, therefore, having passed both houses, Essex, Warwic, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good services. A pension of ten thousand pounds a year was settled on Essex. Chap. VIII. 1644.

THE army, it was agreed to recruit to 22,000 men; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. 'Tis remarkable, that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone: And the article of the safety of the king's person was omitted. So much had the animosities increased betwixt the parties. Cromwel, being a member of the lower house, should have been discarded along with the others; but this impartiality would have disappointed all the views of those, who had introduced the self-denying ordinance. He was saved by a subtilty, and by that political craft, in which he was so eminent. At the time, when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken, that he should be sent with a body of horse, in order to relieve Taunton, besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were dispatched for his present attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ some other officer in that service. A ready compliance was feigned; and the very day was named, on which, it was averred, he would take his place in the house. But Fairfax, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, and desired leave to retain, for some days, Lieutenant-general Cromwel, whose advice, he said, would be useful, in supplying the place of those officers, who had resigned. Shortly after, he begged, with much earnestness, that they would allow Cromwel to serve that campaign. And thus the independents, tho' the minority, by art and cunning prevailed over the presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax, in reality, upon Cromwel. 1645.

FAIRFAX was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity, and not more guided by that *honor*, which regards the opinions of the public, than by that nobler principle of *virtue*, which seeks the inward satisfaction of self-approbation and applause. Sincere in his professions; disinterested in his views; open in his conduct; he had formed one of the most shining characters of that age; had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarrassed and confused elocution, on every occasion but when he gave orders, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part, which he acted, Fairfax.

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even when invested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate.

Cromwel.

CROMWEL, by whose sagacity and insinuation Fairfax was intirely governed, is one of the most eminent and most singular personages, which occurs in history: The strokes of his character are as open and strongly marked, as the schemes of his conduct were, during the time, dark and impenetrable. His extensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects: His enterprizing genius was not dismayed with the boldest and most dangerous. Carried, by his natural temper, to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an imperious and domineering policy; he knew, when necessary, to employ the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. A friend to justice, tho' his public conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to religion, tho' he perpetually employed it as the instrument of his ambition; his crimes were derived from the prospect of sovereign power, a temptation, which is, in general, irresistible to human nature. And while he used well that authority, which he attained by fraud and violence, he has lessened, if not overpowered, our detestation of his enormities, in our admiration of his success and of his genius.

Treaty of Uxbridge.

DURING this important transaction of the self-denying ordinance, the negotiations for peace were likeways carried on, tho' with small hopes of success. The King having sent two messages, one from Evesham *, another from Tavistoke †, desiring a treaty, the parliament dispatched commissioners to Oxford, with proposals, no less exorbitant than if they had obtained a compleat victory. The advantages gained during the campaign, the great distresses of the royalists, had much elevated their hopes; and they were resolved to repose no trust in men, enflamed with the highest animosity, and who, were they possessed of power, were fully authorized by law to punish all their opponents as rebels and as traitors.

THE King, when he considered the proposals and the disposition of the parliament, could not expect any accommodation, and had no prospect but of war or of total submission and subjection: Yet, in order to satisfy his own party, who were extremely impatient for peace, he agreed to send the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton, with an answer to the parliament's proposals, and at the same time to desire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretensions. It now became necessary for him to retract his former declaration, that the two houses at Westminster were not a free parliament; and accordingly, he was induced, tho' with great reluctance, to give them, in his answer, the appellation of

* 4th of July, 1644. † 8th of Sept. 1644.

of the parliament of England. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter, which he wrote to the Queen, and of which a copy was taken at the battle of Naſeby, that he ſecretly entered a proteſtation in his council-book; and he pretended, tho' he had *called* them the parliament, that he had not thereby *acknowleged* them for ſuch. This ſubtlety, which does no honor to Charles, is the moſt noted of thoſe very few inſtances, from which the enemies of this Prince have endeavored to load him with the imputation of inſincerity; and have inferred that the parliament could repoſe no confidence in his profeſſions and declarations, not even in his laws and ſtatutes. There is, however, it muſt be confeſſed, a difference univerſally avowed betwixt ſimply giving to men the appellation, which they aſſume, and the ſolemn acknowlegement of their title to it; tho' it had been much better, no doubt, had the King, in ſuch delicate tranſactions betwixt him and his people, kept at the wideſt difference from ſuch refinements. Chap. VIII. 1645.

THE time and place of treaty were agreed on, and accordingly ſixteen commiſſioners from the King met at Uxbridge with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended with the Scotch commiſſioners. It was agreed that the Scotch and parliamentary commiſſioners ſhould give in their demands with regard to three important articles, *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*; and that theſe ſhould be ſucceſſively examined and diſcuſſed in conferences with the King's commiſſioners. It was ſoon found totally impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of theſe articles. 30th Jan.

IN the ſummer 1643, while the negotiations were carried on with Scotland, the parliament had ſummoned an aſſembly at Weſtminſter, compoſed of 121 divines and 30 laymen, celebrated, in their party, for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphyſical doctrines of the church; and, what was of greater importance, the liturgy was intirely aboliſhed, and, in its place, a new directory for worſhip was eſtabliſhed; where, ſuitable to the ſpirit of the puritans, the utmoſt liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the ſolemn league and covenant, epiſcopacy was abjured, as deſtructive of all true piety; and a national engagement, attended with every circumſtance, which could render a promiſe ſacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scoteh, never to ſuffer its admiſſion. All theſe meaſures ſhowed little ſpirit of accommodation in the parliament; and the King's commiſſioners were not ſurprized to find the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery and the directory poſitively demanded, along with the ſubſcription of the covenant, both by the King and kingdom *.

HAD

* Such love of contradiction prevailed in the parliament, that they had converted Chriſtmas, which, with the churchmen, was a great feſtival, into a ſolemn faſt and humiliation; "In order,"

as

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HAD Charles been of a diſpoſition to regard all theological controverſy, as the mere reſult of human folly and depravity; he yet had been obliged, in good policy, to adhere to epiſcopal juriſdiction, not only becauſe it was favorable to monarchy, but becauſe all his adherents were paſſionately devoted to it; and to abandon them, in what they regarded as ſo important an article, was for ever to relinquiſh their friendſhip and aſſiſtance. But Charles had never attained ſuch enlarged principles. Biſhops, he eſteemed eſſential to the very being of a chriſtian church; and he thought himſelf bound, by more ſacred ties, than thoſe of policy, or even of honor, to the ſupport of that order. His conceſſions therefore, on this head, he judged ſufficient, when he agreed, That an indulgence ſhould be given to tender conſciences with regard to ceremonies; that the biſhops ſhould exerciſe no act of juriſdiction or ordination, without the conſent and council of ſuch preſbyters as ſhould be choſen by the clergy of each dioceſe; that they reſide conſtantly in their dioceſe, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be aboliſhed; that abuſes in eccleſiaſtical courts be redreſſed; and that a hundred thouſand pounds be levied from the biſhop's eſtates and the chapter lands, for

as they ſaid, "that it might call to remembrance our ſins and the ſins of our forefathers, who, "pretending to celebrate the memory of Chriſt, have turned this feaſt into an extreme forgetfulneſs "of him, by giving liberty to carnal and ſenſual delights." 'Tis remarkable, that, as the parliament aboliſhed all holy-days, and ſeverely prohibited all amuſement on the Sabbath; and even burned, by the hands of the hangman, the king's book of ſports: The nation found, that there was no time left for relaxation or diverſion. Upon application, therefore, of the ſervants and apprentices, the parliament appointed the ſecond Tueſday of every month for play and recreation. But theſe inſtitutions, they found great difficulty to execute; and the people were reſolved to be merry when they pleaſed, not when the parliament ſhould preſcribe to them. The keeping of Chriſtmas holy-days was long a great mark of malignancy, and very ſeverely cenſured by the commons. Even minced pyes, which cuſtom had made a Chriſtmas diſh among the churchmen, was regarded, during that ſeaſon, as a profane and ſuperſtitious viand by the ſectaries; tho' at other times it agreed very well with their ſtomachs. In the parliamentary ordinance too, for the obſervance of the Sabbath, they inſerted a clauſe for the taking down of May-poles, which they called a heatheniſh vanity. Since we are upon this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to mention, that, beſide ſetting apart Sunday for the ordinances, as they called them, the godly had regular meetings on Thurſday for reſolving caſes of conſcience, and conferring about their progreſs in grace. What they were chiefly anxious about, was the fixing the preciſe moment of their converſion or new birth; and whoever could not aſcertain ſo difficult a point of calculation, could not pretend any title to ſaintſhip. The profane ſcholars at Oxford, after the parliament became maſters of that town, gave to the houſe, in which the godly aſſembled, the denomination of *Scruple-Shop*: The godly, in their turn, inſulted the ſcholars and profeſſors; and, intruding into the places of lectures, declaimed againſt human learning, and challenged the moſt knowing of them to prove that their calling was from Chriſt. We are not told what anſwer the profeſſors of Oxford made to this challenge. See Wood's Faſti Oxonienſes, p. 740.

for payment of debts contracted by the parliament. Theſe conceſſions, tho' conſiderable, gave no ſatisfaction to the parliamentary commiſſioners; and, without abating any thing of their rigor on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia. Chap. VIII. 1645.

THE King's partizans had all along maintained, that the fears and jealouſies of the parliament, after the ſecurities ſo early and eaſily given, to public liberty, were either feigned or groundleſs; and that no human inſtitution, could be better poized and adjuſted, than was now the government of England. By the abolition of the ſtar-chamber and court of high commiſſion, the prerogative, they ſaid, has loſt all that coercive power, by which it had formerly ſuppreſſed or endangered liberty: By the eſtabliſhment of triennial parliaments, it can have no leizure to acquire new powers, or guard itſelf, during any time, from the inſpection of that watchful aſſembly: By the ſlender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain ſuch influence as to procure a repeal of theſe ſalutary ſtatutes: And while the prince commands no mercenary forces, he will in vain, by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, ſo clearly defined by means of late diſputes, and ſo paſſionately cheriſhed by all his ſubjects. In this ſituation ſurely, the nation, governed by ſo virtuous a monarch, may, for the preſent, remain in tranquillity, and try, if it be not poſſible, by peaceful arts, to elude that danger, with which, it is pretended, its liberties are ſtill threatened.

BUT tho' the royaliſts inſiſted on theſe plauſible topics, before the commencement of the war, they were obliged to own, that the progreſs of civil commotions had ſomewhat abated the force and evidence of this reaſoning. If the power of the militia, ſaid the oppoſite party, be entruſted to the King, it were not now altogether impoſſible for him to abuſe that authority. By the rage of inteſtine diſcord, his partizans are enflamed into an extreme hatred towards their antagoniſts; and have contracted, no doubt, ſome prejudices againſt popular privileges, which, in their apprehenſion, have been the ſource of ſo much miſchief. Were the arms of the ſtate, therefore, put entirely into ſuch hands; what public ſecurity, it may be demanded, can be given to liberty, or what private ſecurity to thoſe, who, in oppoſition to the letter of the law, have ſo generouſly ventured their lives in defence of it? In compliance with this apprehenſion, Charles offered, that the arms of the ſtate ſhould be entruſted, during three years, to twenty commiſſioners, who ſhould be named, either by common agreement betwixt him and the parliament, or the one half by him, the other by the parliament. And, after the expiration of that term, he inſiſted, that his conſtitutional authority over the militia ſhould again return to him.

THE

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THE parliamentary commiſſioners at firſt demanded, that the power of the ſword ſhould for ever be entruſted to ſuch perſons, as the parliament alone ſhould appoint: But afterwards, they relaxed ſo far, as to require that authority only for ſeven years; after which, it was not to return to the king, but to be ſettled by bill, or by common agreement betwixt him and his parliament. The King's commiſſioners aſked, whether jealouſies and fears were all on one ſide, and whether the prince, from ſuch violent attempts and pretenſions as he had experienced, had not, at leaſt, equal reaſon to apprehend for his authority, as they for their liberty? Whether there was any equity, in ſecuring only one party, and leaving the other, during the courſe of ſeven years, entirely at the mercy of their enemies? Whether, if unlimited power was entruſted to the parliament during ſo long a period, it would not be eaſy for them to frame the ſubſequent bill in the manner moſt agreeable to themſelves, and keep for ever, poſſeſſion of the ſword, as well as of every article of civil power and juriſdiction?

WITH regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of accommodation betwixt the parties. The parliament demanded, That the ceſſation with the rebels ſhould be declared void; that the management of the war ſhould be reſigned over entirely to the parliament; and that after the conqueſt of Ireland, the nomination of the Lord lieutenant and of the judges, or in other words, the ſovereignty of that kingdom, ſhould likeways remain in their hands.

WHAT rendered a peaceful accommodation ſtill more deſperate: The demands on theſe three heads, however exorbitant, were acknowleged, by the parliamentary commiſſioners, to be nothing but preliminaries. Were all theſe granted, they ſtill reſerved the power of reviving thoſe other demands, ſtill more exorbitant, which, a little before, had been tranſmitted to the King at Oxford. Such ignominious terms were there inſiſted on, as worſe could ſcarcely be demanded, were Charles totally vanquiſhed, a priſoner, and in chains. The King was required to attaint and exempt from a general pardon, forty of the moſt conſiderable of his Engliſh ſubjects, and nineteen of his Scotch, along with all popiſh recuſants in both kingdoms, who had borne arms for him. It was inſiſted on, that forty-eight more, along with all members who had ſate in either houſe at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the King's party, ſhould be rendered uncapable of any office, be forbid the exerciſe of their profeſſion, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their eſtate to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the King, ſhould forfeit the tenth part of their eſtate, or if that did ſuffice, the ſixth, for the payment of public debts. As if the royal authority was not ſufficiently annihilated by ſuch terms, it was demanded, that the court of wards

ſhould

should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without the consent of that assembly. The presbyterians, it must be confessed, after insisting on such conditions, differed in little but in words, from the independents, who required the establishment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpose, during twenty days, among the commissioners, they separated, and returned; those of the King, to Oxford, those of the parliament, to London. Chap. VIII. 1645.

A little before the commencement of this fruitless treaty, a deed was executed by the parliament, which proved their determined resolution to yield nothing, but to proceed in the same violent and imperious manner, with which they had, at first, entered on these dangerous enterprizes. Archbishop Laud, the most favored minister of the King, was brought to the scaffold; and in this instance, the public might see, that popular assemblies, as, by their very number, they are, in a great measure, exempt from the restraint of shame, so, when they also overleap the bounds of law, naturally break out into acts of the most atrocious tyranny and injustice. Execution of Laud.

From the time, that Laud had been committed, the house of commons, engaged in enterprizes of greater moment, had found no leisure to finish his impeachment; and he had patiently endured so long an imprisonment, without being brought to any trial. After the union with Scotland, the bigotted rage of that nation revived the like spirit in England; and the sectaries resolved to gratify their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate, who had so long, by his authority, and by the execution of penal laws, kept their zealous spirit under the most violent confinement. He was accused of high treason, in endeavoring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. The same illegality of an accumulative crime and a constructive evidence, which appeared in the case of Strafford; the same violence and iniquity in conducting the trial; the same malignity of interpretation; the same cruelty of oppression, exercised against the same innocence, tho' perhaps inferior virtues and abilities; are conspicuous thro' the whole course of this prosecution. The groundless charge of popery, which was belied by his whole life and conduct, was continually urged against the prisoner; and every error rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was supposed to imply the height of all enormities. "This man, my "lords", said Serjeant Wilde concluding his long speech against him, "is like "Naaman the Syrian; a great man, but a leper".

We shall not enter into a detail of this matter, which, at present, seems to admit of so little controversy. It suffices to say, that after a long trial, and the examination

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amination of above a hundred and fifty witneſſes, the commons found ſo little likelihood of obtaining a judicial ſentence againſt Laud, that they were obliged to have recourſe to their legiſlative authority, and to paſs an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithſtanding the low condition, into which the houſe of peers were fallen, there appeared ſome intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguiſh, by threats of new tumults, the ſmall remains of liberty, poſſeſſed by the upper houſe. Seven peers alone voted in this important queſtion. The reſt, either from ſhame or fear, took care to abſent themſelves.

LAUD, who had behaved during his trial with great ſpirit and vigor of genius, ſuccumbed not under the horrors of his execution; but tho' he uſually profeſſed himſelf apprehenſive of a violent death, he found all his fears to diſſipate before that ſuperior courage, by which he was animated. "No one", ſaid he, "can "be more willing to ſend me out of life, than I am deſirous to go." Even upon the ſcaffold, and during the intervals of his prayers, he was harraſſed and moleſted by Sir John Clotworthy, a furious zealot of the reigning ſect, and a great leader in the lower houſe: This was the time he choſe to examine the principles of the dying primate, and to trepan him into a confeſſion, that he truſted, for his ſalvation, to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redeemer. Having extricated himſelf from theſe theological toils, the Archbiſhop laid his head on the block; and it was ſevered from the body by one blow*. Thoſe religious opinions, for which he ſuffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and conſtancy of his end. Sincere, he undoubtedly was, and much ſuperior to low intereſts, in all his purſuits; and 'tis to be regreted, that ſo generous a ſpirit, who conducted his enterprizes with ſuch warmth and induſtry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and adopted principles more favorable to the general happineſs of ſociety.

THE great and important advantage, which the party obtained by Strafford's death, may, in ſome degree, palliate the iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt him: But the execution of this old infirm prelate, who had ſo long remained an inoffenſive priſoner, can be aſcribed to nothing but vengeance and bigotry in thoſe ſevere religioniſts, by whom the parliament was intirely governed. That he deſerved a better fate was not queſtioned by any reaſonable man: The degree of his merit was, in other reſpects, much diſputed. Some accuſed him of recommending ſlaviſh doctrines, of promoting perſecution, and of encouraging

* 10th of January.

couraging ſuperſtition; while others thought, that his conduct, in theſe three particulars, would admit of apology and extenuation. Chap. VIII. 1645.

THAT the *letter* of the law, as much as the moſt flaming court-ſermon, inculcates paſſive obedience, is very apparent: And tho' the *ſpirit* of a limited government ſeems to require, in very extraordinary caſes, ſome mitigation of ſo rigorous a doctrine; it muſt be confeſſed, that the preceding genius of the Engliſh conſtitution had rendered a miſtake in this particular very natural and excuſable. To inflict death at leaſt, on thoſe, who depart from the exact line of truth in theſe nice queſtions; ſo far from being favorable to national liberty; ſavors ſtrongly of the ſpirit of tyranny and proſcription.

TOLERATION had hitherto been ſo little the principle of any chriſtian ſect, that even the catholics, the remnant of the religion profeſſed by their anceſtors, could not obtain from the Engliſh the leaſt indulgence. This very houſe of commons, in their famous remonſtrance, took care to juſtify themſelves, as from the higheſt imputation, of any intention to relax the golden reins of diſcipline or grant any toleration: And the enemies of the church were ſo fair, from the beginning, as not to lay claim to any liberty of conſcience, which they called a toleration for ſoul-murder. They openly challenged the ſuperiority, and even menaced the eſtabliſhed church with that perſecution, which they afterwards, with ſuch ſeverity, exerciſed againſt it. And if the queſtion be conſidered in the view of policy; tho' a ſect, already formed and advanced, may, with ſome pretext, demand a toleration; what title had the puritans to this indulgence, who were juſt on the point of ſeparation from the church, and whom, it might be hoped, ſome wholeſome and legal ſeverities would ſtill retain in uniformity to it*?

WHATEVER ridicule, to a philoſophic mind, may be thrown on pious ceremonies, it muſt be confeſſed, that, during a very religious age, no inſtitutions can be more advantageous to the rude multitude, and tend more to mollify that

* That Laud's ſeverity was not extreme, appears from this fact, that he cauſed the acts or records of the high commiſſion-court to be ſearched, and found that there had been fewer ſuſpenſions, deprivations, and other puniſhments, by three, during the ſeven years of his time, than in any ſeven years of his predeceſſor Abbot; who was notwithſtanding in great eſteem with the houſe of commons. *Troubles and trials of Laud*, p. 164. But Abbot was little attached to the court, and was alſo a puritan in doctrine, and bore a mortal hatred to the papiſts. Not to mention, that the mutinous ſpirit was riſing higher in the time of Laud, and would leſs bear control. The maxims, however, of his adminiſtration were the ſame which had ever prevailed in England, and which had place in every other European nation, except Holland. To have changed them for the modern maxims of toleration, would have been eſteemed a very bold and dangerous enterprize.

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fierce and gloomy ſpirit of devotion, to which they are ſo ſubject. Even the Engliſh church, tho' it had retained a ſhare of popiſh ſuperſtition, may juſtly be thought too naked and unadorned, and ſtill to approach too near the abſtract and ſpiritual religion of the puritans. Laud and his aſſociates, by reviving a few primitive inſtitutions of this nature, corrected the error of the firſt reformers, and preſented, to the affrightened and aſtoniſhed mind, ſome ſenſible, exterior obſervances, which might occupy it during its religious exerciſes, and abate the violence of its diſappointed efforts. The thought, no longer bent on that divine and myſterious Eſſence, ſo ſuperior to the narrow capacities of mankind, was able, by means of the new model of devotion, to relax itſelf in the contemplation of pictures, poſtures, veſtments, buildings; and all the fine arts, which miniſtered to religion, thereby received additional encouragement. The primate, 'tis true, conducted this ſcheme, not with the enlarged ſentiments and cool diſpoſition of a legiſlator, but with the intemperate zeal of a ſectary; and by overlooking the circumſtances of the times, ſerved rather to inflame that religious fury, which he meant to repreſs. But this blemiſh is rather to be regarded as a general imputation on the whole age, than any particular failing of Laud; and 'tis ſufficient for his vindication to obſerve, that his errors were the moſt excuſable of all thoſe which prevailed during that zealous period.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Montroſe's victories.——The new model of the army.——Battle of Naſeby.——Surrender of Briſtol.——The weſt conquered by Fairfax.——Defeat of Montroſe.——Eccleſiaſtical affairs.——King goes to the Scotch at Newark.——End of the war.——King delivered up by the Scotch.

WHILE the King's affairs declined in England, ſome events happened in Scotland, which ſeemed to promiſe him a more proſperous iſſue to the quarrel.

Montroſe's victories.

BEFORE the commencement of theſe civil diſorders, the Earl of Montroſe, a young Nobleman of a diſtinguiſhed family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the King, and had made an offer of his ſervices; but by the inſinuations of the Marquis, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, who poſſeſſed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that diſtinction, to which he thought himſelf juſtly intitled. Diſguſted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and ſuitable to the natural ardor of his genius, he had applied himſelf, during the firſt inſurrection, with great zeal as well as ſucceſs, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commiſſioned by the *Tables* to wait upon the King, while the royal army lay at Berwic, he was ſo won upon, by the civilities and careſſes of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himſelf intirely, tho' ſecretly, to his ſervice, and entered into a cloſe correſpondence with him. In the ſecond Scotch inſurrection, a great military command was, by the covenanters, entruſted to him; and he was the firſt who paſſed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invaſion of England. He found means, however, ſoon after to convey a letter to the King: And by the infidelity of ſome about that Prince; Hamilton, as was by ſome ſuſpected; a copy of this letter was ſent to Leven, the Scotch commander. Being accuſed of treachery and a correſpondence with the enemy, Montroſe openly avowed the letter; and aſked the generals, if they dared to call their ſovereign an enemy: And by this bold and magnanimous behavior, he eſcaped the danger of an immediate proſecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his intentions; and he endeavored to draw thoſe, who had entertained like ſentiments,

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ments, into a bond of aſſociation for his maſter's ſervice. Tho' thrown into priſon for this enterprize *, and detained ſome time, he was not diſcouraged; but ſtill continued, by his countenance and protection, to infuſe ſpirit into the diſtreſſed royaliſts. Among other perſons of diſtinction, who united themſelves to him, was the Lord Napier of Merchiſton, ſon to the famous inventor of the logarithms, the perſon to whom the title of a GREAT MAN is more juſtly due, than to any other, whom his country ever produced.

THERE was in Scotland another party, who profeſſing equal attachment to the King's ſervice, pretended only to differ with Montroſe about the means of attaining the ſame end; and of this party, Hamilton was the leader. That Nobleman had cauſe to be extremely devoted to the King, not only by reaſon of the connexion of blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the extraordinary confidence and favor, with which he had ever been honored by his maſter. Being accuſed by Lord Rae, not without ſome appearance or probability, of a conſpiracy againſt the King; Charles was ſo far from harboring ſuſpicion againſt him, that, the very firſt time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bed-chamber, and paſſed alone the night with him. But ſuch was the Duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he eſcaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and ſovereign; and tho' he at laſt ſacrificed his life in the King's ſervice, his integrity and ſincerity have not by hiſtorians been thought intirely free from blemiſh. Perhaps, (and this is the moſt probable opinion) the ſubtilties and refinement of his conduct and his temporizing maxims, tho' accompanied with good intentions, have been the chief cauſe of a ſuſpicion, which has never yet been either fully proved or refuted. As much as the bold and vivid ſpirit of Montroſe prompted him to enterprizing meaſures, as much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to ſuch as were moderate and dilatory. While the former foretold, that the Scotch covenanters were ſecretly forming an union with the Engliſh parliament, and inculcated the neceſſity of preventing them by ſome vigorous undertaking; the latter ſtill inſiſted, that every ſuch attempt would precipitate them into meaſures, to which, otherways, they were not, perhaps, inclined. After the Scotch parliament was ſummoned without the King's authority, the former exclaimed, that their intentions were now viſible, and that if ſome unexpected blow was not ſtruck, to diſſipate them, they would arm the

* It is not improper here to take notice of a miſtake committed by Clarendon, much to the diſadvantage of this gallant Nobleman; that he offered the King, when his Majeſty was in Scotland, to aſſaſſinate Argyle. All the time the King was in Scotland, Montroſe was confined to priſon.

the whole nation againſt the King; the latter maintained the poſſibility of out-voting the diſaffected party, and ſecuring, by peaceful means, the allegiance of the Scotch nation. Unhappily for the royal cauſe, Hamilton's repreſentations met with more credit from the King and Queen, than thoſe of Montroſe; and the covenanters were allowed, without interruption, to proceed in all their hoſtile meaſures. Montroſe haſtened to Oxford; where his invectives againſt Hamilton's treachery, concurring with the general prepoſſeſſion, and ſupported by the unfortunate event of his councils, were entertained with univerſal aſſent and approbation. Influenced by the clamor of his party, more than his own ſuſpicions, Charles, as ſoon as Hamilton appeared, ſent him priſoner to Pendennis caſtle in Cornwall. His brother, Laneric, who was alſo put under confinement, found means to make his eſcape, and fled into Scotland.

THE King's ears were now open to Montroſe's councils, who propoſed none but the boldeſt and moſt daring, ſuitable to the deſperate ſtate of the royal cauſe in Scotland. Tho' the whole nation was occupied by the covenanters, tho' great armies were by them kept on foot, and every place guarded by a vigilant adminiſtration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends, who remained to the King, to raiſe ſuch commotions, as would ſoon oblige the male-contents to recal thoſe forces, which had ſo ſenſibly thrown the ballance in favor of the parliament. Not diſcouraged with the defeat at Marſton-moor, which rendered it impoſſible for him to draw any ſuccor from England; he was contented to ſtipulate with the Earl of Antrim, a Nobleman of Ireland, for ſome ſupply of men from that country. And he himſelf, changing his diſguiſes and paſſing thro' many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and ſecretly prepared the minds of his partizans for the attempting ſome great enterprize.

No ſooner were the Iriſh landed, tho' not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montroſe declared himſelf, and entered upon that ſcene of action, which has rendered his name ſo celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athole flocked to his ſtandard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were perſuaded to embrace the royal cauſe: And with this combined force, he haſtened to attack Lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of 6000 men, aſſembled upon the firſt news of the Iriſh invaſion. Montroſe, inferior in number, totally unprovided of horſe, ill ſupplied with arms or ammunition, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which he himſelf, by his own example and the rapidity of his enterprizes, ſhould inſpire into his raw ſoldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was anſwered chiefly with a volley of ſtones, at the head of his troops he ruſhed amidſt them with

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with his ſword drawn, threw them into confuſion, puſhed his advantage, and obtained a compleat victory, with the ſlaughter of two thouſand of the covenanters *.

THIS victory, tho' it augmented the renown of Montroſe, increaſed not his power nor numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom were extremely attached to the covenant; and ſuch as bore an affection to the royal cauſe, were terrified at the eſtabliſhed authority of the oppoſite party. Dreading the ſuperior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vaſſals to a force levied by the public, was approaching with a conſiderable army; Montroſe haſtened northwards, in order to rouze the Marquis of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having haſtily taken arms, had been inſtantly ſuppreſſed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the gallant Earl of Airly, with his two younger ſons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy: The eldeſt was, at that time, a priſoner with the enemy. At Aberdeen, he attacked the Lord Burley, who commanded a force of 2500 men. After a ſharp combat, by his undaunted courage, which, in his ſituation, was true policy, and was alſo not unaccompanied with military ſkill, he put the enemy to flight, and in the purſuit did great execution upon them †.

BUT by this ſecond advantage, he obtained not the end, which he propoſed. The envious nature of Huntley, jealous of Montroſe's glory, rendered him averſe to join an army, where he himſelf muſt be ſo much eclipſed by the ſuperior merit of the general. Argyle, re-inforced by the Earl of Lothian, was on his back with a great army: The militia of the northern counties, Murray, Roſs, Caithneſs, to the number of 5000, oppoſed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude theſe numerous armies, he turned aſide into the hills, and ſaved his weak, but active troops, in Badenoch. After ſome marches and counter-marches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy-caſtle. This Nobleman's character, tho' celebrated for political courage and conduct, was very low for military ſkill and proweſs; and he here, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which he was worſted, allowed Montroſe to eſcape him. By quick marches, thro' theſe inacceſſible mountains, that general free'd himſelf from the ſuperior forces of the covenanters.

SUCH was the ſituation of Montroſe, that very good or very ill fortune was equally deſtructive to him, and diminiſhed his army. After every victory, his ſoldiers, greedy of ſpoil, but eſteeming the ſmalleſt acquiſition to be inexhauſted riches, deſerted in great numbers, and went home to ſecure the treaſures, which they had acquired. Tired too, and ſpent with haſty and long marches, in

* 1ſt of September 1744. † 11th of September 1644.

in the depth of winter, thro' ſnowy mountains, unprovided of every neceſſary; they fell off, and left their general almoſt alone with the Iriſh, who, having no place to which they could retire, ſtill adhered to him in every fortune.

With theſe, and ſome reinforcement of the Athole-men, and Macdonalds whom he had recalled, Montroſe fell ſuddenly upon Argyle's country, and let looſe upon it the whole rage of war; driving the cattle, burning the houſes, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword. This ſeverity, by which Montroſe ſullied his victories, was the reſult of private animoſity againſt the cheiftain, as much as of zeal for the public cauſe. Argyle, collecting three thouſand men, marched in queſt of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, ſuppoſing himſelf ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance from them. The Earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garriſon of Inverneſs, who were old ſoldiers, joined to 5000 new-levied troops of the northern counties, preſſed the royaliſts on the other ſide, and threatened them with inevitable deſtruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montroſe haſtened to Innerlochy, and preſented himſelf in order of battle, before the ſurpriſed, but not afrighted, covenanters. Argyle alone, ſeized with a panic, deſerted his army, who ſtill maintained their ground, and gave battle to the royaliſts. After a vigorous reſiſtance, they were defeated, and purſued with great ſlaughter: And the power of the Campbells (that is Argyle's name) being thus broke; the highlanders, who were in general well-affected to the royal cauſe, began to join Montroſe's camp, in great numbers. Seaforth's army diſſipated of itſelf, at the very terror of his name. And the Lord Gordon, eldeſt ſon to Huntley, having eſcaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montroſe, with no contemptible number of his followers, attended by his brother, the Earl of Aboine.

2d of Feb.

The council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montroſe's progreſs, began to think of a more regular plan of defence, againſt an enemy, whoſe repeated victories had rendered him extremely formidable. They ſent for Baillie, an officer of reputation; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again inliſted himſelf among the King's enemies, they ſent them to the field, with a conſiderable army, againſt the royaliſts. Montroſe, with a detachment of 800 men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant: And having carried it by aſſault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him. His conduct and preſence of mind, in this emergence, appeared conſpicuous. Inſtantly he called off his ſoldiers from plunder, put them in order, ſecured his retreat by the moſt ſkilful meaſures; and having marched ſixty miles in the face of an enemy much ſuperior

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ſuperior, without ſtopping, or allowing his ſoldiers the leaſt ſleep or refreſhment, he at laſt ſecured himſelf in the mountains.

Baillie and Urrey now divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war againſt the enemy; who ſurpriſed them, as much by the rapidity of his marches, as by the boldneſs of his enterprizes. Urrey, at the head of 4000 men, met him at Alderne, near Inverneſs; and, encouraged by the ſuperiority of number (for the covenanters were double the royaliſts), attacked him in the poſt which he had choſen. Montroſe, having placed his right wing in very ſtrong ground, drew the beſt of his forces to the other, and left no main body betwixt them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by ſhowing a few men thro' the trees and hedges, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leiſure to perceive the ſtratagem, he inſtantly led his left wing to the attack; and, making a furious impreſſion upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and obtained a compleat victory. In this battle, the valor of young Napier, ſon to the lord of that name, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre.

BAILLIE now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's diſcomfiture; but, at Alford, he met himſelf with a like fate *. Montroſe, weak in cavalry, lined his troops of horſe with infantry; and after putting the enemies horſe to the rout, fell with united force upon their infantry, which were entirely cut in pieces, tho' with the loſs of the gallant Lord Gordon on the part of the royaliſts. And having thus prevailed in ſo many battles, which his vigor ever rendered as deciſive as they were ſucceſsful; he ſummons together all his friends and confederates, and prepares himſelf for marching into the ſouthern provinces, in order to put a total period to the power of the covenanters, and diſſipate the parliament, which, with great pomp and ſolemnity, they had aſſembled at St. Johnſton's.

WHILE the fire was thus kindled in the north of the iſland, it blazed out, with no leſs fury in the ſouth; and both armies, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, prepared to take the field, in hopes of bringing their important quarrel to a quick deciſion. The paſſing the ſelf-denying ordinance had been protracted by ſo many debates and intrigues, that the ſpring was far advanced before it received the ſanction of both houſes; and by many it was eſteemed dangerous, ſo near the time of action, to introduce ſo great innovations into the army. Had not the punctilious principles of Eſſex engaged him, amid all the diſguſts which he received, to pay implicit obedience to the parliament; this alteration had not been effected without ſome fatal accident: Since, notwithſtanding the prompt reſignation of his command, a mutiny was generally apprehended. Fairfax, or, more properly ſpeaking, Cromwel under his name, introduced, at laſt, the *new model*

* 2d of July.

model into the army, and threw the whole troops into a different ſhape. From the ſame men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into ſuch hands, as the independents could entirely rely on. Beſide members of parliament who were excluded, many officers unwilling to ſerve under the new generals, threw up their commiſſion; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction. Chap. IX. 1645.

THO' the diſcipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorouſly executed, by theſe new commanders. Valor indeed was very generally diffuſed over the one party as well as the other, during this period: Diſcipline too was attained by the forces of the parliament: But the perfection of the military art, in concerting the general plans of action, and the operations of the field, ſeems ſtill, on both ſides, to have been, in a great meaſure, wanting. Hiſtorians at leaſt, perhaps from their own ignorance and inexperience, have not remarked any thing but a headlong impetuous conduct; each party hurrying to a battle, where valor and fortune chiefly determined the ſucceſs. The great ornament of hiſtory, during theſe reigns, are the civil, not the military tranſactions.

NEVER ſurely was a more ſingular army aſſembled, than that which was now ſet on foot by the parliament. To the greateſt number of the regiments, chaplains were not appointed: The officers aſſumed the ſpiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. In all the intervals of action, they occupied themſelves in ſermons, prayers, exhortations; and the ſame emulation, there, attended them, which, in the field, is ſo neceſſary to ſupport the honor of that profeſſion. Rapturous ecſtaſies ſupplied the place of ſtudy and reflection; and while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they miſtook that eloquence, which, to their own ſurprize, as well as that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illuminations, and for illapſes of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they lay in quarters, they excluded the miniſter from his pulpit; and, mounting that dangerous tribunal, conveyed their ſentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valor, their military exploits, united to their apparent zeal and fervor. The private ſoldiers, ſeized with the ſame ſpirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in peruſing the Holy Scriptures, in ghoſtly conferences; where they compared the progreſs of their ſouls in grace, and mutually ſtimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their ſalvation. When marching to battle, along with the inſtruments of military muſic, the whole field reſounded with pſalms and ſpiritual ſongs, adapted to the occaſion; and each man endeavored to drown the New model of the army.

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ſenſe of preſent danger, in the proſpect of that crown of glory which was ſet before him. In ſo holy a cauſe, wounds were eſteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action, inſtead of baniſhing their pious viſions, ſerved rather to impreſs their mind more ſtrongly with them. During no period, did human nature wear ſo remarkable a form; nor did men's imagination ever advance, with more rigorous, but ſtill irregular ſallies, into thoſe myſterious regions, pointed out by religion.

THE royaliſts endeavored to throw a ridicule on this fanaticiſm of the parliamentary armies, without being ſenſible how much reaſon they had to apprehend it. The forces, aſſembled by the King at Oxford, in the weſt, and in other places, were equal, if not ſuperior, in number, to their adverſaries; but actuated by a very different ſpirit. That licence, which had been introduced by the defect of pay, had riſen to a prodigious height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the ſoldiery, had indulged the troops in very unwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of profligate principles, had promoted the ſame ſpirit of diſorder: And the licentious Goring, Gerrard, Sir Richard Granville, now carried it to the greateſt pitch of enormity. In the weſt eſpecially, where Goring and Granville commanded, univerſal ſpoil and havoc were committed; and the whole country was laid waſte by their unbounded rapine. All diſtinction of parties being in a manner dropped; the moſt devoted friends of the church and monarchy, wiſhed there for ſuch ſucceſs to the parliamentary forces, as might put an end to theſe oppreſſions. The country people, deſpoiled of their whole ſubſtance, flocked together in ſeveral places, armed with clubs and ſtaves; and tho' they profeſſed an enmity to the ſoldiers of both parties, their hatred was in moſt places levelled chiefly againſt the royaliſts, from whom they had met with the worſt treatment. Many thouſands of theſe tumultuous peaſants were aſſembled in different parts of England; who deſtroyed all ſuch ſtraggling ſoldiers as they met with, and much infeſted the armies.

THE diſpoſition of the forces on both ſides, was as follows: Part of the Scotch army was employed in taking in Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkeſhire: Part of it beſieged Carliſle, valiantly defended by Sir Thomas Glenham. Cheſter, where Biron commanded, had long been blockaded by Sir William Brereton; and was reduced to great difficulties. The King, being joined by the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a conſiderable army of about 15,000 men. Fairfax and Cromwel were poſted at Windſor, with the new modelled army, of about 22,000 men. Taunton, in the county of Somerſet, defended by Blake, ſuffered a long ſiege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army

army of about 8000 men; and, tho' the defence had been very obſtinate, the garriſon was reduced to the laſt extremity. Goring commanded, in the weſt, an army of nearly the ſame number.

On opening the campaign, the King formed the project of relieving Cheſter; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The King was firſt in motion. When he advanced to Draiton in Cheſhire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raiſed the ſiege, and that the parliamentary army was drawn off. Fairfax, having reached Saliſbury in his road weſtward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay ſiege to Oxford, now expoſed by the King's abſence. He obeyed, after ſending Collonel Weldon to the weſt, with a detachment of 4000 men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raiſed the ſiege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: But the royaliſts, being reinforced with 3000 horſe under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and ſhut up Weldon, with his ſmall army, in that ruinous city.

The King, having effected his purpoſe with regard to Cheſter, returned ſouthwards; and, in his way, ſate down before Leiceſter, a garriſon of the parliament. Having made a breach in the wall, he ſtormed the town on all ſides; and, after a furious aſſault, the ſoldiers entered ſword in hand, and committed all thoſe diſorders, to which their natural brutality, enflamed by reſiſtance, is ſo much addicted. A great booty was taken and diſtributed among them: Fifteen hundred priſoners fell into the King's hands. This ſucceſs, which ſtruck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach; and march towards the King, with an intention of offering him battle. The King was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raiſe the ſiege, which he apprehended was laid before it; and both armies, 'ere they were aware, had advanced within ſix miles of each other. A council of war was called by the King, in order to deliberate concerning the meaſures which he ſhould purſue. On the one hand, it ſeemed more prudent to delay the combat; becauſe Gerrard, who lay in Wales with 3000 men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the army; and Goring, it was hoped, would ſoon be maſter of Taunton, and having put the weſt in full ſecurity, would then unite his forces to thoſe of the King, and give him an inconteſtable ſuperiority over the enemy. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, whoſe boiling ardor ſtill puſhed him on to combat, excited the impatient humor of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full; and urged the many difficulties under which the royaliſts labored, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them. The

reſolution

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resolution was formed to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him.

14th of June. Battle of Naseby.

At Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this decisive and well-disputed field, betwixt the King and parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the King: The right wing, by Prince Rupert: The left, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of the opposite army: Cromwel, in the right wing: Ireton, Cromwel's son-in-law, in the left wing. The charge was begun, with his usual celerity and usual success, by Prince Rupert. Tho' Ireton made stout resistance, and even after he was run thro' the thigh with a pike, still maintained the combat, till he was taken prisoner; yet was that whole wing broke, and pursued with precipitate fury by Rupert: He was even so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The King led on his main body, and displayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valor of a stout soldier. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported that reputation, which they had acquired. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground. The infantry of the parliament was broke, and pressed upon by the King; till Fairfax, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve and renewed the combat. Mean while, Cromwel, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royalists, and by his prudence improved that advantage, which he had gained by his valor. Having pursued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the King's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, tho' twice desperately assailed by Fairfax: And that general, excited by so steddy a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was broke. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and, having seized the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier afterwards boasting that he had won this spoil, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action: *Let him retain that honor*, said Fairfax, *I have to day acquired enough beside.*

Prince Rupert, sensible too late of his error, left the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the King, whose infantry was now totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, *One charge more and we recover the day.* But the disadvantages, under which they labored, were too evident; and they could by no means be induced

to

to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The ſlain, on the ſide of the parliament, exceeded thoſe on the ſide of the King: They loſt a thouſand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax made priſoners, 500 officers, 4000 private men: Took all the King's artillery and ammunition, and totally diſſipated his infantry: So that ſcarce any victory could be more compleat, than that which he obtained. Chap. IX. 1645.

AMONG the other ſpoils, was ſeized the King's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the Queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be publiſhed. They choſe, no doubt, ſuch of them as they thought would reflect moſt diſhonor upon him: Yet upon the whole, the letters are wrote with great delicacy and tenderneſs, and give a very advantageous idea both of the King's genius and morals. A mighty fondneſs, 'tis true, and attachment, he expreſſes to his conſort, and often profeſſes that he never would embrace meaſures, diſagreeable to her: But ſuch declarations of civility and confidence, are not always to be taken in a literal ſenſe. And ſo legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excuſable towards a woman of beauty and ſpirit, even tho' ſhe was a papiſt.

THE Athenians, having intercepted a letter wrote by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife Olympia; ſo far from being moved by a curioſity of prying into the ſecrets of that alliance, immediately ſent the letter to the Queen unopened. Philip was not their ſovereign; nor were they enflamed with that violent animoſity againſt him, which attends all civil commotions.

AFTER the battle, the King retreated with that body of horſe, which remained intire, firſt to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained ſometime in Wales, from the vain hope of raiſing a body of infantry in thoſe harraſſed and exhauſted quarters. Fairfax, having firſt re-taken Leiceſter, which was ſurrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprizes. A letter was brought him, wrote by Goring to the King, and unfortunately entruſted to a ſpy of Fairfax. Goring informed the King, that, in three weeks time, he hoped to be maſter of Taunton; after which he would join his Majeſty with all the forces of the weſt; and entreated him, in the mean while, to avoid coming to any action with the enemy. This letter, which, had it been ſafely delivered, had probably prevented the fatal battle of Naſeby, ſerved now to direct the councils of Fairfax. After leaving a body of 3000 men to Pointz and Roſſeter, with orders to attend the King's motions, he marched immediately to the weſt, with a view of ſaving Taunton and ſuppreſſing the only conſiderable force which now remained to the royaliſts. 17th of June.

IN

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In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehenſive of the event, had ſent the Prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to the weſt, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he was preſſed by the enemy, that he ſhould make his eſcape into a foreign country, and ſave one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himſelf into Briſtol, with an intention of defending that important city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

10th of July.

On Fairfax's approach, the ſiege of Taunton was raiſed; and the royaliſts retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerſet. Fairfax attacked them in that poſt, beat them from it, killed about 300 men, and took 1400 priſoners. After this advantage, he ſat down before Bridgewater, a town eſteemed ſtrong, and of great conſequence in that country. Having entered the outer town by ſtorm, Windham the governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and delivered the place to Fairfax. The garriſon, to the number of

23d of July.

2600, were made priſoners of war.

Having taken Bath and Sherborne, Fairfax reſolved to ſit down before Briſtol; and made great preparations for an enterprize, which, from the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the reputation of Prince Rupert, the governor, was eſteemed of the laſt importance. But, ſo precarious in moſt men is this quality of military courage! a poorer defence was not made by any town, during this whole war: And the general expectation was here extremely diſappointed. No ſooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by ſtorm, than the Prince capitulated,

11th of Sept.

and delivered up the city to Fairfax. A few days before, he had wrote a letter to the King, in which he undertook to defend the city for four months, if no mutiny enforced him to ſurrender it. Charles, who was forming ſchemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Briſtol, was aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected an event, which was little leſs fatal to his party than the defeat at Naſeby. Full of indignation, he inſtantly recalled all Prince Rupert's commiſſions, and ſent him a paſs to go beyond ſeas.

Surrender of Briſtol.

The King's affairs now went faſt to ruin in all quarters. Carliſle, after an obſtinate ſiege, being ſurrendered * to the Scotch, they marched ſouthwards, and laid ſiege to Hereford; but were obliged to raiſe it on the King's approach: And this was the laſt glimpſe of ſucceſs, which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Cheſter, which was a-new beſieged by the parliamentary forces under Collonel Jones; Pointz attacked his rear, and enforced him to give

24th of Sept.

battle. While the fight was engaged with great obſtinacy, and victory ſeemed to incline to the royaliſts; Jones fell upon them from the other ſide, and put them to

* 28th of June.

to rout, with the loſs of 600 ſlain and 1000 priſoners. The King, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and from thence eſcaped into Oxford, where he ſhut up himſelf during the winter ſeaſon. Chap. IX. 1645.

THE news, which he received from all ſides, were no leſs fatal than thoſe events, which paſſed, where he himſelf was preſent. Fairfax and Cromwel, after the ſurrender of Briſtol, having divided their forces, the former marched weſtwards, in order to compleat the conqueſt of Devonſhire and Cornwal; the latter attacked the King's garriſons which lay to the eaſt of Briſtol. The Devizes were ſurrendered to Cromwel; Berkeley caſtle was taken by ſtorm; Wincheſter capitulated; Baſing-houſe was entered ſword in hand: And all theſe middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the parliament.

THE ſame rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs attended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elevated by paſt victories, governed by the moſt rigid diſcipline, met with no equal contraſt from troops, diſmayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. Having beaten up the quarters of the royaliſts at Bovey-Tracy, Fairfax ſat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by ſtorm. Poudram caſtle being taken, and Exeter blockaded on all ſides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royaliſts, having advanced to its relief with an army of 8000 men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington; where he was defeated, all his foot ſcattered, and he himſelf with his horſe obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him, and vigorouſly purſued the victory. Having incloſed the royaliſts at Truro, he forced the whole army, conſiſting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to ſurrender upon terms. The ſoldiers, delivering up their horſes and arms, were allowed to diſband, and received twenty ſhillings a-piece, to carry them to their homes. Such of the officers, as deſired it, had paſſes to retire beyond ſeas: The others, having promiſed never more to bear arms, payed compoſitions to the parliament *, and procured their pardon. And thus Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which compleated the conqueſt of the weſt, marched, with his victorious army, to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The Prince of Wales, in purſuance of the King's orders, retired to Scilly, then to Jerſey; from whence he went to Paris; where he joined the Queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the Earl of Eſſex conducted the parliamentary army to the weſt. 1646. The weſt conquered by Fairfax. 18th of Jan. 19th Feb.

* Theſe compoſitions were different, according to the demerits of the perſon: But by a vote of the houſe they could not be under two years rent, of the delinquent's eſtate. Journ. 11th of Auguſt 1648.

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In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by ſurprize: Cheſter ſurrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, with 1200 horſe, to break into Scotland and join Montroſe, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkeſhire, by Collonel Copley; his whole forces ſcattered, and he himſelf obliged to fly, firſt to the iſle of Man, and thence into Ireland. News too arrived that Montroſe himſelf, after ſome more ſucceſſes, was at laſt routed; and this only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguiſhed.

When Montroſe deſcended into the ſouthern counties, the covenanters, aſſembling their whole forces, met him with a numerous army and gave him battle, but without ſucceſs, at Kilſyth *. This was the moſt compleat victory which Montroſe ever obtained. The royaliſts put to ſword ſix thouſand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was ſhook with theſe repeated ſucceſſes; and many noblemen, who ſecretly favored the royal cauſe, now declared openly for it, when they ſaw a force able to ſupport them. The Marquis of Douglaſs, the Earls of Annandale and Hertfield, the Lords, Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal ſtandard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the priſoners, which were there detained by the covenanters. Among the reſt, was the Lord Ogilvy, ſon to Airly, whoſe family had contributed extremely to the victory, obtained at Kilſyth.

David Lesly was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his diſtreſſed party in Scotland. Montroſe advanced ſtill farther to the ſouth, allured by vain hopes, both of rouzing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxborough, who had promiſed to join him; and of obtaining from England ſome ſupply of cavalry, of which he ſtood in great need. By the negligence of his ſcouts, at Philip-Haugh in Tweddale, Leſly ſurprized his army, much diminiſhed in numbers, by the deſertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to cuſtom, in order to put their plunder in ſecurity. After a ſharp fight, where Montroſe exerted the moſt heroic valor, his forces were routed by Leſly's cavalry †. And he himſelf obliged, with his broken forces, to fly into the mountains; where he again prepared himſelf for new battles and new enterprizes.

Defeat of Montroſe.

The covenanters uſed the victory with great rigor. Their priſoners, Sir Robert Spottiſwood, ſecretary of ſtate, and ſon to the late primate, Sir Philip Niſbet, Sir William Rollo, Collonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, ſon to the biſhop of Murray, William Murray, ſon to the Earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The ſole crime, imputed to the ſecretary, was the

* 15th of Auguſt 1645. † 13th of Sept. 1645.

the delivering to Montroſe the King's commiſſion to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken priſoner, would have undergone the ſame fate, had not his ſiſter found means to procure his eſcape, by changing cloaths with him. For this inſtance of courage and dexterity, ſhe met with very harſh uſage. The clergy ſollicited the parliament that more royaliſts might be executed; but could not obtain their requeſt *.

AFTER all theſe repeated diſaſters, which, every where, befell the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exerciſe her rigor. Lord Aſtley with a ſmall army of 3000 men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the King, was met at Stowe by Collonel Morgan, and utterly defeated; himſelf being taken priſoner. "You have done your "work", ſaid Aſtley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now go to play, "unleſs you chooſe to fall out among yourſelves." 22d of March.

THE condition of the King, during this whole winter, was, to the laſt degree, diſaſtrous and melancholy. As the dread of ills is commonly more oppreſſive than their real preſence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more juſtly the object of compaſſion. His vigor of mind, which, tho' it ſometimes failed him in acting, never deſerted him in his ſufferings, was what alone ſupported him; and he was determined, as he wrote to Lord Digby, if he could not live as a king, to die like a gentleman; nor ſhould any of his friends, he ſaid, ever have reaſon to bluſh for the prince, whom they had ſo unfortunately ſerved †. The murmurs of diſcontented officers, on the one hand, harraſſed their unhappy ſovereign; while they over-rated thoſe ſervices and ſufferings, which, they now ſaw, muſt, for ever, be unrewarded: The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of his more generous friends, who reſpected his misfortunes and his virtues, as much as his dignity, muſt have wrung his heart with new ſorrow; when he reflected, that ſuch diſintereſted attachment would ſo ſoon be expoſed to the rigor of his implacable enemies. Repeated attempts, which he made for a peaceful and equitable accommodation with the parliament, ſerved to no purpoſe, but to convince them that the victory was intirely in their hands. To ſeveral of his meſſages, in which he deſired a paſſport for commiſſioners, they deigned not to make the leaſt reply. At laſt, after reproaching him with the blood which was ſhed during the war, they told him, that they were preparing bills for him, and his paſſing them would be the beſt pledge of his inclination towards peace: In other words, he muſt yield at diſcretion. He deſired a perſonal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his attendants: They abſolutely refuſed him acceſs, and iſſued

* Guthry's Memoirs. † Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. No 433.

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orders for the guarding, that is, ſeizing, his perſon, in caſe he ſhould attempt to viſit them. A new accident, which happened in Ireland, ſerved to inflame the minds of men, and to increaſe thoſe calumnies, with which his enemies had ſo much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the moſt grievous part of his misfortunes.

AFTER the ceſſation with the Iriſh rebels, the King was deſirous of concluding a final peace with them, and obtaining their aſſiſtance in England: And he gave authority to Ormond, Lord lieutenant, to promiſe them an abrogation of all the penal laws, enacted againſt catholics; along with the ſuſpenſion of Poining's ſtatute, with regard to ſome particular bills, which ſhould be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan, (tho' his patent had not yet paſſed the ſeals) having occaſion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the King conſidered that this Nobleman, being a catholic and allied to the beſt Iriſh families, might be of ſervice; and he accordingly deſired him to promote, by his good offices, the negotiation, which was then on foot with the rebels. Glamorgan, bigotted for his religion, and paſſionate for the King's ſervice, but guided, in theſe purſuits, by no manner of judgment or diſcretion, ſecretly, of himſelf, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed in the King's name, that the Iriſh ſhould enjoy all the churches, which they had ever been in poſſeſſion of, ſince the commencement of their inſurrection; on condition that they ſhould aſſiſt the King with a body of ten thouſand men. As ſoon as this tranſaction was divulged, Ormond, who was well aſſured, that the King had never conſented to a treaty, by which the catholic was, in a manner, made the eſtabliſhed religion of Ireland, immediately threw Glamorgan into priſon, and charged him with high treaſon on account of his temerity. The King diſowned the giving him any authority for this pacification; and ſent to the parliament an account of the whole matter. The prejudices which prevailed againſt him, made his relation meet with no manner of credit with the parliament or their partizans. And to this day, his veracity in this point is, by ſome hiſtorians, very much called in queſtion *.

HAVING

* It ſeems to me, that Glamorgan's commiſſion was either forged or ſurreptitious, or that it was limited by ſecret inſtructions, which he did not regard: But the ſuppoſition of its forgery is by far the moſt probable. To form a perfect judgment of this queſtion requires the peruſal of ſeveral original papers, beſide what are to be found in Ruſhworth, particularly many letters in the third volume of Carte's life of Ormond. Perhaps, the following hints may be of uſe to the reader, who would go to the bottom of this affair, which, at firſt view, ſeems more intricate than it really is.

1. It

HAVING loſt all hope of prevailing over the rigor of the parliament, either by arms or by treaty, the only reſource, which remained to the King, conſiſted in the inteſtine diſſenſions, which ran very high amongſt the parties. Preſbyterians and independents,

1. It was known to the King, that Glamorgan had very little ſenſe; and he informs Ormond of it, and puts him on his guard in this particular, Carte vol. ii. appendix 13. Is it conceivable, that he entruſted ſo delicate a tranſaction to him, intirely independent of Ormond? 2. Glamorgan was zealous for the King, very zealous for his religion: This treaty, to a man of ſmall underſtanding, might ſeem to ſerve both. 3. He was a man of ſo little probity or ſo great levity, that his forgeries, in other inſtances, are palpable and avowed. In order to render himſelf conſiderable among the Iriſh, he ſhowed them a paper, pretended to be ſigned by the King, where Charles promiſes his daughter to his eldeſt ſon, gives him the right of coinage, endows him with the power in England as well as Ireland, of making nobility and beſtowing any title below a duke, of naming one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, two of the privy council, and the attorney or ſollicitor-general. He forged alſo a letter from the King to the Pope; and the forgery was ſo palpable, that the Nuncio refuſed to accept the letter. Is any credit to be paid to ſuch a man's aſſeverations? Or even any attention given them? 4. The letter, which he produced, had many internal marks of forgery. It bears to be ſealed with the privy ſignet; yet it was not ſealed at all: He is called in it Glamorgan, not Herbert; tho' he never bore the former title at Oxford, becauſe his patent had not paſſed the ſeals: It is not counterſigned by any ſecretary, nor written in the uſual ſtyle of ſuch warrants, nor does it refer to any inſtructions. 5. Ormond was Lord lieutenant, and greatly and deſervedly truſted by the King: Would the King have diſgraced himſelf and affronted ſo great and good a ſubject, by conducting a negotiation in Ireland by a canal, unknown to him? 6. The King, in 31 of July 1645, after the battle of Naſeby, being reduced to great ſtraits, writes earneſtly to Ormond to conclude a peace upon certain conditions mentioned, and to come over himſelf with all the Iriſh he could procure. See Carte vol. 3. No 400. This were a great abſurdity, if he had already fixed a different canal, by which, on very different conditions, he propoſed to eſtabliſh a peace. 7. In October the 22. as his diſtreſſes multiply, he ſomewhat enlarges the conditions. A new abſurdity. See Carte vol. iii. No 411. 8. Ormond had told the King, that too large conceſſions to the catholics would be oppoſed by the Iriſh council, who might throw themſelves into the hands of the Engliſh parliament and oppoſe the tranſportation of the Iriſh auxiliaries. See Carte vol. iii. No 410. What abſurdity, then, of granting conditions, which both the council and Ormond muſt oppoſe, and muſt of courſe be ineffectual to the end propoſed. 9. By the King's letter to Ormond, on the 2d of December ſee No 414, 'tis plain he knew nothing of Glamorgan's peace: Yet that is three months after it was concluded. A plain impoſſibility! 10. Lord Digby, 'tis evident, knew nothing of Glamorgan's commiſſion, tho' the King's ſecretary, and at Oxford, when it is pretended to be granted: How durſt he otherways have arreſted Glamorgan for acting in obedience to it? But is it probable, that it could be a ſecret to Digby? 11. Ormond and Digby, without ſtaying to inform the King or waiting his orders, immediately arreſted Glamorgan, and were perfectly aſſured that Charles was incapable of giving ſuch ſcandalous orders. Nothing can do greater honor to the King, nor more fully prove his innocence. 12. The King's poſitive denial, both in public, and in all his private letters to Ormond and Digby, muſt be admitted by every one, but the moſt bigotted enemies to this Prince, to be of great weight. 13. Glamorgan forged plainly

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independents, even before their victory was fully compleated, fell into high conteſts about the diviſion of the ſpoil, and their religious as well as civil diſputes, agitated the whole nation.

THE

plainly theſe words, of ſo great conſequence *(Or his pleaſure known)*, which he inſerted into the copy of the peace, which he gave into the Iriſh council. I ſtill repeat the queſtion: Was he not equally capable of another forgery? 14. But what plainly acquits the King, is, that after all the articles of peace were concluded by Glamorgan, that Nobleman privately added a defeazance in theſe terms. "The Earl of Glamorgan does no way intend hereby to oblige his Majeſty other "than he himſelf ſhall pleaſe, after he has received theſe 10,000 men, as a pledge and teſtimony "of the ſaid Roman catholics' loyalty and fidelity to his Majeſty; yet he promiſes faithfully, upon his word and honor, not to acquaint his Majeſty with this defeazance, till he had endeavored, as far as in him lay, to induce his Majeſty to the granting of the particulars in the ſaid "articles: But that done, the ſaid commiſſioners diſcharge the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan, both in "honor and conſcience, of any farther engagement to them therein; tho' his Majeſty ſhould not "be pleaſed to grant the ſaid particulars in the articles mentioned; the ſaid Earl having given "them aſſurance, upon his word, honor, and voluntary oath, that he would never, to any perſon "whatſoever, diſcover this defeazance in the interim without their conſents." Here was a treaty and no treaty; and no clearer proof can be produced, that Glamorgan was conſcious, that he acted without powers. The queſtion is only, why the Iriſh accepted of a treaty which bound no body. They probably hoped that the King would be more eaſily induced to ratify a treaty, which was concluded, than to conſent to its concluſion. 15. Even after the King was priſoner, Ormond made peace on eaſier terms. A proof, that the Iriſh were at laſt ſatisfied, that Glamorgan wanted authority. 16. When Lord Digby's papers were taken, after his defeat, the parliament took care to publiſh every thing, which, by any means, could throw a reflection on the King; but they took care to ſuppreſs whatever could redound to his praiſe. Among the reſt was a letter, wrote by Digby to the Iriſh council of Kilkenny, and which Dr. Nalſon found afterwards in the paper-office. "I am "commanded by his Majeſty to declare to you, that, were the condition of his affairs much more "deſperate than it is, he would never redeem them, by any conceſſion of ſo much wrong both "to his *Honor* and *Conſcience:* It is for the defence of his religion principally, that he hath undergone the extremities of war here, and he will never redeem his crown by ſacrificing it there.—— "If nothing will content you but what muſt wound his honor and conſcience, you muſt expect, "that how low ſoever his condition is, and how deteſtable ſoever the rebels of this kingdom are "to him; he will in that point join with them, the Scotch, or any of the proteſtant profeſſion, rather than do the leaſt act, that may hazard that religion, in which and for which he will live "and die." The King's ſentiments are ſufficiently expreſſed in this letter. See Carte vol. iii. No 402.

It is ridiculous to allege, that Glamorgan was not puniſhed, as a proof that he had had a commiſſion. His father, the Marquis of Worceſter, had deſerved as well of the King as any ſubject in his dominions: And was this a time for the King's puniſhing his friends for imprudent ſervices; when he was oppreſſed and borne down by the violence of his open, and implacable enemies?

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THE parliament, tho' they had very early aboliſhed epiſcopal authority, had not, for a long time, ſubſtituted any other in its place; and their committees of religion had hitherto aſſumed the whole eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction: But, by an ordinance, they now eſtabliſhed the preſbyterian government in all its forms of *congregational*, *claſſical*, *provincial*, and *national* aſſemblies. The whole inhabitants of each pariſh were ordered to meet and chooſe elders, on whom, along with the miniſter, was beſtowed the intire direction of all ſpiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighboring pariſhes, commonly betwixt twelve and twenty, formed a claſſis; and the court, which governed this diviſion, was compoſed of all the miniſters, along with two, three, or four elders choſen from each pariſh. The provincial aſſembly retained an inſpection over ſeveral neighboring claſſes, and was compoſed intirely of clergymen: The national aſſembly was conſtituted in the ſame manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. 'Tis probable, that the tyranny exerciſed by the Scotch clergy, had given warning not to allow laymen a place in the provincial or national aſſemblies; leſt the nobility and more conſiderable gentry, ſoliciting a ſeat in theſe great eccleſiaſtical courts, ſhould beſtow a conſideration upon them, and render them, in the eyes of the bigotted multitude, a rival to the parliament. In the inferior courts, the intermixture of the laity might ſerve rather to temper the zeal of the clergy.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

BUT tho' the preſbyterians, by the eſtabliſhment of parity among the eccleſiaſtics, were ſo far gratified, they were denied ſatisfaction in ſeveral other points, on which they were extremely intent. The aſſembly of divines had voted preſbytery to be of divine right: The parliament refuſed their aſſent to any ſuch deciſion. Selden, Whitelocke, and other political reaſoners, aſſiſted by the independents, had prevailed in this important deliberation. They thought, that had the bigotted religioniſts been able to get their heavenly charter recognized, the preſbyters would ſoon become more dangerous to the magiſtrate than had ever been the prelatical clergy. Theſe latter, while they claimed to themſelves a divine right, admitted of a like origin to civil authority: The former, attributing to their own order a celeſtial pedigree, derived the legiſlative power from no more dignified a ſource than the voluntary aſſociation of the people.

UNDER color of keeping the ſacraments from profanation, the clergy of all chriſtian ſects had aſſumed, what they call the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunication; and this pretext is ſo natural, that in moſt other religions, particularly that of the Druids, a like engine of prieſtly authority has been employed. The example of Scotland was ſufficient warning for the parliament to make proviſion againſt ſo ſevere a tyranny. By an ordinance, they

determined

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determined all the caſes, in which excommunication could be uſed. They allowed of appeals to the parliament from all eccleſiaſtical courts. And they appointed commiſſioners in each province to judge of ſuch caſes as fell not within their ordinance. So much civil authority, intermingled with the eccleſiaſtical, gave diſguſt to all the zealots.

But nothing was attended with more univerſal ſcandal than the propenſity of many in the parliament towards a toleration of the proteſtant ſectaries. The preſbyterians exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Chriſt reſemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beaſts. They inſiſted, that the leaſt of Chriſt's truths was ſuperior to all political conſiderations. They maintained the eternal obligation of their covenant to extirpate hereſy and ſchiſm. And they menaced all their opponents with the ſame rigid perſecution, of which they had, themſelves, ſo loudly complained, when held in ſubjection by the hierarchy.

So great prudence and reſerve, in ſuch material points, does great honor to the parliament; and proves, that, notwithſtanding the prevalence of bigotry and fanaticiſm, there wanted not members, who had more enlarged views, and payed regard to the civil intereſts of ſociety. Theſe men, uniting themſelves to the enthuſiaſts, whoſe genius is naturally averſe to clerical uſurpations, retained ſo jealous an authority over the aſſembly of divines, that they allowed them nothing but the liberty of tendering advice, and would not entruſt them even with the power of electing their own chairman or his ſubſtitute, or of ſupplying the vacancies of their own members.

While the diſputes were canvaſſed by theologians, who engaged in their ſpiritual conteſts every order of the ſtate; the King, tho he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from theſe diviſions, was much at a loſs what ſide it would be moſt for his intereſt to comply with. The preſbyterians were, by their principles, the leaſt averſe to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of the prelates: The independents were reſolute to lay the foundations of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themſelves into a national church, it might be hoped, that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the King to epiſcopal juriſdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in ballance even with his own power and kingly office.

But whatever advantage he might propoſe to reap from the diviſions of the parliamentary party, he was apprehenſive, that it would come too late, to ſave him from that deſtruction with which he was inſtantly threatened. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking all meaſures for laying

laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. To be taken captive and led in triumph by his insolent enemies, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult, if not violence, was to be dreaded, from that enthusiastic soldiery, who hated his person, and despised his dignity. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure, which, in any other situation, might justly lye under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion.. Chap. IX. 1646.

Montreville, the French minister, interested for the King more by the natural sentiments of humanity, than any instructions from his court, which seemed rather to favor the parliament, had sollicited the Scotch generals and commissioners, to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having met with many general professions and promises, he had always transmitted these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the King. From his suggestions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scotch army, which at that time lay before Newark. He considered that the Scotch nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no farther concessions to exact of him. In all disputes, which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scotch, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and had endeavored to soften the rigor of the English parliament. Great disgust too, on other accounts, had taken place betwixt the nations; and the Scotch found, that, in proportion as their assistance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of, every day, with less regard and reverence. The refusal of a divine right to presbytery, and the infringing ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence; and the King hoped, that, in their present disposition, the sight of their native prince, flying to them in this extremity of distress, would rouze every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favor and protection.

In order to conceal his intention, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three persons to pass; and in the night, the King, accompanied only with Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate, which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed thro' St. Albans, Henley, and came so near London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained some thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing thro' many cross roads, he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark. The 5th of May, parliament,

Chap. IX. 1646.

parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death, whoever should harbor or conceal him.

King goes to the Scotch camp at Newark.

THE Scotch generals and commissioners affected great surprize at the appearance of the King: And tho' they payed him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, yet they instantly put a guard upon him, under color of protection; and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected accident, and assured them, that they had entered into no private treaty with the King. They applied to him for orders to Bellasis, governor of Newark, to surrender his town, now reduced to extremity; and the orders were instantly obeyed. And hearing that the parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the King's person, and that the English army were making some motions towards them; they thought proper to retire northwards, and fixed their camp at Newcastle.

THIS measure was very agreeable to the King; and he began to entertain hopes of protection from the Scotch. He was particularly attentive to the behavior of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event, the whole Scripture was ransacked by the clergy, for passages applicable to the present occasion. The first minister who preached before the King, chose these words for his text. "And behold all the men of Israel came to the king, and said "unto him, Why have our brethren, the men of Judah, stolen thee away, and "have brought the king and his household, and all David's men with him, over "Jordan. And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the "king is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? Have "we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift? And the men "of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, we have ten parts in the king, "and we have also more right in David than ye: Why then did ye despise us, "that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the "words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel*. But the King soon found, that the happiness of the allusion chiefly had tempted the preacher to employ this text, and that the covenanting zealots were no way pacified towards him. Another preacher, after insolently reproaching him to his face, with his misgovernment, ordered this psalm to be sung;

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
Thy wicked deeds to praise:

* II. Sam. chap. xix. 41, 42, and 43 verses. See Clar. vol. iii. p. 18.

The

The King ſtood up, and called for that pſalm which begins with theſe words, Chap. IX. 1646.

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour:

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen majeſty, ſhowed, for once, greater deference to the King than to the miniſter, and ſung the pſalm which the former had called for †.

CHARLES had very little reaſon to be pleaſed with his ſituation. Not only he found himſelf a priſoner, very narrowly guarded: All his friends were keeped at a diſtance; and no intercourſe, either by letters or converſation, was allowed him with any one, on whom he could depend, or who was ſuſpected of any attachment to him. The Scotch generals would enter into no confidence with him; and ſtill treated him with diſtant ceremony and feigned reſpect. And every propoſal, which they made him, tended farther to his abaſement and his ruin.

THEY required him to iſſue orders to Oxford, and all his other garriſons, commanding their ſurrender to the parliament: And the King, ſenſible that their reſiſtance was to very little purpoſe, willingly complied. The terms which were given to moſt of them, were honorable; and Fairfax, as far as lay in his power, was very exact in obſerving them. Far from allowing violence; he would not even permit inſults or triumph over the unfortunate royaliſts; and by his generous humanity, ſo cruel a civil war ended, in appearance, very calmly, betwixt the parties.

ORMOND having received like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. Montroſe too, after having experienced ſtill more variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired into foreign countries.

THE Marquis of Worceſter, a man paſt eighty four, was the laſt in the kingdom, who ſubmitted to the authority of the parliament. He defended Raglan caſtle to extremity; and opened not its gates till the middle of Auguſt. Four years, a few days excepted, were now elapſed, ſince the King firſt erected his ſtandard at Nottingham. So long had the Britiſh nations been occupied in ſhedding the blood of their fellow-citizens, and laying waſte their mother-country, by their civil and religious quarrels!

† Whitelock, page 235.

Chap. IX. 1646.

THE parliament and the Scotch laid their propoſals before the King. They were ſuch as a captive, entirely at mercy, could expect from the moſt inexorable victor: Yet were they little worſe than what were inſiſted on before the fatal campaign of Naſeby. The power of the ſword, inſtead of ten, which the King now offered, was demanded for twenty years, along with a right to levy whatever money the parliament ſhould think proper for the ſupport of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the ſame with thoſe which were formerly offered to the King.

CHARLES ſaid, that propoſals, which introduced ſuch important innovations in the conſtitution, demanded time for deliberation: The commiſſioners replied, that he muſt give his anſwer in ten days. He deſired to reaſon about the meaning and import of the terms: They informed him, that they had no power of debate; and required peremptorily his conſent or refuſal. He requeſted a perſonal treaty with the parliament: They threatened, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament, without him, by their own authority, would ſettle the nation.

WHAT the parliament was moſt intent upon, was not the treaty with the King, to whom they payed little regard; but that with the Scotch nation. Two important points remained to be ſettled with them; their delivery of the King, and the eſtimation of their arrears.

THE Scotch pretended, that, as Charles was King of Scotland as well as of England, they were intitled to an equal vote in the diſpoſal of his perſon: And that, in ſuch a caſe, where the titles are equal, and the ſubject indiviſible, the preference was due to the preſent poſſeſſor. The Engliſh maintained, that, he, being in England, was comprehended within the juriſdiction of that kingdom, and could not be diſpoſed of by any foreign nation. A delicate queſtion this, and what ſurely could not be decided by precedent; ſince ſuch a ſituation is not, any where, to be found in hiſtory.

As the Scotch concurred with the Engliſh, in impoſing ſuch rigorous conditions on the King, that, notwithſtanding his unfortunate ſituation, he ſtill refuſed to accept of them; it is certain, that they did not deſire his freedom; nor could they ever intend to join lenity and tyranny together, in ſo inconſiſtent a manner. Before the ſettlement of terms, the adminiſtration muſt be poſſeſſed intirely by the parliaments of both kingdoms; and how incompatible that ſcheme with the liberty of the King, is eaſily imagined. To carry him a priſoner into Scotland, where few forces could be ſupported in order to guard him, was a meaſure ſo full of inconvenience and danger, that, even if the Engliſh had conſented to it, it muſt have appeared to the Scotch nation altogether ineligible: And how could ſuch a plan be ſupported in oppoſition to England, poſſeſſed of

ſuch

such numerous, and victorious armies, which were, at that time, or at least, seemed to be, in intire union with the parliament? The only expedient, it is obvious, which the Scotch could embrace, if they would not intirely abandon the King, was immediately to return, fully and cordially, to their allegiance; and, uniting themselves with the royalists of both kingdoms, endeavor, by force of arms, to reduce the English parliament to more moderate conditions: But beside that this measure was full of extreme hazard; what was it but instantly to combine with their old enemies against their old friends, and, in a fit of romantic generosity, overturn what, with so much expence of blood and treasure, they had, during the course of so many years, been so carefully erecting? Chap. IX. 1646.

But, tho' all these reflections occurred to the Scotch commissioners, they resolved to prolong the dispute, and to keep the King as a pledge for those arrears, which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the present disposition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to two millions: For they had received very little regular pay, since their entrance into England. And tho' the contributions, which they had levied, and the free quarter, which they had taken, must be deducted; yet still the sum, which they insisted on, was very considerable. After many discussions, it was, at last, agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept 400,000 pounds, half to be paid instantly, half within a twelvemonth.

Great pains were taken by the Scotch, (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the King's person: But common sense requires, that they should be regarded as one and the same. The English, it is evident, had they not been previously assured of receiving the King, would never have parted with so considerable a sum, and, while they weakened themselves, by the same expedient have strengthened a people, with whom they should afterwards have so material an interest to discuss.

Thus the Scotch nation underwent, and still undergo: For such grievous stains are not easily wiped out: The reproach of selling their King, and bargaining their prince for money. In vain, did they maintain, That this money was, on account of former services, intirely their due; that, in their present situation, no other measure, without the utmost indiscretion, or even apparent ruin, could be embraced; that tho' they delivered their King into the hands of his open enemies, they were themselves as much his open enemies as those to whom they surrendered him, and their common hatred against him had long united

Chap. IX. 1646.

nited the two parties in ſtrict alliance with each other. They were ſtill anſwered, that they made uſe of this ſcandalous expedient to obtain their wages; and that, after taking arms, without any provocation, againſt their ſovereign, who had ever loved and cheriſhed them, they had deſervedly fallen into a ſituation, from which they could not extricate themſelves, without either infamy or imprudence.

THE infamy of this bargain had ſuch influence on the Scotch parliament, that they once voted, that the King ſhould be protected and his liberty inſiſted on. But the general aſſembly interpoſed, and pronounced, that, as he had refuſed the covenant, which was preſſed on him, it became not the godly to concern themſelves about his fortune. After this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract their vote.

INTELLIGENCE of the final reſolution of the Scotch nation to deliver him up, was brought to the King; and he happened, at that very time, to be playing at cheſs*. Such command of temper did he enjoy, that he continued his game without interruption; and none of the bye-ſtanders could perceive, that the letter, which he peruſed, had brought him news of any conſequence. The Engliſh commiſſioners, who, ſome days after, came to receive him, he admitted to kiſs his hands with the ſame grace and cheerfulneſs, as if they had travelled on no other errand, but to pay court to him. The old Earl of Pembroke, who was one of them, he congratulated on his ſtrength and vigor, that he was ſtill able, during ſuch a ſeaſon, to perform ſo long a journey, in company with ſo many young people. This ſelf-command of Charles was united to perfect candor and ſincerity: Otherways, it had merited but ſmall praiſe.

1647.

King delivered up by the Scotch.

AT Newcaſtle, the Engliſh commiſſioners, receiving the King from the Scotch army, conducted him, under a guard, to Holmby, in the county of Northampton. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curioſity, partly by compaſſion and affection. If any ſtill retained rancor againſt him, in this forlorne condition, they paſſed in ſilence; while his well-wiſhers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his ſafety†. That antient ſuperſtition too, of deſiring the king's touch in ſcrophulous diſtempers, ſeemed to acquire freſh credit among the people, from the general tenderneſs, which began to prevail for this virtuous and unhappy monarch.

THE

* Burnet's hiſtory of the Hamiltons. † Ludlow, Herbert.

THE commiſſioners rendered his confinement at Holmby very rigorous; diſmiſſing all his antient ſervants, debarring him of all viſits, and cutting him off from all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, tho' earneſtly applied to by the King, refuſed to allow his chaplains to attend him; becauſe they had not taken the covenant. The King refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſervice, exerciſed according to the Directory; becauſe he had not, as yet, given his conſent to that mode of worſhip. Such religious zeal prevailed on both ſides! And ſuch was the divided and diſtracted condition, to which it had reduced the King and people!

DURING the time, that the King remained in the Scotch army at Newcaſtle, died the Earl of Eſſex, the diſcarded, but ſtill powerful and popular general of the parliament. His death, in this conjuncture, was a public misfortune. Fully ſenſible of the miſchievous extremities, to which affairs had been carried, and of the worſe conſequences, which were ſtill to be apprehended; he had reſolved to conciliate a peace, and to correct, as far as poſſible, all thoſe ills, to which, from miſtake, rather than any bad intentions, he had himſelf ſo much contributed. The preſbyterian or the moderate party among the commons, found themſelves conſiderably weakened by his death: And the ſmall remains of authority, which ſtill adhered to the houſe of peers, were, in a manner, wholly extinguiſhed.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Mutiny of the army.——The King ſeized by Joyce.——The army march againſt the parliament.——The army ſubdue the parliament.——The King flies to the iſle of Wight.——Second civil war.——Invaſion from Scotland.——The treaty of Newport.——The civil war and invaſion repreſſed.——The King ſeized again by the army.——The houſe purged.——The King's trial.——And execution.——And character.

1647. THE dominion of the parliament was of very ſhort duration. No ſooner had they ſubdued their ſovereign, than their own ſervants roſe up againſt them, and tumbled them from their ſlippery throne. The ſacred boundaries of the laws being once violated, nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition. And every ſucceſſive revolution became a precedent for that which followed it.

IN proportion as the terror of the King's power decayed, the diviſions betwixt independent and preſbyterian became every day more apparent; and the neuters found it, at laſt, requiſite to ſeek ſhelter in one or the other faction. Many new writs were iſſued for elections, in room of members, who had died, or were diſqualified for adhering to the King; yet ſtill the preſbyterians retained the ſuperiority among the commons: And all the peers, except Lord Say, were eſteemed of that party. The independents, to whom all inferior ſectaries adhered, predominated in the army: And the troops of the new model were univerſally affected with that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit. To their aſſiſtance did the independent party, among the commons, chiefly truſt, in their projects for acquiring the aſcendant over their antagoniſts.

No ſooner were the Scotch retired, than the preſbyterians, ſeeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diſmiſſing a conſiderable part of the army: And, under pretext of eaſing the public burthens, levelled a deadly blow at the oppoſite faction. A ſtrong detachment they propoſed to embark, under Skippon and Maſſey, for the ſervice of Ireland: A great reduction of the remainder was openly profeſſed*. It was even imagined, that another new model of the army was

* Fourteen thouſand men were only propoſed to be kept up; 6000 horſe, 6000 foot, and 2000 dragoons. Bates.

was projected, in order to regain to the preſbyterians, that ſuperiority, which they had ſo imprudently loſt by the former.

THE army had ſmall inclination to the ſervice of Ireland; a country barbarous, uncultivated, and laid waſte by maſſacres, and civil commotions: They had leſs inclination to diſband, and to renounce that pay, which, having earned it thro' fatigues and dangers, they now propoſed to enjoy in eaſe and tranquillity. And moſt of the officers, being raiſed from the loweſt dregs of the people, had no other proſpect, if deprived of their commiſſion, than that of returning to languiſh in their native poverty and obſcurity.

THESE motives of intereſt acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the parliament, from the religious ſpirit, by which the army was univerſally animated. Among the generality of men, educated in regular, civilized ſocieties, the ſentiments of ſhame, duty, honor, have conſiderable authority, and ſerve to counterballance and direct the motives, derived from private advantage: But, where fanaticiſm predominated to ſuch a degree as among the parliamentary forces, all theſe ſalutary principles loſt their credit, and were regarded as mere human inventions, yea moral inſtitutions, fitter for heathens than for chriſtians. The ſaint, reſigned over to a ſuperior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, diſguiſed under the appearance of pious zeal and fervor. And, beſide the ſtrange corruptions engendered by this ſpirit, it eluded and looſened all the ties of morality, and gave intire ſcope, and even ſanction to the ſelfiſhneſs and ambition, which ſo commonly adhere to the human mind.

THE military confeſſors were farther encouraged in diſobedience to ſuperiors, by that ſpiritual pride, ſo eſſential to the ſaintly character. They were not, they ſaid, mere janizaries; mercenary troops inliſted for hire, and to be diſpoſed of at the will of their paymaſters. Religion and liberty were the motives, which had excited them to arms; and they had a ſuperior right to ſee thoſe bleſſings, which they had purchaſed with their blood, enſured to future generations. By the ſame title, that the preſbyterians, in contradiſtinction to the royaliſts, had appropriated to themſelves the epithet of the *godly*, or the *well-affected*: The independents did now, in contradiſtinction to the preſbyterians, aſſume the ſame magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the aſcendant, which naturally belongs to it.

HEARING of parties in the houſe of commons, and being informed, that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops naturally intereſted themſelves in that dangerous diſtinction, and were eager to give the ſuperiority to their partizans. Whatever hardſhips they underwent, tho' perhaps derived from inevitable neceſſity, they aſcribed to a ſettled deſign of oppreſſing

Chap. X. 1647.

preſſing them, and reſented as an effect of the animoſity and malice of their antagoniſts.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immenſe revenue, which accrued from taxes, aſſeſſments, ſequeſtrations, and compoſitions, great arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay ſtill owing them. The army ſuſpected, that this deficiency was purpoſely contrived, in order to oblige them to live on free quarter; and, by rendering them odious to the country, ſerve as a pretext for diſbanding them. When they ſaw ſuch members, as were employed in committees and civil offices, accumulate great fortunes, they accuſed them of rapine and public plunder. And, as no plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the ſoldiers ſuſpected, that, after they were diſbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the houſes, would intirely defraud them of their right, and oppreſs them with impunity.

Mutiny of the army.

ON this ground or pretext did the firſt commotions begin in the army. A petition, addreſſed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; deſiring an indemnity, and that ratified by the King, for any illegal actions, of which, during the courſe of the war, the ſoldiers might have been guilty; along with ſatisfaction in arrears, freedom from preſſing, relief of widows, and maimed ſoldiers, and pay till diſbanded. The commons, aware of what combuſtible materials the army was compoſed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its firſt appearance, muſt be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and muſt ſoon exalt the military above the civil

March 30.

authority. Beſide ſummoning ſome officers to anſwer for this attempt, they immediately voted, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obſtruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of it, as enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of public peace. This declaration, which may be eſteemed violent, eſpecially as the army had ſome ground for complaint, produced very fatal effects. The ſoldiers lamented, That they were deprived of the privileges of Engliſhmen; that they were not allowed ſo much as to repreſent their grievances; that, while petitions from Eſſex and other places were openly encouraged againſt the army, their mouths were ſtopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were, by a faction in parliament, reduced to the moſt grievous ſervitude.

IN this diſpoſition was the army found by Warwic, Dacres, Maſſey and other commiſſioners; appointed to make them propoſals for entering into the ſervice of Ireland. Inſtead of inliſting, the generality objected to the terms; demand-

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ed an indemnity; were clamorous for their arrears: And, tho' they expreſſed no diſſatisfaction againſt Skippon, who was appointed commander, they diſcovered much ſtronger inclination to ſerve under Fairfax and Cromwel. Some officers, who were of the preſbyterian party, having entered into engagements for this ſervice, could prevail on very few of the ſoldiers to inliſt under them. And, as they all lay under the grievous reproach of deſerting the army, and betraying the intereſt of their companions; the reſt were farther confirmed in that confederacy, which they had formed. Chap. X. 1647.

To petition and remonſtrate being the moſt cautious way of conducting a confederacy, an application to parliament was drawn by near 200 officers; where, with a very imperious air, they made their apology, aſſerted their right of petitioning, and complained of that imputation thrown upon them by the former declaration of the lower houſe. The private men too of ſome regiments ſent a letter to Skippon; in which, along with the ſame topics, they lament, that deſigns were formed againſt them and many of the godly party in the kingdom; and declare, that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were ſatisfied in their expectations, and had their juſt deſires granted. The army, in a word, felt their power, and were reſolved to be maſters.

The parliament too reſolved, if poſſible, to preſerve their dominion; but, being deſtitute of power, and not retaining much authority, it was not eaſy for them to employ any expedient, which could contribute to their purpoſe. The expedient, which they now made uſe of, was the worſt imaginable. They ſent Skippon, Cromwel, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron-Weldon in Eſſex; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cauſe of its *diſtempers*. Theſe very generals, at leaſt the three laſt, were ſecretly the authors of all the diſcontents; and were ſure to foment thoſe diſorders, which they pretended to appeaſe. By their ſuggeſtion, a meaſure was embraced, which, at once, reduced matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. 7th of May.

In oppoſition to the parliament at Weſtminſter, a military parliament was formed. Along with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the houſe of peers; a more free repreſentative of the army was compoſed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company. By this means, both the general humor of that time was gratified, intent on plans of imaginary republics, and an eaſy method contrived for conducting, underhand, and propagating the ſedition of the army.

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THIS terrible court, when aſſembled; having firſt declared, that they found no *diſtempers* in the army, but many *grievances*, under which it labored; immediately voted the offers of the parliament unſatisfactory. Eight weeks pay alone, they ſaid, was promiſed; a ſmall portion of fifty ſix weeks, which they pretended to be their due: No viſible ſecurity was given for the remainder: And having been declared enemies by the commons, they might hereafter be proſecuted as ſuch, unleſs the declaration was recalled. Before matters came to this height, Cromwel had poſted up to London, under pretext of laying before the parliament the riſing diſcontents of the army.

THE parliament made one vigorous effort more, to try the force of their authority: They voted, that all the troops, which did not engage for Ireland, ſhould inſtantly be diſbanded in their quarters. At the ſame time, the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common intereſts. And while they thus prepared themſelves for oppoſition to the parliament, they ſtruck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favor.

3d of June.

A party of five hundred horſe appeared at Holmby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a taylor by profeſſion; but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being oppoſed by the guard, whoſe affections were all on the ſame ſide; Joyce came into the King's preſence, armed with piſtols, and told him, that he muſt immediately go along. *Whither?* ſaid the King. *To the army*; replied Joyce. *By what warrant?* aſked the King. Joyce pointed to the ſoldiers, whom he brought along; tall, handſome, and well accoutered. *Your warrant*, ſaid Charles ſmiling, *is wrote in fair characters, legible without ſpelling!* The parliamentary commiſſioners came into the room: They aſked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the parliament? He ſaid, *No:* From the general? *No:* By what authority he came? He made the ſame return as to the King: *They would write*, they ſaid, *to the parliament to know their pleaſure. You may do ſo*, replied Joyce; *but in the mean time the King muſt immediately go with me.* Reſiſtance was vain. The King, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was ſafely conducted to the army, who were haſtening to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath near Cambridge. The parliament, informed of this event by their commiſſioners, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation.

The King ſeized by Joyce.

FAIRFAX himſelf was no leſs ſurprized at the King's arrival. That bold meaſure, executed by Joyce, had never been communicated to the general. The orders were intirely verbal; and no body avowed them. And, while every one

one affected aſtoniſhment at the enterprize, Cromwel, by whoſe council it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations. Chap X. 1647.

THIS artful and audacious conſpirator had conducted himſelf in the parliament with ſuch profound diſſimulation, with ſuch refined hypocriſy, that he had long deceived thoſe, who, being themſelves practitioners in the ſame arts, naturally entertained the more ſuſpicion againſt others. At every intelligence of diſorders in the army, he was moved to the higheſt pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly: He lamented the misfortunes of his country: He adviſed every violent meaſure for ſuppreſſing the mutiny; and by theſe precipitant councils, at once gave teſtimony of his own ſincerity, and inflamed thoſe diſcontents, of which he intended to make advantage. He atteſted heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him ſo odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmoſt danger; and he had very narrowly eſcaped a conſpiracy, formed to aſſaſſinate him. But information being brought, that the moſt active officers and agitators were intirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders ſecretly reſolved, that, next day, when he ſhould come to the houſe, an accuſation ſhould be entered againſt him, and he ſhould be ſent to the tower. Cromwel, who, in the conduct of his deſperate enterprizes, frequently approached to the very brink of deſtruction, knew how to make the requiſite turn with proper dexterity and boldneſs. Being informed of this deſign, he haſtened to the camp; where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was inſtantly inveſted with the ſupreme command both of general and army.

FAIRFAX, having neither talents himſelf for cabals, nor penetration to diſcover the cabals of others, had given his confidence intirely to Cromwel; who, by the beſt colored pretences, and by the appearance of an open ſincerity and a ſcrupulous conſcience, impoſed on the eaſy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwel's direction, and conveyed his will to the whole army. By his profound and artful conduct, he had now reached a ſituation, where he could cover his enterprizes from public view; and ſeeming either to obey the commands of his ſuperior officer, or yield to the movements of the ſoldiers, could ſecretly pave the way for his future greatneſs. While the diſorders of the army were yet in their infancy, he kept at a diſtance; leſt his counterfeit averſion might throw a damp upon them, or his ſecret encouragement beget ſuſpicion in the parliament. As ſoon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the army; and in the critical moment, ſtruck that important blow of ſeizing the King's perſon, and depriving the parliament of any reſource by an accommodation with him. Tho' one

vizor

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vizor fell off, another ſtill remained, to cover his natural countenance. Where delay was requiſite, he could employ the moſt indefatigable patience: Where celerity was neceſſary, he flew to a deciſion. And by thus uniting in his perſon the moſt oppoſite talents, he was enabled to combine the moſt contrary intereſts in a ſubſerviency to his ſecret purpoſes.

The army march againſt the parliament.

THE parliament, tho' at preſent defenceleſs, were poſſeſſed of many reſources; and time might eaſily enable them to reſiſt that violence, with which they were threatened. Without farther deliberation, therefore, Cromwel advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans.

NOTHING could be more popular, than this hoſtility, which the army commenced upon the parliament. As much as that aſſembly was once the idol of the nation, as much was it become the object of general hatred and averſion.

THE ſelf-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Eſſex, Mancheſter, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had reſigned their commiſſion: Immediately after, it was laid aſide by tacit conſent; and the members, ſharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in plundering and tyrannizing over the helpleſs nation. Tho' the neceſſity of their ſituation might ſerve as an apology for many of their meaſures, the people, not accuſtomed to ſuch a ſpecies of government, were not diſpoſed to make the requiſite allowances.

A ſmall ſupply of 100,000 pounds a-year could ſcarce be obtained by the former kings from the jealous humor of the parliaments; and the Engliſh, of all nations in Europe, were the leaſt accuſtomed to taxes: But this parliament, from the commencement of the war, according to ſome computations, had levied, in five years, above forty millions*; and yet were loaded with debts and incumbrances, which, during that age, were regarded as prodigious. If theſe computations ſhould be eſteemed much exaggerated, as they probably are, the taxes and impoſitions were certainly far higher than in any former ſtate of the Engliſh government; and ſuch popular exaggerations are, at leaſt, a proof of popular diſcontents.

BUT

* Clement Walker's hiſtory of the two Juntos, prefixed to his hiſtory of independency. This is an author of great ſpirit and ingenuity; and being a zealous parliamentarian, his authority is very conſiderable, notwithſtanding the air of ſatyre, which prevails in his writings. This computation, however, ſeems much too large: eſpecially as the ſequeſtrations, during the time of war, could not be ſo conſiderable as afterwards.

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But the diſpoſal of this money was no leſs the object of general complaint againſt the parliament than the levying it. The ſum of 300,000 pounds they openly took, 'tis affirmed *, and divided among their own members. The committees, to whom the management of the different branches of revenue was entruſted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power of ſecreting whatever ſums they pleaſed from the public treaſure †. Theſe branches were needleſsly multiplied, in order to render the revenue more perplexed, to ſhare the plunder among greater numbers, and to conceal the robberies, of which they were univerſally ſuſpected ‡.

The method of keeping accounts, practiſed in the exchequer, was confeſſedly the exacteſt, the moſt antient, the beſt known, and the leaſt liable to fraud. The exchequer was, for that reaſon, aboliſhed, and the revenue put under the management of a committee, who were ſubject to no control ‖.

The exciſe was an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation; and was now extended over meat, and the common neceſſaries of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and at leaſt one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom, had been ſequeſtred. To great numbers of royaliſts, all redreſs for theſe ſequeſtrations was refuſed: To the reſt, the remedy could be obtained only by paying large compoſitions and ſubſcribing the covenant; which they abhorred. Beſide the ruin and deſolation of ſo many antient and honorable families; indifferent ſpectators could not but deteſt the injuſtice of puniſhing, with ſuch ſeverity, actions, which the law, in its uſual and moſt undiſputed interpretation, ſtrictly required of every ſubject.

The ſeverities too, exerciſed againſt the epiſcopal clergy, could not but affect the royaliſts, and even all men of candor, in a very ſenſible manner. By the moſt moderate computation **, it appears, that above one half of the eſtabliſhed church had been turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than their adherence to the civil and religious principles, in which they were educated; and for their attachment to thoſe laws, under whoſe countenance they had at firſt embraced that profeſſion. To renounce epiſcopacy and the liturgy, and to ſubſcribe the covenant, were the only terms, which could ſave them from ſo rigorous a fate; and if the leaſt mark of malignancy, as it was called, or affection

* Clement Walker's hiſtory of independency. † Id. ibid. ‡ Id. ibid. ‖ Id. ibid.

** See John Walker's attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and ſufferings of the clergy. The parliament pretended to leave the ſequeſtered clergy a fifth of their revenue; but this author makes it ſufficiently appear, that this proviſion, ſmall as it is, was little better than a mockery.

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ction to the King, who ſo intirely loved them, had ever eſcaped their lips, even this hard choice was not permitted. The ſacred character, which gives the prieſthood ſuch authority over mankind, becoming more venerable from the ſufferings, endured for the ſake of principle, by theſe diſtreſſed royaliſts, aggravated the general indignation againſt their perſecutors, who had robbed them of poſſeſſions, ſecured to them by every law, human and divine, with which the nation had hitherto been acquainted.

BUT what excited the moſt univerſal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and deſpotic rule of the country-committees. During the war, the diſcretionary power of theſe courts was excuſed, from the plea of neceſſity: But the nation was reduced to deſpair, when it ſaw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. Theſe could ſequeſter, fine, impriſon, and corporally puniſh, without law or remedy. They interpoſed in queſtions of private property. Under color of malignancy, they exerciſed vengeance againſt their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and ſometimes to the innocent, they ſold their protection. And inſtead of one ſtar-chamber, which had been aboliſhed, a hundred were anew erected, fortified with better pretexts, and armed with more unlimited authority*.

COULD any thing have increaſed the indignation againſt that ſlavery, into which the nation, from the too fond purſuit of liberty, had fallen; it muſt have been the reflection on the pretenſions, by which the people had ſo long been deluded. The ſanctified hypocrites, who called their public plunder the ſpoiling the Egyptians, and their unbounded ſeverity the dominion of the Elect, interlarded all their iniquities with long and fervent prayers, ſaved themſelves from bluſhing by their pious grimaces, and exerciſed, in the name of the Lord, all their cruelty on men. An undiſguiſed violence could be forgiven: But ſuch a mockery of the underſtanding, ſuch an abuſe of religion, with all men of penetration were the objects of peculiar reſentment.

THE parliament, conſcious of their decay in popularity, ſeeing a formidable armed force advance upon them, were reduced to deſpair, and found all their reſources much inferior to the preſent neceſſity. London ſtill retained a ſtrong attachment to preſbyterianiſm; and its militia, which were numerous, and had acquired

* Clement Walker's hiſtory of independency. Hollis gives the ſame repreſentation, as Walker, of the plundering, oppreſſions, and tyranny of the parliament: Only, inſtead of laying the fault on both parties, as Walker does, he aſcribes it ſolely to the independent faction. The preſbyterians indeed, being commonly denominated the *moderate* party, would probably be more inoffenſive. To which ſome will be inclined to add, however unjuſtly, that, having ſomewhat leſs of the ſaint in their compoſition, they naturally would not be ſo furious and miſchievous.

acquired reputation in the wars, by a late ordinance, had been put into hands, in whom the parliament could intirely confide. This militia were now called out, and ordered to guard the line, which had been drawn about the city, in order to ſecure it againſt the King. A body of horſe was ordered to be inſtantly levied. Many officers, who had been caſhiered by the new model of the army, offered their ſervice to the parliament. An army of 5000 men lay in the north under the command of General Pointz, who was of the preſbyterian faction; but theſe were too diſtant to be employed in ſo urgent a neceſſity. The forces, deſtined for Ireland, were quartered in the weſt; and, tho' eſteemed faithful to the parliament, they alſo lay at a diſtance. Many inland garriſons were commanded by officers of the ſame party; but their troops, being ſo much diſperſed, could, at preſent, be of no manner of ſervice. The Scotch were faithful friends and zealous for preſbytery and the covenant; but a very long time was required, 'ere they could collect their forces, and march to the aſſiſtance of the parliament. Chap. X. 1647.

In this ſituation it was thought more prudent to ſubmit, and by compliance to ſtop the fury of the enraged army. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled, and erazed from the journal-book. This was the firſt ſymptom which the parliament gave of ſubmiſſion; and the army, hoping, by the terror of their name, to effect all their purpoſes, ſtopped at St. Albans, and entered into negotiation with their maſters. 8th of June.

Here commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their uſurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model, which the parliament had ſet them, in their recent uſurpations on the crown.

Every day, they roſe in their demands. If one claim was granted, they had another ready, ſtill more enormous and exorbitant; and were determined never to be ſatisfied. At firſt, they pretended only to petition for what concerned themſelves as ſoldiers: Next, they muſt have a vindication of their character: Then, it was neceſſary, that their enemies be puniſhed: At laſt, they claimed a right of modeling the whole government, and ſettling the nation.

They preſerved, in words, all deference and reſpect to the parliament; but in reality, inſulted them and tyrannized over them. That aſſembly they pretended not to accuſe: It was only evil counſellors, who ſeduced and betrayed it.

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THEY proceeded ſo far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treaſon, as enemies to the army and evil counſellors to the parliament. Their names were Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Maſſey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols. Theſe were the very leaders of the preſbyterian party.

THEY inſiſted, that theſe members ſhould immediately be ſequeſtred from parliament, and be thrown into priſon. The commons replied, that, upon a general charge, they could not proceed ſo far. The army obſerved to them, that the caſes of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpoſe. At laſt, the eleven members themſelves, not to give occaſion to diſcord, begged leave to retire from the houſe; and the army, for the preſent, ſeemed ſatisfied with this inſtance of ſubmiſſion.

PRETENDING, that the parliament deſigned to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confuſion, they required, that all new levies ſhould be ſtopped. The parliament complied with this demand.

THERE being no ſigns of reſiſtance, the army, in order to ſave appearances, removed, at the deſire of the parliament, to a greater diſtance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. The King they carried along with them in all their removes.

THAT Prince now found himſelf in a better ſituation than at Holmby, and had attained ſome greater degree of freedom, as well as of conſideration with both parties.

ALL his friends had acceſs to him: His correſpondence with the Queen was not interrupted: His chaplains were reſtored, and he was allowed the uſe of the liturgy: His children were once allowed to viſit him, and paſſed a few days at Caverſham, where he then reſided. The Duke of Gloceſter, his youngeſt ſon, and the Princeſs Elizabeth, he had not ſeen ſince he left London, at the commencement of the civil diſorders; nor the Duke of Yorke, ſince he went to the Scotch army before Newark. No private man, unacquainted with the pleaſures of a court, and the tumult of a camp, more paſſionately loved his family, than did this good Prince; and ſuch an inſtance of indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to him. Cromwel, who was witneſs to the meeting of the royal family, confeſſed, that he never had been preſent at ſo tender a ſcene; and he extremely applauded the benignity, which diſplayed itſelf in the whole diſpoſition and behavior of Charles.

THAT

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THAT artful politician, as well as the leaders of all parties, payed court to the King; and fortune, notwithſtanding all his calamities, ſeemed again to ſmile upon him. The parliament, afraid of his forming ſome accommodation with the army, ſpoke to him in a more reſpectful ſtyle than formerly; and invited him to reſide at Richmond, and contribute his aſſiſtance to the ſettlement of the nation. All the chief officers treated him with great regard, and talked every where of reſtoring him to his juſt powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the ſettlement of his revenue and authority was inſiſted on. The royaliſts, every where, entertained hopes of the reſtoration of monarchy; and the favor, which they univerſally bore the army, contributed very much to diſcourage the parliament, and to forward their ſubmiſſion.

THE King began to feel of what conſequence he was. The more the national confuſions increaſed, the more was he confident, that all parties would, at laſt, have recourſe to his lawful authority, as the only remedy for the public diſorders. *You cannot be without me*, ſaid he, on ſeveral occaſions: *You cannot compoſe the nation but by my aſſiſtance.* A people without government and without liberty, a parliament without authority, an army without a legal maſter: Diſtractions every where, terrors, oppreſſions, convulſions: From this ſcene of confuſion, which could not long continue, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that antient government, under which they and their anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed happineſs and tranquillity.

THO' Charles kept his ears open to all propoſals, and expected to hold the ballance betwixt the oppoſite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigor of the parliament. They pretended totally to annihilate his authority: They had confined his perſon. In both theſe particulars, the army ſhowed more indulgence. None of his friends were debarred his preſence. And in the propoſals, which the council of officers ſent for the ſettlement of the nation, they inſiſted neither on the abolition of epiſcopacy, nor on the puniſhment of the royaliſts; the two points to which the King had the moſt extreme reluctance: And they demanded that a period ſhould be put to the preſent parliament, the event for which he moſt ardently longed.

HIS conjunction too ſeemed more natural with the generals, than with that uſurping aſſembly, who had ſo long aſſumed the entire authority of the ſtate, and who had declared their reſolution ſtill to continue maſters. By gratifying a few perſons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an inſtant, reinſtate himſelf in his civil authority. To

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Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland: To Cromwel, the garter, the title of Earl of Eſſex, and the command of the army. Negotiations to this purpoſe were ſecretly conducted. Cromwel pretended to hearken to them; and was pleaſed to keep the door open for an accommodation, if the courſe of events ſhould, at any time, render it neceſſary. And the King, who had no ſuſpicion, that one, born a private gentleman, could entertain the daring ambition of ſeizing a ſceptre, tranſmitted thro' a long line of monarchs; was hopeful, that he would, at laſt, embrace a meaſure, which, by all the motives of duty, intereſt, and ſafety, ſeemed to be recommended to him.

WHILE Cromwel allured the King by theſe expectations, he ſtill continued his ſcheme of reducing the parliament to ſubjection, and depriving them of all means of reſiſtance. To gratify the army, the parliament inveſted Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and entruſted the whole military authority to a perſon, who, tho' well inclined to their ſervice, was no longer at his own diſpoſal.

THEY voted, that the troops, which, in obedience to them, had inliſted for Ireland, and deſerted the rebellious army, ſhould be diſbanded, or, in other words, be puniſhed for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Pointz, had already mutinied againſt their general, and had entered into an aſſociation with the army, which was ſo ſucceſsfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority.

THAT no reſource might remain to the parliament, it was demanded, that the militia of London ſhould be changed, the preſbyterian commiſſioners diſplaced, and the command reſtored to thoſe, who, during the courſe of the war, had conſtantly exerciſed it. Even ſo violent a demand, the parliament complied with, and paſſed a vote in obedience to the army.

By this unlimited patience, they hoped to temporize under their preſent difficulties, and wait a more favorable opportunity for recovering their authority
20th of July. and influence: But the impatience of the city loſt them all the advantage of their cautious meaſures. A petition againſt the alteration of the militia was carried to Weſtminſter, attended by the apprentices and ſeditious multitude, who beſieged the door of the commons; and by their clamor, noiſe, and violence, obliged them to reverſe that vote, which they had paſſed ſo lately. When gratified in this pretenſion, they immediately diſperſed, and left the parliament at liberty.

No ſooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army were put in movement. The two houſes being under force, they were reſolved, they ſaid, to vindicate, againſt the ſeditious citizens, the invaded privileges of parliament,

ment, and reſtore that aſſembly to its juſt freedom of debate and council. In their road to London, they were drawn up on Hounſlow-Heath; a formidable army, twenty thouſand ſtrong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to purſue whatever meaſures their generals ſhould dictate to them. Here the moſt favorable event happened, to quicken and encourage their advance. The ſpeakers of the two houſes, Mancheſter and Lenthal, attended with eight peers, and about ſixty commoners, having ſecretly retired from the city, preſented themſelves with their maces and all the enſigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. With ſhouts and acclamations they were received: Reſpect was paid them as to the parliament of England: And the army, furniſhed with ſo plauſible a pretext, which, in all public tranſactions, is of great conſequence, advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious city, and re-inſtate the violated parliament. Chap. X. 1647.

NEITHER Lenthal nor Mancheſter were eſteemed independents; and ſuch a ſtep in them was intirely unexpected. But they probably foreſaw, that the army muſt, in the end, prevail, and they were willing to pay court in time to that authority, which began to predominate in the nation.

THE parliament, forced from their temporizing meaſures, and obliged to reſign, at once, or combat for their liberty and power, prepared themſelves with vigor for defence, and were determined to reſiſt the violence of the army. The two houſes immediately choſe new ſpeakers, Lord Hunſdon, and Henry Pelham: They renewed their former orders for inliſting troops: They appointed Maſſey to be commander: They ordered the trained bands to mann the lines: And the whole city was in a ferment, and reſounded with military preparations.

WHEN any intelligence arrived, that the army ſtopped or retreated, the ſhout of *One and all*, ran with alacrity, from ſtreet to ſtreet, among the citizens: When news came of their advancing, the cry of *Treat and capitulate* was no leſs loud and vehement. The terror of an univerſal pillage and even maſſacre had ſeized the timid inhabitants.

As the army approached, Rainſborow, being ſent by the general over the river, preſented himſelf before Southwark, and was gladly received by ſome ſoldiers, who were quartered there for its defence, and who were reſolved not to ſeparate their intereſts from thoſe of the army. It behoved then the parliament to ſubmit. The army marched in triumph thro' the city; but preſerved the greateſt order, decency and appearance of humility. They conducted to Weſtminſter the two ſpeakers, who took their ſeats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members, being accuſed as cauſes of the tumult, were expelled; 6th of Aug.

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led; and moſt of them retired beyond ſeas: Seven peers were impeached: The mayor, one ſherriff, and three aldermen, ſent to the tower: Several citizens and officers of the militia, committed to priſon: Every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the ſpeakers: The lines about the city levelled: The militia reſtored to the independents: Regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Meuſe: And the parliament being reduced to a regular formed ſervitude, a day was appointed of ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the reſtoration of its liberty.

The army ſubdue the parliament.

THE independent party, which, in the lower houſe, was conſiderable, and held ſome proportion to the preſbyterian, exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the nation, they imagined, was lodged in their hands; and they had a near proſpect of moulding the government into that imaginary republic, which had long been the object of their wiſhes. In all encroachments of the military power they had ſecretly concurred; and they expected, by the terror of the ſword, to impoſe a more perfect ſyſtem of liberty on the reluctant nation. All parties, the king, the church, the parliament, the preſbyterians, had been guilty of errors, ſince the commencement of theſe diſorders: But, it muſt be confeſſed, that this deluſion of the independents and republicans was, of all others, the moſt contrary to common ſenſe and the eſtabliſhed maxims of politics. Yet were the leaders of that party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, Martin, the men in England the moſt celebrated for profound thought and deep contrivance; and by their well-colored pretences and profeſſions, they had overreached the whole nation. To deceive ſuch men would argue a ſuperlative capacity in Cromwel; were it not, that, beſide the great difference there is betwixt dark, crooked councils and true wiſdom, an exorbitant paſſion for rule and authority will make the moſt prudent overlook the dangerous conſequences of ſuch meaſures as ſeem to tend, in any degree, to their advancement.

THE leaders of the army, having eſtabliſhed their dominion over the parliament and city, ventured to bring the King to Hampton-Court; and he lived, for ſome time, in that palace, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. Such admirable equability of temper did he poſſeſs, that, during all the variety of fortune, which he underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behavior; and tho' a priſoner, in the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, he ſupported, towards all who approached him, the majeſty of a monarch; and that, neither with leſs nor greater ſtate, than what he had been accuſtomed to maintain. His manner, which was not in itſelf popular nor gracious, now appeared amiable, from its great meekneſs and equality.

THE

THE parliament renewed their applications, and preſented him with the ſame conditions, which they had offered at Newcaſtle. The King declined acceptance; and deſired them to take the propoſals of the army into conſideration, and make them the foundation of the public ſettlement. He ſtill entertained hopes, that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with ſucceſs; tho' every thing, in that particular, bore daily a worſe aſpect. Moſt hiſtorians have thought, that Cromwel never was ſincere in his profeſſions; and that, having, by force, rendered himſelf maſter of the King's perſon, and, by fair pretences, acquired the countenance of the royaliſts, he had employed theſe advantages to the enſlaving the parliament: And afterwards thought of nothing but the eſtabliſhment of his own unlimited authority, with which he eſteemed the reſtoration, and even life of the King, altogether incompatible. This opinion, ſo much warranted by the exorbitant ambition and profound diſſimulation of his character, meets with ready belief; tho' 'tis more agreeable to the narrowneſs of human views, and the natural darkneſs of futurity, to ſuppoſe, that this daring uſurper was guided by events, and did not, as yet, foreſee, with any aſſurance, that unparalleled greatneſs, which he afterwards attained. Many writers of that age have aſſerted *, that he really intended to make a private bargain with the King;

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* Salmonet, Ludlow, Hollis, &c. all theſe, eſpecially the laſt, being the declared inveterate enemies of Cromwel, are the more to be credited, when they advance any fact, which may ſerve to apologize for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a ſtory, that Cromwel intercepted a letter, wrote to the Queen, where the King ſaid, that he would firſt raiſe and then deſtroy Cromwel. But, beſide that this conduct ſeems to contradict the character of the King, it is, on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is firſt told by Roger Coke, a very paſſionate hiſtorian, who wrote ſo late as the revolution, and who mentions it only as a rumor. In the Memoirs of Lord Broghill, we meet with another ſtory of an intercepted letter, which deſerves ſome more attention, and agrees very well with the narration here given. It is thus related by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger Earl of Orrery. "Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatneſs with Cromwel, juſt after "he had ſo ſeaſonably relieved him in his great diſtreſs at Clonmell, riding out of Youghall one "day with him and Ireton, they fell into diſcourſe about the King's death. Cromwel thereupon "ſaid more than once, that if the King had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by "none but truſty ſervants, he had foolled them all; and that once they had a mind to have cloſed "with him, but, upon ſomething that happened, fell off from that deſign. Orrery finding them in "good humor, and being alone with them, aſked, if he might preſume to deſire to know, why "they would once have cloſed with his Majeſty, and why they did not. Cromwel very freely told "him, he would ſatisfy him in both his queries. The reaſon (ſays he) why we would have cloſed "with the King was this: We found that the Scotch and preſbyterians began to be more powerful "than we, and were likely to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reaſon we thought "it beſt to prevent them by offering firſt to come in upon reaſonable conditions: But whilſt our "thoughts were taken up with this ſubject, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who

"was

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a meaſure, which carried the moſt plauſible appearance both for his ſafety and advancement: But that he found inſuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humors of the army. The horror and antipathy of theſe enraged fanatics had, for many years, been artfully fomented againſt Charles; and tho' their principles were, on all occaſions, eaſily warped and eluded by private intereſt, yet was ſome coloring requiſite, and a flat contradiction to all former profeſſions and tenets could not ſafely be propoſed to them. 'Tis certain, at leaſt, that Cromwel made uſe of this reaſon, why he admitted rarely of viſits from the King's friends, and ſhowed leſs favor than formerly to the royal cauſe. The agitators, he ſaid, had rendered him odious to the army, and had repreſented him as a traitor, who, for the ſake of private intereſt, was ready to betray the cauſe of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. Deſperate projects too, he aſſerted to be ſecretly formed, for the murder of the King; and he pretended much to dread leſt all his authority, and that of the commanding officers, would not be able to reſtrain theſe enthuſiaſts from their bloody purpoſes.

INTELLIGENCE

" was of the King's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that very day; " that he could not poſſibly learn what it was, but we might diſcover it, if we could but intercept " a letter ſent from the King to the Queen, wherein he informed her of his reſolution; that this " letter was ſowen up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with the ſaddle upon " his head, about ten of the clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holbourn, where he was to take " horſe for Dover. The meſſenger knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, tho' ſome in Dover " did. We were at Windſor (ſaid Cromwel) when we received this letter, and immediately upon " the receipt of it, Ireton and I reſolved to take one truſty fellow with us, and to go in troopers " habits to that inn. We did ſo; and leaving our man at the gate of the inn, (which had a wicket " only open to let perſons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with a " ſaddle, we went into a drinking ſtall. We there continued, drinking cans of beer, till about " ten of the clock, when our centinel at the gate gave us notice, that the man with the ſaddle was " come. We roſe up preſently, and juſt as the man was leading out his horſe ſaddled, we came up " to him with drawn ſwords, and told him, we were to ſearch all that went in and out there; but " as he looked like an honeſt man, we would only ſearch his ſaddle and ſo diſmiſs him. The ſad- " dle was ungirt, we carried it into the ſtall, where we had been drinking, and ripping open one of " the ſkirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered " the man (whom we had left with our centinel) his ſaddle, told him he was an honeſt fellow, and " bid him go about his buſineſs; which he did, purſuing his journey without more ado, and igno- " rant of the harm he had ſuffered. We found in the letter, that his Majeſty acquainted the Queen, " that he was courted by both factions, the Scotch preſbyterians and the army; and that thoſe which " bade the faireſt for him ſhould have him: but yet he thought he ſhould cloſe with the Scotch ſooner " than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windſor; and finding we were not like to have " good terms from the King, we from that time vowed his deſtruction." 'This relation ſuiting 'well enough with other paſſages and circumſtances at this time, I have inſerted to gratify the reader's 'curioſity.' Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 12.

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INTELLIGENCE being daily brought to the King of menaces thrown out by the agitators; he began to think of retiring from Hampton-Court, and of putting himſelf in ſome place of ſafety. The guards were doubled upon him: The promiſcuous concourſe of people reſtrained: A more jealous care exerted in attending his perſon: All, under color of protecting him from danger; but really with a view of making him uneaſy in his preſent ſituation. Theſe artifices ſoon operated the intended effect. Charles, who was naturally apt to be ſwayed by council, and who had not then acceſs to any good council, took ſuddenly a reſolution of withdrawing himſelf, tho' without any concerted, at leaſt, any rational ſcheme, for the future diſpoſal of his perſon. Attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-Court; and his eſcape was not diſcovered, till near an hour after; when thoſe, who entered his chamber, found on the table ſome letters, directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer, who had attended him. All night, he travelled thro' the forreſt, and arrived next day at Tichfield, a ſeat of the Earl of Southampton, where the Counteſs dowager reſided, a woman of great honor, to whom, the King knew, he might ſafely entruſt his perſon. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the ſea-coaſt; and expreſſed great anxiety, that a ſhip, which he ſeemed to look for, had not arrived; and from thence, Berkeley and Leg, who were not in the ſecret, conjectured, that his intention was to tranſport himſelf beyond ſeas.

11th Nov.

King flies to the iſle of Wight.

THE King could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield: What meaſure ſhould next be embraced, was the queſtion. The iſle of Wight was in the neighborhood, of which Hammond was governor. This man was intirely dependent on Cromwel. At his recommendation he had married a daughter of the famous Hambden, who, during his life time, had been an intimate friend of Cromwel, and whoſe memory was ever religiouſly reſpected by him. Theſe circumſtances were very unfavorable: Yet, becauſe the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the King's beloved chaplain, and had acquired a good character in the army, it was thought proper to have recourſe to him, in the preſent exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Aſhburnham and Berkeley were diſpatched to the iſland. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place, where the King lay concealed, till they had firſt obtained a promiſe of him not to deliver up his Majeſty, tho' the parliament and army ſhould require him; but to reſtore him to his liberty, if he could not defend him. This promiſe, it is evident, would have been a very ſlender ſecurity: Yet even without exacting it, Aſhburnham, imprudently, if not treacherouſly, brought Hammond to Tichfield; and the King was obliged to put himſelf into his hands, and

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to attend him to Cariſbroke caſtle in the iſle of Wight, where, tho' received with great demonſtrations of reſpect and duty, he was in reality a priſoner.

LORD CLARENDON is poſitive, that the King, when he fled from Hampton-Court, had no intention of going to this iſland; and indeed, all the circumſtances of that hiſtorian's narrative, which I have here followed, ſtrongly favor this opinion. But there remains a letter of Charles to the Earl of Laneric, ſecretary of Scotland; where he plainly intimates, that that meaſure was voluntarily embraced, and even inſinuates, that, if he had thought proper, he might have been in Jerſey or any other place of ſafety*. Perhaps, he ſtill confided in the promiſes of the generals; and flattered himſelf, that, if he were removed from the fury of the agitators, by which his life was immediately threatened, they would execute what they had ſo often promiſed in his favor.

WHATEVER may be the truth in this matter; for it is impoſſible fully to aſcertain the truth; Charles was never guilty of a weaker ſtep, nor one more agreeable to Cromwel and all his enemies. He was now lodged in a place, removed from his partizans, at the diſpoſal of the army, whence it would be very difficult to deliver him, either by force or artifice. And tho' it was always in the power of Cromwel, whenever he pleaſed, to have ſent him thither; yet ſuch a meaſure would have been very invidious, if not accompanied with ſome danger. That the King ſhould voluntarily throw himſelf into the ſnare, and forfeit his own reputation of prudence, in order to gratify his implacable perſecutors, was to them an incident peculiarly fortunate, and proved in the iſſue very fatal to him.

CROMWEL, being now intirely maſter of the parliament, and free from all anxiety, with regard to the King's perſon, applied himſelf ſeriouſly to quell thoſe diſorders, which he himſelf had ſo artfully raiſed, and ſo ſucceſsfully employed, againſt both King and parliament. In order to engage the troops into

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* Theſe are the words: "Laneric; I wonder to hear (if that be true) that ſome of my friends "ſay, that my going to Jerſey would much more have furthered my perſonal treaty, than my coming "hither, for which, as I ſee no color of reaſon, ſo I had not been here, if I had thought that "fancy true, or had not been ſecured of a perſonal treaty; of which I neither do, nor I hope will "repent: For I am daily more and more ſatisfied with the governor, and find theſe iſlanders very "good, peaceable, and quiet people. This encouragement I have thought not unfit for you to re-"ceive, hoping at leaſt it may do good upon others, tho' needleſs to you." Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 326. See alſo Ruſhworth, part 4. vol. ii. p. 941. All the writers of that age, except Clarendon, repreſent the King's going to the iſle of Wight as voluntary and intended. Perhaps the King thought it little to his credit, to be trepanned into this meaſure, and was more willing to take it on himſelf as intirely voluntary. Perhaps, he thought it would encourage his friends, if they thought him in a ſituation, which was not diſagreeable to him.

a rebellion againſt their maſters, he had encouraged a very arrogant ſpirit among the inferior officers and private men; and the camp, in many reſpects, bore rather the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themſelves were formed into a ſpecies of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics for the ſettlement of the ſtate, were, every day, the topics of converſation among theſe armed legiſlators. Royalty it was agreed to aboliſh: Nobility muſt be ſet aſide: Even all ranks of men be levelled; and an univerſal equality of property, as well as power, introduced among the citizens. The ſaints, they ſaid, were the ſalt of the earth: An intire parity had place among the elect: And, by the ſame rule, that the apoſtles were exalted from the moſt ignoble profeſſions, the meaneſt centinel, if enlightened by the ſpirit, was intitled to equal regard with the greateſt commander. In order to wean the ſoldiers from theſe licentious maxims, Cromwel had iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended to pay intire obedience to the parliament, whom, being now reduced fully to ſubjection, he propoſed to make, for the future, the inſtruments of his authority. But the *Levellers*, for ſo that party in the army was called, having experienced the ſweets of dominion, would not ſo eaſily be deprived of it. They ſecretly continued their meetings: They aſſerted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or ſtate, ſtood in need of reformation: Several regiments joined in ſeditious remonſtrances and petitions: Separate rendevouſes were concerted: And every thing tended to total anarchy and confuſion. But this diſtemper was ſoon cured by the rough, but dexterous hand of Cromwel. He choſe the occaſion of a review, that he might mark the greater boldneſs, and ſpred the terror the wider. He ſeized the ringleaders before their companions: Held in the field a council of war: Shot one mutineer inſtantly; and ſtruck ſuch dread into the reſt, that they preſently threw down the ſymbols of ſedition, which they had diſplayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted diſcipline and obedience. Chap. X. 1647.

Cromwel had great deference for the council of Ireton; a man, who, having grafted the ſoldier on the lawyer, the ſtatesman on the ſaint, had adopted ſuch principles as were fitted to introduce the ſevereſt tyranny, while they ſeemed to encourage the moſt unbounded licence, in human ſociety. Fierce in his nature, tho' probably ſincere in his intentions; by arbitrary power he propoſed to eſtabliſh liberty, and, in proſecution of his godly purpoſes, he eſteemed himſelf diſpenſed from all the ordinary rules of morality, by which inferior mortals muſt allow themſelves to be governed. At his ſuggeſtion, Cromwel ſecretly called at Windſor a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the ſettlement of the nation, and the future diſpoſal of the King's perſon.

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In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwel himſelf and other inſpired perſons (for the officers of this army received inſpiration with their commiſſion), was firſt opened the daring and unheard of council, of bringing the King to juſtice, and of puniſhing, by a judicial ſentence, their ſovereign for his pretended tyranny and mal-adminiſtration. While Charles lived, even tho' reſtrained to the cloſeſt priſon, conſpiracies, they knew, and inſurrections would never be wanting, in favor of a prince, who was ſo extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with great affection and compaſſion. To murder him privately was expoſed to the imputation of injuſtice and cruelty, aggravated by the baſeneſs of ſuch a crime; and every odious epithet of *Traitor* and *Aſſaſſin* would, by the general voice of mankind, be undiſputably aſcribed to the actors of ſuch a villany. Some unexpected procedure muſt be attempted, which would aſtoniſh the world by its novelty, would bear the ſemblance of juſtice, and cover its barbarity by the audaciouſneſs of the enterprize. Striking in with the fanatical notions of the intire equality of mankind, it would aſcertain the devoted obedience of the army, and ſerve as a general engagement againſt the royal family, whom, by their open and united deed, they would ſo atrociouſly affront and injure *.

THIS meaſure, therefore, being ſecretly reſolved on, it was requiſite, by degrees, to make the parliament adopt it, and to conduct them from violence to violence; till this laſt act of atrocious iniquity ſhould ſeem, in a manner, wholly inevitable. The King, in order to remove thoſe fears and jealouſies, which were perpetually pleaded as reaſons for every invaſion of the conſtitution, had offered, by a meſſage, ſent from Cariſbroke caſtle, to reſign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices; provided, that, after his death, theſe prerogatives ſhould again return to the crown: But the parliament acted intirely as victors and enemies; and, in all their tranſactions with him, payed no longer any regard to equity or reaſon. At the inſtigation of the independents and army, they neglected this offer, and framed four propoſitions, which they ſent him as preliminaries; and, before they would deign to treat, they demanded his poſitive aſſent to all of them. By one, he was required to inveſt the parliament with the military power for twenty years, along with

* The following was a very favorite text among the fanatics of that age. "Let the high praiſes "of God be in the mouths of his ſaints, and a twofold ſword in their hands, to execute vengeance "upon the heathen and puniſhment upon the people; to bind their kings with chains and their no- "bles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgments written: This honor have all "his ſaints." Pſalm cxlix. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. Hugh Peters, the mad chaplain of Cromwel, preached frequently upon this text.

with an authority to levy whatever money ſhould be requiſite for exerciſing it: And even after the twenty years were elapſed, they reſerved a right of reaſſuming the ſame authority, whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom to require it. By the ſecond, he muſt recall all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament, and acknowlege them to have taken arms for their juſt and neceſſary defence. By the third, he was to annull all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had paſſed the great ſeal, ſince it had been carried from London by Lord Littleton, the chancellor. By the fourth, he gave the two houſes power to adjourn as they thought fit: A demand ſeemingly of no great conſequence; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places, where it ſhould remain in perpetual ſubjection to the army. Chap. X. 1647.

THE King regarded the pretenſion as moſt unuſual and exorbitant, that he ſhould make ſuch conceſſions, while inſecure of any ſettlement; and blindly truſt his enemies for the conditions, which they were afterwards to grant him. He required, therefore, a perſonal treaty with the parliament, and deſired that all the terms, on both ſides, ſhould be adjuſted, before any conceſſions, on either ſide, ſhould be inſiſted on. The republican party in the houſe pretended to take fire at this anſwer; and openly inveighed, in the moſt virulent terms, againſt the perſon and government of the King; whoſe name, hitherto, had commonly, in all debates, been mentioned with ſome degree of reverence. Ireton, ſeeming to ſpeak the ſenſe of the army, under the appellation of many thouſand godly men, who had ventured their lives in defence of the parliament, ſaid, That the King, by denying the four bills, had refuſed ſafety and protection to his people; that their obedience to him was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that, as he had failed on his part, they were free'd from all obligations to allegiance, and muſt ſettle the nation, without conſulting any longer ſo miſguided a prince. Cromwel, after giving an ample character of the valor, good affections, and godlineſs of the army, ſubjoined, That it was expected the parliament ſhould govern and defend the kingdom by their own power and reſolutions, and not accuſtom the people any longer to expect ſafety and government from an obſtinate man, whoſe heart God had hardened; that thoſe, who, at the expence of their blood, had hitherto defended the parliament from ſo many dangers, would ſtill continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them againſt all oppoſition, in this vigorous meaſure. "Teach them not," added he, "by neglecting your own ſafety and that of the kingdom (in which theirs too "is involved) to imagine themſelves betrayed, and their intereſts abandoned to "the 1648.

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" the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom, for your ſake, they " have dared to provoke. Beware, *(and at theſe words he laid his hand on his " ſword)* beware, leſt deſpair cauſe them to ſeek ſafety by ſome other means, " than by adhering to you, who know not how to conſult your own ſafety." Such arguments prevailed; tho' ninety one members had ſtill the courage to oppoſe. It was voted, that no more addreſſes be made to the King, nor any letters or meſſages received from him; and that it be treaſon for any one, without leave of the two houſes, to have any intercourſe with him. The Lords concurred in the ſame ordinance.

15th of Jan.

By this vote of non-addreſſes, for ſo it was called, the King was, in reality, dethroned, and the whole conſtitution formally overthrown. So violent a meaſure was ſupported by a declaration no leſs violent. The blackeſt calumnies were there thrown upon him; ſuch as, even in their famous remonſtrance, the commons thought proper to omit, as incredible and extravagant: The poiſoning his father, the betraying Rochelle, the contriving the Iriſh maſſacre. By blaſting his fame, had that injury been in their power, they formed a very proper prologue to the murthering of his perſon.

No ſooner had the King refuſed his aſſent to the four bills, than Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his ſervants, cut off all correſpondence with his friends, and ſhut him up in cloſe confinement. To Sir Philip Warwic the King afterwards ſhowed an old decrepid man, who, he ſaid, was employed to kindle his fire, and was the beſt company he enjoyed, during ſeveral months that this rigorous confinement laſted. No amuſement was allowed him, or ſociety, which might relieve his anxious thoughts: To be ſpeedily poiſoned or aſſaſſinated was the only proſpect, which he had, every moment, before his eyes; For he entertained no apprehenſion of a judicial ſentence and execution, an event, of which no hiſtory, hitherto, furniſhed an example. Meanwhile, the parliament were very induſtrious in publiſhing, from time to time, the intelligence, which they received from Hammond; how chearful the King was, how pleaſed with every one who approached him, how ſatisfied in his preſent condition: As if the view of ſuch admirable benignity and conſtancy had not been more proper to inflame, than allay, the general compaſſion of the people. The great ſource, whence the King derived conſolation amidſt all his calamities, was undoubtedly religion; a principle, which, in him, ſeems to have contained nothing fierce nor gloomy, nothing which enraged him againſt his adverſaries, or terrified him with the diſmal proſpect of futurity. While every thing around him

him bore a hoſtile aſpect; while friends, family, relations, whom he paſſionately loved, were placed at a diſtance, and impotent to ſerve him; he repoſed himſelf with confidence in the arms of that Being, who penetrates and ſuſtains all nature, and whoſe ſeverities, if received with piety and reſignation, he regarded as the ſureſt pledge of unexhauſted favor. Chap. X. 1648.

THE parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not, in tranquillity, that power, which they had obtained with ſo much violence and injuſtice. Combinations and conſpiracies, they were ſenſible, were every where forming around them; and Scotland, whence the King's cauſe had received the firſt fatal blow, ſeemed now to promiſe it ſupport and aſſiſtance. Second civil war.

BEFORE the delivery of the King's perſon at Newcaſtle, and much more, ſince that event, the ſubjects of diſcontent had been daily multiplying betwixt the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail, took all occaſions of mortifying the Scotch, whom the preſbyterians looked on with the greateſt affection and veneration. When the Scotch commiſſioners, who, joined to a committee of Engliſh lords and commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was propoſed in parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices. The independents obtained, that the words, *Good offices*, ſhould be ſtruck out; and thus the whole brotherly friendſhip and intimate alliance with the Scotch reſolved itſelf into an acknowlegement of their being well-bred gentlemen.

THE advance of the army to London, the ſubjection of the parliament, the ſeizing of the King at Holmby, his confinement in Cariſbroke caſtle, were ſo many blows, ſenſibly felt by the Scotch; as threatening the final overthrow of preſbytery, to which they were ſo paſſionately devoted. The covenant was profanely called, in the houſe of commons, an almanac out of date; and that impiety, tho' complained of, had paſſed uncenſured. Inſtead of being able to determine and eſtabliſh orthodoxy by the ſword and by penal ſtatutes, they ſaw the ſectarian army, who were abſolute maſters, claim an unbounded liberty of conſcience, which the preſbyterians regarded with the utmoſt horror. All the violences, put on the King, they loudly blamed, as contrary to the covenant, by which they ſtood engaged to defend his royal perſon. And thoſe very actions, of which themſelves had been guilty, they denominated treaſon and rebellion, when executed by an oppoſite party.

THE Earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Laneric, who were ſent to London, proteſted againſt the four propoſitions; as containing too great a diminution of the King's civil power, and providing no ſecurity for religion. They complained, that, notwithſtanding this proteſtation, the propoſitions were ſtill inſiſted on;

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on; contrary to the ſolemn league and treaty betwixt the two nations. And when they accompanied the Engliſh commiſſioners to the iſle of Wight, they ſecretly formed a treaty with the King, for arming Scotland in his favor.

Invaſion from Scotland.

THREE parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland. The *Royaliſts*, who inſiſted upon the reſtoration of the King's authority, without any regard to religious ſects or tenets: Of theſe Montroſe, tho' abſent, was regarded as the head. The *Rigid preſbyterians*, who hated the King, even more than they abhorred toleration; and who were reſolved to give him no aſſiſtance, till he ſhould ſign the covenant: Theſe were governed by Argyle. The *Moderate preſbyterians*, who endeavored to reconcile the intereſts of religion and the crown, and hoped, by ſupporting the preſbyterian party in England, to ſuppreſs the ſectarian army, and re-inſtate the parliament, as well as King, in their juſt freedom and authority: The two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric, were leaders of this party.

WHEN Pendennis caſtle was ſurrendered to the parliamentary army, Hamilton, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland; and being generouſly determined to remember antient favors, more than recent injuries, he immediately embraced, with zeal and ſucceſs, the protection of the royal cauſe. From the parliament he obtained a vote to arm 40,000 men, in ſupport of the King's authority, and to call over a conſiderable body under Monro, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ulſter. And tho' he openly proteſted, that the covenant was the foundation of all his meaſures, he ſecretly formed an alliance with the Engliſh royaliſts, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Muſgrave, who ſurprized Berwic and Carliſle, and levied conſiderable forces in the north of England.

THE general aſſembly, who ſat at the ſame time, and were guided by Argyle, dreaded the conſequences of theſe meaſures, and foreſaw, that, if ſucceſsful, the oppoſite party would effect the reſtoration of monarchy, without the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery in England. To join the King before he had ſubſcribed the covenant, was, in their eyes, to reſtore him to his honor before Chriſt was reſtored to his; and they thundered out anathemas againſt every one, who payed obedience to the parliament. Two ſupreme independent judicatories were erected in the kingdom; one threatening the people with damnation and eternal torments, the other with impriſonment, baniſhment, and military execution. The people were diſtracted in their choice; and the armament of Hamilton's party, tho' ſeconded by all the civil power, went on but ſlowly. The royaliſts he would not, as yet, allow to join him, leſt he might give offence to the eccleſiaſtical party;

party; tho' he ſecretly promiſed them truſt and preferment, as ſoon as his army ſhould be advanced into England.

While the Scotch were making preparations for the invaſion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, inſurrections, conſpiracies, diſcontents. 'Tis ſeldom, that the people gain any thing by revolutions in government; becauſe the new ſettlement, jealous and inſecure, muſt commonly be ſupported with more expence and ſeverity than the old: But on no occaſion was the truth of this maxim more ſenſibly felt, than in the preſent ſituation of England. Complaints againſt the oppreſſion of ſhip-money, againſt the tyranny of the ſtar-chamber, had rouzed the people to arms: And having gained a compleat victory over the crown, they found themſelves loaded with a multiplicity of taxes, formerly unknown; and ſcarce an appearance of law and liberty remained in the adminiſtration. The preſbyterians, who had chiefly ſupported the war, were enraged to find the prize, juſt when it ſeemed within their reach, by violence ſnatched from them. The royaliſts, diſappointed in their expectations, by the cruel treatment, which the King received from the army, were highly animated to reſtore him to liberty, and recover the advantages, which they had unfortunately loſt. All orders of men were inflamed with indignation at ſeeing the military prevail over the civil power, and king and parliament at once reduced to ſubjection by a mercenary army. Many perſons of family and diſtinction, from the beginning of the war, had adhered to the parliament: But all thoſe were, by the new party, deprived of authority; and every office was entruſted to the vileſt and moſt ignoble part of the nation. A baſe populace exalted above their ſuperiors: Hypocrites exerciſing iniquity under the vizor of religion: In theſe two circumſtances are comprized the utmoſt depravity of human nature; and theſe were now found united, in the ſame uſurped and illegal adminiſtration.

Tho' the whole nation ſeemed to combine in their hatred of military tyranny, the ends, which the ſeveral parties propoſed, were ſo different, that little concert was obſerved in their inſurrections. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, preſbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, were the firſt who declared themſelves, and drew together a conſiderable army in thoſe parts, which were extremely devoted to the royal cauſe. An inſurrection was raiſed in Kent by young Hales and the Earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, excited commotions in Eſſex. The Earl of Holland, who had ſeveral times changed party, ſince the commencement of the civil wars, endeavored to collect forces in Surrey. Pomfret caſtle in Yorkeſhire was ſurprized by

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by Morrice. Langdale and Muſgrave were in arms, and maſters of Berwic and Carliſle in the north.

WHAT ſeemed the moſt dangerous circumſtance, the general ſpirit of diſcontent had ſeized the fleet. Seventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the King; and putting Rainſborow, their admiral, aſhore, ſailed over to Holland, where the Prince of Wales took the command of them.

THE Engliſh royaliſts exclaimed loudly againſt Hamilton's delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scotch; as if their intentions were, that all the King's party ſhould firſt be ſuppreſſed, and the victory remain intire to the preſbyterians. Hamilton, with better reaſon, complained of the precipitant humor of the Engliſh royaliſts, who, by their ill-timed inſurrections, forced him to march his army, before his levies were compleated, or his preparations in any forwardneſs.

No commotions, beyond a tumult of the apprentices, which was ſoon ſuppreſſed, were raiſed in London: The terror of the army kept the citizens in ſubjection. The parliament was ſo overawed, that they declared the Scotch to be enemies, and all who joined them, traitors. Ninety members, however, of the lower houſe had the courage to diſſent from this vote.

CROMWEL and the military council, with vigor and conduct prepared themſelves for defence. The eſtabliſhment of the army was, at this time, 26,000 men; but by inliſting ſupernumeraries, the regiments were conſiderably augmented. Colonel Horton firſt attacked the revolted troops in Wales, and gave them a conſiderable defeat. The broken remnants threw themſelves into Pembroke, and were there cloſely beſieged, and ſoon after taken, by Cromwel. Lambert was oppoſed to Langdale and Muſgrave in the north, and gained advantages over them. Sir Michael Liveſey defeated the Earl of Holland at Kingſton, and purſuing his victory, took him priſoner at St. Noets. Fairfax, having routed the Kentiſh royaliſts at Maidſtone, followed the broken army: And when they joined themſelves to the Eſſex inſurgents, and threw themſelves into Colcheſter; he laid ſiege to that place, which defended itſelf to the laſt extremity. A new fleet was manned, and ſent out under the command of Warwic, to oppoſe the revolted ſhips, of which the Prince was admiral.

WHILE the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and began to act with its wonted courage and ſpirit. The members, who had withdrawn from the terror of the army, returned; and infuſing boldneſs into their companions, reſtored to the preſbyterian party the aſcendant, which it had formerly loſt. The eleven impeached members were recalled, and the vote, by which they were expelled, was reverſed. The vote too of non-addreſſes

dreſſes was repealed; and commiſſioners, five peers and ten commoners, were ſent to Newport in the iſle of Wight, in order to treat with the King. He was allowed to ſummon ſeveral of his friends and old counſellors, that he might have their advice in this important tranſaction. The theologians on both ſides, armed with their ſyllogiſms and citations, attended as auxiliaries. By them, the flame had firſt been raiſed; and their appearance was but a bad prognoſtic of its extinction. Any other inſtruments ſeemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification. Chap. X. 1648.

When the King preſented himſelf to this company, a great and ſenſible alteration was remarked in his aſpect from what appeared the year before, when he reſided at Hampton-Court. The moment his ſervants had been removed, he had laid aſide all care of his perſon, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected. His hair was become almoſt intirely gray; either from the decline of years, or from that load of ſorrows, under which he labored, and which, tho' borne with admirable conſtancy, preyed inwardly on his ſenſible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compaſſion, and perhaps even his enemies, that *Gray and diſcrowned head*; as he himſelf terms it, in a copy of verſes, which the truth of the ſentiment, rather than the elegance of expreſſion, renders very pathetic. Having in vain endeavored by courage to defend his throne from his armed adverſaries, it now behoved him, by reaſon and perſuaſion, to ſave ſome fragments of it, from theſe peaceful, and no leſs implacable negotiators. 18th of Sept. Treaty of Newport.

The vigor of the King's mind, notwithſtanding the ſeeming decline of his body, here appeared unbroken and undecayed. The parliamentary commiſſioners would allow none of his council to be preſent, and refuſed to enter into reaſoning with any but himſelf. He alone, during the tranſactions of two months, was obliged to ſuſtain the argument againſt fifteen men of the greateſt parts and capacity in both houſes; and no advantage was ever obtained over him. This was the ſcene, above all others, in which he was qualified to excel. A quick conception, a cultivated underſtanding, a chaſte elocution, a dignified manner; by theſe accompliſhments he triumphed in all diſcuſſions of cool and temperate reaſoning. *The King is much changed*, ſaid the Earl of Saliſbury to Sir Philip Warwic: *He is extremely improved of late. No*, replied Sir Philip; *he was always ſo: But you are now at laſt ſenſible of it.* Sir Henry Vane, to his fellow-commiſſioners, drew an argument from the King's uncommon abilities, why the terms of pacification muſt be rendered more ſtrict and rigid *. But Charles's capacity ſhone not equally in action as in reaſoning.

* Clarendon, Sir Edward Walker.

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THE first point insisted on by the parliamentary commissioners, was the recalling all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and the acknowleging, that they had taken arms in their own defence. He frankly offered the former concession; but long scrupled the latter. The falshood, as well as indignity of that acknowlegement, begot in his breast an extreme reluctance against it. The King had, no doubt, in some particulars of moment, invaded, from a seeming necessity, the privileges of his people: But having renounced all claim to these usurped powers, having confessed his errors, and having repaired every breach of the constitution, and even erected new ramparts, in order to secure it; he could no longer, at the commencement of the war, be represented as the aggressor. However it might be pretended, that the former display of his arbitrary inclinations, or rather his monarchical principles, rendered an offensive or preventive war in the parliament prudent and reasonable; it could never, in any propriety of speech, make it be denominated a defensive one. But the parliament, sensible, that the letter of the law condemned them as rebels and traitors; esteemed this point intirely requisite for their future security: And the King, finding, that peace could be obtained on no other terms, at last yielded to it. He only entered a protest, which was admitted; that no concession, made by him, should be valid, unless the whole treaty of pacification was concluded.

HE agreed, that the parliament should retain, during the term of twenty years, the whole power of the militia and army, and of levying what money they pleased for their support. He even yielded to them the right of resuming, at any time afterwards, this authority, whenever they should declare it requisite for public safety. In effect, the important power of the sword was for ever ravished from him and his successors.

HE agreed, that all the great offices, during twenty years, should be filled by both houses of parliament. He relinquished to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there. He renounced the power of the wards, and accepted of 100,000 pounds a year in lieu of it. He acknowleged the validity of their great seal, and gave up his own. He abandoned the power of creating peers without consent of parliament. And he agreed, that all the debts, contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people.

So great were the alterations, made on the English constitution by this treaty, that the King said, not without reason, that he had been more an enemy to his people by these concessions, could he have prevented them, than by any other action of his life.

Of all the demands of the parliament, Charles refuſed only two. Tho' he relinquiſhed almoſt every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to puniſhment, nor deſert what he eſteemed his religious duty. The ſevere repentance, which he had undergone, for abandoning Strafford, had, no doubt, confirmed him in the reſolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long ſolitude and ſevere afflictions had contributed extremely to rivet him the more in thoſe pious prejudices, which had ever a conſiderable influence over him.

The eſtates of the royaliſts being, at that time, almoſt intirely under ſequeſtration, Charles, who could give them no protection, conſented, that they ſhould pay ſuch compoſitions, as they and the parliament could agree on; and begged only, that they might be made as moderate as poſſible. He had not the diſpoſal of offices; and it ſeemed but a ſmall ſacrifice to conſent, that a certain number of his friends ſhould be rendered incapable of public employments. But when the parliament demanded a bill of attainder and baniſhment againſt ſeven perſons, the Marquis of Newcaſtle, Lord Digby, Lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins, the King utterly refuſed compliance: Their baniſhment for a limited time he was willing to agree to.

Religion was the fatal point about which the differences had firſt ariſen; and of all others, was the leaſt capable of compoſition or moderation betwixt the contending parties. The parliament inſiſted on the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery, the ſale of the chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and ſtrict laws againſt the catholics. The King offered to retrench every thing, which he did not eſteem of apoſtolical inſtitution: He was willing to aboliſh archbiſhops, deans, prebends, canons: He offered, that the chapter lands ſhould be let at low leaſes during ninety nine years: He conſented, that the preſent church-government ſhould continue during three years: After that time, he required not, that any thing ſhould be reſtored to biſhops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exerciſed by advice of the preſbyters. If the parliament, upon the expiration of that period, was not willing, all other branches of epiſcopal juriſdiction were aboliſhed, and a new form of church-government muſt, by common conſent, be eſtabliſhed. The book of common prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of uſing ſome other liturgy in his own chappel: A demand, which, tho' ſeemingly very reaſonable, was poſitively refuſed by the parliament.

It may be proper for the information of poſterity to obſerve, that bread and wine in the communion, and water in baptiſm, being conſecrated by a preſbyter, theſe

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theſe rites were eſteemed by the King invalid, unleſs the preſbyter himſelf had been previouſly conſecrated by a biſhop: And conſequently, without that order, the ſpiritual benefit, accruing from the participation of theſe elements, was entirely loſt. If this prejudice of the King appear ſuperſtitious and contemptible to ſome philoſophical minds, as certainly the queſtion is very minute; it ought ſtill to be conſidered, that he was ſupporting the religion, which, at his acceſſion, he found, by law, eſtabliſhed in his kingdoms.

In the diſpute on the articles, one is not ſurpriſed, that two of the parliamentary theologians ſhould tell the King, *That if he did not conſent to the utter aboliſhing epiſcopacy, he would be damned.* But it is not without ſome indignation, that we read the following vote of the lords and commons. "The houſes, out "of their deteſtation, to that abominable idolatry uſed in the maſs, do declare, "that they cannot admit of or conſent unto any ſuch indulgence in any law, "as is deſired by his Majeſty for exempting the Queen and her family from the "penalties to be enacted againſt the exerciſe of the maſs." The treaty of marriage, the regard to the Queen's ſex and high ſtation, even common humanity; all conſiderations were undervalued, in compariſon of their bigotted prejudices *.

It

* The King compoſed a letter to the Prince, in which he related the whole courſe of this tranſaction, and accompanied his narrative, with ſeveral wiſe, as well as pathetical reflections and advices. The words with which he concluded the letter, are remarkable. "By what hath been ſaid, "you ſee how long I have labored in the ſearch of peace: Do not you be diſheartened to tread in "the ſame ſteps. Uſe all worthy means to reſtore yourſelf to your rights, but prefer the way of "peace: Show the greatneſs of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than "by puniſhing. If you ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtian the implacable diſpoſition is in our ill-"wiſhers, you would avoid that ſpirit. Cenſure me not for having parted with ſo much of our "right: The price was great; but the commodity was, ſecurity to us, peace to my people. And "I am confident, that another parliament would remember, how uſeful a king's power is to a peo-"ple's liberty; of how much power I diveſted myſelf, that I and they might meet once again in "a parliamentary way, in order to agree the bounds of prince and people. Give belief to my "experience, never to affect more greatneſs or prerogative, than what is really and intrinſically "for the good of the ſubjects, not the ſatisfaction of favorites. If you thus uſe it, you will never "want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to be ex-"traordinarily gracious to. You may perceive, that all men entruſt their treaſure, where it returns "them intereſt; and if a prince, like the ſea, receive and repay all the freſh ſtreams, which the "rivers entruſt with him, they will not grudge, but pride themſelves, to make him up an "ocean. Theſe conſiderations, may make you as great a prince as your father is a low one; "and your ſtate may be ſo much the more eſtabliſhed, as mine hath been ſhaken. For our "ſubjects have learned, I dare ſay, that victories over their princes, are but triumphs over "themſelves, and ſo, will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter. The Engliſh nation

"are

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It was evidently the intereſt, both of king and parliament, to finiſh their treaty as quickly as poſſible; and endeavor, by their combined forces, to reſiſt, if poſſible, the uſurping fury of the army. It ſeemed even the intereſt of the parliament, to leave, in the king's hand, a conſiderable ſhare of authority, by which he might be enabled to protect them and himſelf, from ſo dangerous an enemy. But the terms, on which they inſiſted, were ſo rigorous, that the King, fearing no worſe from the moſt implacable enemies, was in no haſte to come to a concluſion. And ſo great was the bigotry on both ſides, that they were willing to ſacrifice the greateſt civil intereſts, rather than relinquiſh the moſt minute of their theological contentions. From theſe cauſes, aſſiſted by the artifice of the independents, the treaty was ſpun out to ſuch a length, that the invaſions and inſurrections were every where ſubdued; and the army had leizure to execute their violent and ſanguinary projects.

Civil war and invaſion repreſſed.

Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous tho' undiſciplined army, durſt not unite his forces with thoſe of Langdale; becauſe the Engliſh royaliſts had refuſed to take the covenant; and the Scotch preſbyterians, tho' engaged for the King, refuſed to join them on any other terms. The two armies marched together, tho' at ſome diſtance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwel, oblige the covenanters to conſult their own ſafety, by a cloſe union with the royaliſts. When principles are ſo abſurd and ſo deſtructive of human ſociety, it may ſafely be affirmed, that, the more ſincere and the more diſintereſted they are, they only become the more ridiculous and odious.

Cromwel feared not to oppoſe 8000 men, to the numerous armies of 20,000, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. By ſurprize, he attacked the latter, near Preſton in Lancaſhire; * and, tho' the royaliſts made a ſtout reſiſtance, yet, not being ſuccored in time by their confederates, they were almoſt entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and purſued to Utoxeter, where

" are a ſober people, however, at preſent, infatuated. I know not but this may be the laſt time, " I may ſpeak to you or the world publicly. I am ſenſible into what hands I am fallen; and yet, " I bleſs God, I have thoſe inward refreſhments, which the malice of my enemies cannot perturb. " I have learned to buſy myſelf, by retiring into myſelf; and therefore can the better digeſt what- " ever befalls me; not doubting, but God's providence will reſtrain our enemies power, and turn " their fierceneſs into his praiſe. To conclude, if God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly, and be " ever far from revenge. If he reſtore you to your right on hard conditions, whatever you pro- " miſe, keep. Theſe men, who have violated laws, which they were bound to preſerve, will " find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you think any thing in the world worth attaining, " by foul and unjuſt means."

* 17th of Auguſt.

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where he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. Cromwel followed his advantage; and marching into Scotland with a conſiderable body, joined Argyle, who was alſo in arms; and having ſuppreſſed Laneric, Monro, and other moderate preſbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The eccleſiaſtical authority, exalted above the civil, exerciſed the ſevereſt vengeance on all thoſe who had any ſhare in Hamilton's engagement; nor could any of that party recover truſt, or even live in ſafety, but by doing ſolemn and public penance for taking arms, by authority of parliament, in defence of their lawful ſovereign.

THE chancellor Loudon, who had, at firſt, countenanced Hamilton's enterprize, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had, ſometime before, gone over to the other party; and he now, openly in the church, tho' inveſted with the higheſt civil character in the kingdom, did penance for his obedience to the parliament, which he termed a carnal ſelf-ſeeking. His penance he accompanied with ſo many tears, and ſuch pathetical addreſſes to the people for their prayers, in this his uttermoſt ſorrow and diſtreſs, that an univerſal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience.

THE loan of great ſums of money, often to the ruin of families, was exacted of all ſuch as lay under any ſuſpicion of favoring the King's party, tho' their conduct had been ever ſo inoffenſive. This was a device, fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they ſaid, to reach *Heart-Malignants*. Never in this Iſland, was known ſo ſevere and arbitrary a government, as was generally exerciſed, by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms.

THE ſiege of Colcheſter terminated in a manner equally unfortunate, as Hamilton's engagement, for the royal cauſe. After ſuffering the utmoſt extremity of famine, after feeding on the vileſt aliments; the garriſon deſired, at laſt, to capitulate. Fairfax required them to ſurrender at mercy; and he gave ſuch an explanation of theſe terms, as to reſerve to himſelf power, if he pleaſed, to put them all inſtantly to the ſword. The officers endeavored, tho' in vain, to perſuade the ſoldiers, by making a furious aſſault, to break thro', or at leaſt, to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. They were obliged * to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, inſtigated by the furious Ireton, to whom Cromwel, in his abſence, had conſigned over the government of the paſſive general, ſeized Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, and reſolved to make them inſtant ſacrifices to military juſtice. This unuſual piece of ſeverity was loudly exclaimed againſt by all the priſoners. Lord Capel, fearleſs of danger, reproached Ireton with

* 28th of Auguſt.

with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the ſame honorable cauſe, to exerciſe the ſame impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was firſt ſhot to death, and gave, himſelf, orders to fire, with the ſame alacrity, as if he had commanded a platoon of his own ſoldiers. Liſle inſtantly ran and kiſſed his dead body, and then chearfully preſented himſelf to a like fate. Thinking that the ſoldiers, deſtined for his execution, ſtood at too great a diſtance, he called to them to come nearer: One of them replied, *I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you:* He anſwered ſmiling, *Friends, I have been nearer you when you have miſſed me.* Thus periſhed this generous ſpirit, not leſs beloved for his modeſty and humanity, than eſteemed for his courage and military conduct. Chap. X. 1648.

SOON after, a gentleman, appearing in the King's preſence, clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas; that humane Prince, ſuddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, payed them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him: He diſſolved into a flood of tears.

BY theſe multiplied ſucceſſes of the army, they had ſubdued all their enemies; and none remained but the helpleſs King and parliament, to oppoſe their violent meaſures and pretenſions. From Cromwel's ſuggeſtion, a remonſtrance was drawn by the general council of officers, and ſent to the parliament. They there complain of the treaty with the King; demand his puniſhment for the blood ſpilt during the war; require a diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and a more equal repreſentative for the future; and aſſert, that, tho' ſervants, they are intitled to repreſent theſe important points to their maſters, who are themſelves no better than ſervants and truſtees of the people. At the ſame time, they advance with the army to Windſor, and ſend Colonel Eure to ſeize the King's perſon at Newport, and convey him to Hurſt caſtle in the neighborhood, where he was reduced to very ſtrict confinement. The King ſeized again by the army.

THIS meaſure being foreſeen ſome time before, the King was exhorted to make his eſcape, which was conceived to be very eaſy: But having given his word to the parliament not to attempt an evaſion during the treaty, and three weeks afterwards; he would not, by any perſuaſion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating his promiſe. In vain was it urged, that a promiſe, given to the parliament, could no longer be binding; ſince they could no longer afford him protection from violence, threatened him by other perſons, to whom he was bound by no tye or engagement. The King would indulge no refinements of caſuiſtry, however plauſible, in ſuch delicate ſubjects; and was reſolved, that whatever depredations fortune ſhould commit upon him, ſhe never ſhould bereave him of his honor.

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THE parliament loſt not courage, notwithſtanding the danger, with which they were ſo nearly menaced. Tho' without any plan for reſiſting military uſurpations, they generouſly reſolved to withſtand them to the utmoſt; and rather to bring on a violent and viſible ſubverſion of government, than lend their authority to thoſe illegal and ſanguinary meaſures, which were projected. They ſet aſide the remonſtrance of the army, without deigning to anſwer it; they voted the ſeizing the King's perſon, to be without their conſent, and ſent a meſſage to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize had been executed; and they iſſued orders, that the army ſhould advance no nearer London.

HOLLIS, the preſent leader of the preſbyterians, was a man of the moſt unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of that party ſeconded his magnanimous ſpirit. By them it was propoſed, that the generals and principal officers, for their diſobedience and uſurpations, ſhould, by the parliament, be proclaimed traitors.

BUT the parliament were dealing with men, who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any ſcrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax, (for he ſtill allowed them to employ his name) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meuſe, St. James's, Durham-houſe, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, ſurrounded the parliament with their hoſtile armaments.

December 6. The houſe purged.

THE parliament, deſtitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to reiſt. They attempted, in the face of the army, to cloſe their treaty with the King; and, tho' they had formerly voted his conceſſions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unſatisfactory, they now took into conſideration the final reſolution with regard to the whole. After a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 againſt 83, that the King's conceſſions were a foundation for the houſes to proceed upon in the ſettlement of the kingdom.

NEXT day, when the commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, at the head of two regiments, had blockaded the houſe; and, directed by the Lord Grey of Groby, ſeized in the paſſage, forty one members of the preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room, which paſſed by the denomination of *Hell*; whence they were afterwards carried to ſeveral inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the moſt furious andmoſt determined of the independents; and theſe exceeded not the number of fifty or ſixty. This atrocious invaſion of the parliament, commonly paſſed under the rame of *Colonel Pride's purge*; ſo much diſpoſed were the nation to make merry with the dethroning of thoſe members, who had violently arrogated the whole

whole authority of the government, and deprived the King of his legal prerogatives. Chap. X. 1648.

THE ſubſequent acts of the parliament, if this diminutive aſſembly deſerves that honorable name, retain not the leaſt appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They inſtantly reverſed the former vote, and declared the King's conceſſions unſatisfactory. They determined, that no members, abſent at this laſt vote, ſhould be received, till they ſubſcribed it, as agreeable to their judgment. They renewed their former vote of non-addreſſes. And they committed to priſon, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, the generals, Maſſey, Brown, and Copley, and other leaders of the preſbyterians. Theſe Men, by their credit and authority, which was then very high, had, at the commencement of the war, ſupported the parliament; and thereby prepared the way for the greatneſs of the preſent leaders, who, at that time, were of very ſmall account in the nation.

THE ſecluded members having publiſhed a paper, containing a narrative of the violence, which had been exerciſed upon them, and a proteſtation, that all acts were void, which, from that time, had been tranſacted in the houſe of commons; the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, where they pronounced it falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and tending to the deſtruction of the viſible and fundamental government of the kingdom.

THESE ſudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and aſtoniſhment. Every man dreaded to be trampled under foot, in the contention betwixt thoſe mighty powers, which diſputed for the ſovereignty of the ſtate. Many began to withdraw their effects beyond ſeas: Foreigners ſcrupled to give any credit to a people, ſo torn by domeſtic factions, and oppreſſed by military uſurpation: Even the internal commerce of the kingdom began to ſtagnate: And in order to remedy theſe growing evils, the army, in their general's name, publiſhed a declaration, where they expreſſed their reſolution of ſupporting law and juſtice.

THE more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into conſideration, a ſcheme called *The agreement of the people*; being the plan of a republic, to be ſubſtituted in the place of that government which they had ſo violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this ſcheme, for correcting the inequalities of the repreſentative, are very plauſible; had the nation been willing to receive it, or had the army intended to impoſe it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and ſavor ſtrongly of that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, ſo prevalent thro'out the kingdom.

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THE height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their ſovereign. To this period was every meaſure precipitated by the furious independents. The parliamentary leaders of that party had intended, that the army ſhould, themſelves, execute that daring enterprize; and they eſteemed ſo irregular and lawleſs a deed, beſt fitted to ſuch irregular and lawleſs inſtruments. But the generals were too wiſe, to load themſelves ſingly with the infamy, which, they knew, muſt attend an action, ſo ſhocking to the general ſentiments of mankind. The parliament, they were reſolved, ſhould ſhare with them the reproach of a meaſure, which was eſteemed requiſite for the advancement of their common ends of ſafety and ambition. In the houſe of commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge againſt the King. On their report a vote paſſed, declaring it treaſon in a king, to levy war againſt his parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try his Majeſty for this new invented treaſon. This vote was ſent up to the houſe of peers.

THE houſe of peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of ſmall account; but it had lately, ſince the King's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would ſubmit to the mortification of attending it. They happened, that day, to be more frequent than uſual, and were aſſembled to the number of ſixteen. Without one diſſenting voice, and almoſt without deliberation, they inſtantly rejected the vote of the lower houſe, and adjourned themſelves for ten days; hoping, that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons.

1649.

THE commons were not to be ſtopped by ſo ſmall an obſtacle. Having firſt eſtabliſhed a principle, which is noble in itſelf, and ſeems ſpecious, but is belied by all hiſtory and experience, *That the people are the origin of all juſt power*; they likeways declared, that the commons of England, aſſembled in parliament, being choſen by the people, and repreſenting them, have the ſupreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons,

January 4.

hath the force of law, without the conſent of king or houſe of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, ſo they called him, was again red and unanimouſly aſſented to.

IN proportion to the enormity of the violences and uſurpations, were augmented the pretences of ſanctity, among thoſe impious regicides. "Should any "one have voluntarily propoſed," ſaid Cromwel in the houſe, "to bring the "King to puniſhment, I ſhould have regarded him as the greateſt traytor; but, "ſince providence and neceſſity have caſt us upon it, I will pray to God for a

bleſſing

"bleſſing on your councils; tho' I am not prepared to give you any advice on this "important occaſion. Even I myſelf," ſubjoined he, "when I was lately offering "up petitions for his Majeſty's reſtoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of "my mouth, and conſidered this ſupernatural movement as the anſwer, which "Heaven, having rejected the King, had ſent to my ſupplications."

A woman of Hertfordſhire, illuminated by prophetical viſions, deſired admittance into the council of war, and communicated to them a revelation, which aſſured them, that their meaſures were conſecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly ſanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their preſent reſolutions.

COLONEL Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and the moſt furious enthuſiaſt of the army, a man endowed with manners and humanity, ſuitable to his education and turn of mind, was ſent with a ſtrong party to conduct the King to London. At Windſor, Hamilton, who was there detained a priſoner, was admitted into the King's preſence; and falling on his knees, paſſionately exclaimed, *My dear maſter! I have indeed been ſo to you*, replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourſe was allowed betwixt them. The King was inſtantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all ſuffuſed in tears, and prognoſticated, that, in this ſhort ſalutation, he had given the laſt adieu to his friend and ſovereign.

CHARLES himſelf was aſſured, that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithſtanding all the preparations, which were making, and the intelligence, which he received, he could not, even yet, believe, that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. A private aſſaſſination he every moment looked for; and tho' Harriſon aſſured him, that his apprehenſions were intirely groundleſs, it was by that cataſtrophe, ſo frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as reality, the King was now dethroned. All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to ſerve him without ceremony. At firſt, he was ſhocked with inſtances of rudeneſs and familiarity, to which he had been ſo little accuſtomed. *Nothing ſo contemptible as a deſpiſed prince!* was the reflection, which they ſuggeſted to him. But he ſoon reconciled his mind to this, as to his other calamities.

ALL the terms of the trial were now adjuſted; and the high court of juſtice fully conſtituted. It conſiſted of 133 perſons, as named by the commons; but there never met above 70: So difficult was it found, notwithſtanding the blindneſs of prejudice, and the allurements of intereſt, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal meaſure. Cromwel, Ireton, Harriſon, and the chief

Chap. X. 1649.

chief officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, were members, along with ſome of the lower houſe and ſome citizens of London. The twelve judges were at firſt appointed in the number: But having affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of Engliſh law to try the King for treaſon, by whoſe authority all accuſations for treaſon muſt neceſſarily be conducted; their names, as well as thoſe of ſome peers, were afterwards ſtruck out. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident. Coke was appointed ſollicitor for the people of England. Doriſlaus, Steele, and Ake, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter hall.

It is obſervable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inſerted in the number, a voice came from one of the ſpectators, and cried, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was red againſt the King, *In the name of the people of England*; the ſame voice exclaimed, *Not a tenth part of them.* Axtel the officer, who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box, whence theſe inſolent ſpeeches came; it was diſcovered, that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was ſhe who had had the courage to utter them. She was a perſon of very noble extraction, the daughter of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being ſeduced by the violence of the times, ſhe had long ſeconded her huſband's zeal againſt the royal cauſe, and was now, as well as he, ſtruck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected conſequence of all his boaſted victories.

The King's trial.

The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this tranſaction correſponded to the greateſt conception, that is ſuggeſted in the whole annals of human kind; the delegates of a great people ſitting in judgment upon their ſupreme magiſtrate, and trying him for his miſgovernment and breach of truſt. The ſollicitor, in the name of the commons, repreſented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and *entruſted* with a limited power; yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent parliament, and the people, whom they repreſented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finiſhed, the preſident directed his diſcourſe to the King, and told him, that the court expected his anſwer.

The King, tho' long detained a priſoner, and now produced as a criminal, ſuſtained, by his magnanimous courage, the majeſty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to their juriſdiction. He repreſented, That, having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article,

ticle, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and 'ere this time, to have been reſtored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his perſonal liberty: That he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the conſtitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whoſe authority was pretended, were ſubdued by lawleſs force, and were bereaved of their liberty: That he himſelf was their NATIVE HEREDITARY KING; nor was the whole authority of the ſtate, tho' free and united, intitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majeſty of Heaven: That, admitting thoſe extravagant principles, which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power, delegated by the people; unleſs the conſent of every individual, down to the meaneſt and moſt ignorant peaſant, had been previouſly aſked and obtained: That he acknowleged, without ſcruple, that he had a *truſt*, committed to him, and one moſt ſacred and inviolable; he was entruſted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power, founded on the moſt atrocious violence and uſurpation: That having taken arms, and frequently expoſed his life, in defence of public liberty, of the conſtitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this laſt and moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights, for which, tho' in vain, he had ſo long contended: That thoſe, who arrogated a title to ſit as his judges, were born his ſubjects, and born ſubjects to thoſe laws, which determined, *That the king could do no wrong:* That he lay under no neceſſity of ſheltering himſelf under that general maxim, which guards every Engliſh monarch, even the leaſt deſerving; but was able, by the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons, to juſtify thoſe meaſures, in which he had been engaged: That, to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was willing, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and aſſert the juſtice of thoſe defenſive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourſe: But that, in order to preſerve an uniformity of conduct, he muſt, at preſent, foregoe the apology of his innocence; leſt, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pyrates, he be juſtly branded as the betrayer, inſtead of being applauded as the martyr, of the conſtitution. Chap. X. 1649.

THE preſident, in order to ſupport the majeſty of the people, and maintain the ſuperiority of his court above the priſoner, ſtill inculcated, That he muſt not decline the authority of his judges; that they over-ruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only ſource of every lawful power; and that kings themſelves acted but in truſt from that community, which had inveſted this high court of juſtice with its juriſdiction. Even according to thoſe principles, which,

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in his preſent ſituation, he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behavior, in general, will appear not a little harſh and barbarous; but when we conſider him as a ſubject, and one too of no high character, addreſſing himſelf to his unfortunate ſovereign, his ſtyle will be eſteemed, to the laſt degree, audacious and inſolent.

THREE times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their juriſdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined ſome witneſſes, by whom it was proved, that the King had appeared in arms againſt the forces, commiſſioned by the parliament, they pronounced ſentence againſt him. He ſeemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houſes; and it was ſuppoſed, that he intended to reſign the crown to his ſon: But the court refuſed compliance, and conſidered that requeſt as nothing but a delay of juſtice.

27th of Jan.

IT is confeſſed, that the King's behavior, during this laſt period of his life, does great honor to his memory; and that, in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmoſt perſpicuity and juſtneſs both of thought and expreſſion: Mild and equable, he roſe into no paſſion at that unuſual authority, which was aſſumed over him. His ſoul, without effort or affectation, ſeemed only to remain in the ſituation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. The ſoldiers, inſtigated by their ſuperiors, were brought, tho' with difficulty, to cry aloud for juſtice: *Poor ſouls!* ſaid the King to one of his attendants; *for a little money they would do as much againſt their commanders.* Some of them were permitted to go the utmoſt length of brutal inſolence, and to ſpit in his face, as he was conveyed along the paſſage to the court. To excite a ſentiment of piety, was the only effect which this inhuman inſult was able to operate upon him.

THE people, tho' under the rod of lawleſs, unlimited power, could not forbear, with the moſt ardent prayers, to pour forth their wiſhes for his preſervation; and, in his preſent diſtreſs, they avowed *him*, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their miſguided fury, they had before ſo violently rejected. The King was ſoftened at this moving ſcene, and expreſſed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One ſoldier too, ſeized by contagious ſympathy, demanded from heaven a bleſſing on oppreſſed and fallen majeſty: His officer, overhearing his prayer, beat him to the ground in the King's preſence. *The puniſhment, methinks, exceeds the offence:* This was the reflection, which Charles formed on that occaſion.

AS ſoon as the intention of trying the King was known in foreign nations, ſo enormous an action was exclaimed againſt by the general voice of reaſon and humanity; and

and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmoſt effort of undiſguiſed uſurpation, and the moſt heinous inſult on law and juſtice. The French ambaſſador, by orders from his court, interpoſed on the King's behalf: The Dutch employed their good offices: The Scotch exclaimed and proteſted againſt this violence: The Queen, the Prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All ſollicitations were found fruitleſs with men whoſe reſolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

FOUR of Charles's friends, perſons of the greateſt virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindeſey, applied to the commons. They repreſented, That they were the King's counſellors, and had concurred, by their advice, with all thoſe meaſures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal maſter: That, in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reaſon, they alone were guilty, and were alone expoſed to cenſure for every blameable action of the prince: And that they now preſented themſelves, in order to ſave, by their own puniſhment, that precious life, which it became the commons themſelves, and every ſubject, with the utmoſt hazard, to protect and defend. Such a generous effort contributed to their honor; but operated nothing towards the King's ſafety.

THE people remained in that ſilence and aſtoniſhment, which all great paſſions, when not furniſhed with an opportunity of exerting themſelves, naturally produce in the human mind. The ſoldiers, being inceſſantly plied with prayers, ſermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of fury, and imagined, that, in the acts of the moſt extreme diſloyalty towards their prince, conſiſted their higheſt merit in the eyes of Heaven.

THREE days were allowed the King betwixt his ſentence and his execution. This interval he paſſed with great tranquillity chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family, that remained in England, was allowed acceſs to him. It conſiſted only of the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloceſter: The Duke of Yorke had made his eſcape. Gloceſter was little more than an infant: The Princeſs, notwithſtanding her tender years, ſhewed a very advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impreſſion upon her. After many pious conſolations and advices, the King gave her in charge to tell the Queen, That, during the whole courſe of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderneſs and his life ſhould have an equal duration.

To the young Duke too, he could not forbear giving ſome advice, in order to ſeaſon his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was ſo ſoon to be his ſovereign. Holding him on his knee, he ſaid,

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"Now they will cut off thy father's head." At theſe words, the child looked very ſtedfaſtly upon him. "Mark! child, what I ſay: They will cut off my "head! and perhaps make thee a king: But mark what I ſay: Thou muſt "not be a king, as long as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. They "will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them! And thy head too "they will cut off at laſt! And therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by "them!" The Duke, ſighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces firſt!" So determined an anſwer, from one of ſuch tender years, filled the King's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

EVERY night, during this interval, the King ſlept ſound as uſual; tho' the noiſe of workmen, employed in framing the ſcaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually reſounded in his ears *. The morning of the fatal day, he roſe early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity. Biſhop Juxon, a man endowed with the ſame mild and ſteddy virtues, by which the King himſelf was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, aſſiſted him in his devotions, and payed the laſt melancholy duties to his friend and ſovereign.

30th of Jan.

THE ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined for the execution: For it was intended, by chooſing that very place, in ſight of his own palace, to mark more ſtrongly the triumph of popular juſtice over royal majeſty. When the King came upon the ſcaffold, he found it ſo ſurrounded with ſoldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: He addreſſed, therefore, his diſcourſe to the few perſons who were about him; particularly Colonel Tomlinſon, to whoſe care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had operated an intire converſion. He juſtified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and obſerved, that he had not taken arms, till after his parliament had inliſted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preſerve that authority intire, which by his anceſtors was tranſmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame upon the parliament; but was more inclined to think, that ill inſtruments had interpoſed, and excited in them fears and jealouſies with regard to his intentions. Tho' innocent towards his people, he acknowleged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and obſerved, that an unjuſt ſentence, which he had ſuffered to take effect, was now puniſhed by an unjuſt ſentence upon himſelf. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief inſtruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the way of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor. When he was preparing himſelf for the block,

And execution.

* Walker's hiſtory of independency.

block, Biſhop Juxon called to him: "There is, Sir, but one ſtage more, which, "tho' turbulent and troubleſome, yet is a very ſhort one. Conſider, it will ſoon "carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you "ſhall find, to your great joy, the prize, to which you haſten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the King, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where "no diſturbance can have place." At one blow was his head ſevered from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner: Another, in a like diſguiſe, held up, to the ſpectators, the head, ſtreaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor!* Chap. X. 1649.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the grief, indignation, and aſtoniſhment, which took place, not only among the ſpectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of ſorrow, but thro'out the whole nation, as ſoon as the report of this fatal execution was conveyed to them. Never monarch, in the full triumph of ſucceſs and victory, was more dear to his people than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy Prince. In proportion to their former deluſions, which had animated them againſt him, was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himſelf, either with active diſloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppreſſed cauſe. On weaker minds, the effects of theſe complicated paſſions were prodigious. Women are ſaid to have caſt forth the untimely fruit of their womb: Others fell into convulſions, or ſunk into ſuch a melancholy as attended them to their grave: Nay ſome, unmindful of themſelves, as tho' they could not, or would not ſurvive their beloved prince, it is reported, ſuddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unſuborned tears; thoſe pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the moſt violent imprecations and anathemas againſt him. And all men united in their deteſtation of thoſe hypocritical parricides, who, by ſanctified pretences, had ſo long diſguiſed their treaſons, and in this laſt act of atrocious iniquity, had thrown an indelible ſtain upon the nation.

A freſh inſtance of hypocriſy was diſplayed the very day of the King's death. The generous Fairfax, not contented with being abſent from the trial, had uſed all the intereſt, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal ſentence; and had even employed perſuaſion with his own regiment, tho' none elſe ſhould follow him, to reſcue the King from his diſloyal murderers. Cromwel and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavored to convince him, that the Lord had rejected the King; and they exhorted him to ſeek by prayer ſome direction from Heaven on this important occaſion: But they concealed from him, that already they had ſigned the warrant for the execution. Harriſon was the perſon appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged

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prolonged his lamentable dirges, till intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was ſtruck. He then roſe from his knees, and inſiſted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential anſwer, which Heaven had ſent to their devout ſupplications.

IT being remarked, that the King, the moment before he ſtretched out his neck to the executioner, had ſaid to Juxon, with a very earneſt accent, the ſingle word, REMEMBER; great myſteries were ſuppoſed to be concealed under that expreſſion, and the generals vehemently inſiſted with the prelate, that he ſhould inform them of the King's meaning. Juxon told them, that the King, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his ſon the forgiveneſs of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the laſt moment of his life, when his commands, he ſuppoſed, would be regarded as ſacred and inviolable, to re-iterate that deſire; and that his mild ſpirit thus terminated its preſent courſe, by an act of benevolence towards his greateſt enemies.

And character.

THE character of this Prince, as that of moſt men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly ſpeaking, his imperfections: For ſcarce any of his faults roſe to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. To conſider him in the moſt favorable light, it may be affirmed, that his dignity was exempted from pride; his humanity from weakneſs, his bravery from raſhneſs, his temperance from auſterity, his frugality from avarice: All theſe virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds, and merited unreſerved praiſe. To ſpeak the moſt harſhly of him, we may affirm, that many of his good qualities were attended with ſome latent frailty, which, tho' ſeemingly inconſiderable, was able, when ſeconded by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to diſappoint them of all their influence: His beneficent diſpoſition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tinctured with ſuperſtition; his good ſenſe was disfigured by a deference to perſons of a capacity much inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from haſty and precipitate reſolutions. He deſerves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular eſtabliſhed government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular aſſembly, or finally to ſubdue their pretenſions. He wanted ſuppleneſs and dexterity ſufficient for the firſt meaſure: He was not endowed with the vigor requiſite for the ſecond. Had he been born an abſolute prince, his humanity and good ſenſe had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious: Had the limitations on prerogative been, in his time, quite fixed and aſcertained, his integrity had made him regard, as ſacred, the boundaries of the conſtitution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns favored ſtrongly

ſtrongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was inſufficient to extricate him from ſo perilous a ſituation, he may be excuſed; ſince, even after the event, when it is commonly eaſy to correct all errors, one is at a loſs to determine what conduct, in his circumſtances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preſerved the peace of the nation. Expoſed to the aſſaults of furious, implacable, and bigotted factions, it was never permitted him, without the moſt fatal conſequences, to commit the ſmalleſt miſtake; a condition too rigorous to be impoſed on the greateſt human capacity. Chap. X. 1649.

SOME hiſtorians have raſhly queſtioned his good faith: But, for this reproach, the moſt malignant ſcrutiny of his conduct, which, in every circumſtance, is now thorowly known, affords not any reaſonable foundation. On the contrary, if we conſider the extreme difficulties, to which he was ſo frequently reduced, and compare the ſincerity of his profeſſions and declarations; we ſhall avow, that probity and honor ought juſtly to be placed among his moſt ſhining qualities. In every treaty, thoſe conceſſions, which, he thought, in conſcience, he could not maintain, he never could, by any motive or perſuaſion, be induced to grant. And tho' ſome violations of the petition of right may be imputed to him; theſe are more to be aſcribed to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles.

THIS Prince was of a comely preſence; of a ſweet, but melancholy aſpect. His face was regular, handſome, and well complexioned; his body ſtrong, healthy, and juſtly proportioned; and being of a middle ſtature, was capable of enduring the greateſt fatigues. He excelled in horſemanſhip and other exerciſes; and he poſſeſſed all the exterior, as well as many of the eſſential qualities, which form an accompliſhed prince.

THE tragical death of Charles begot a queſtion, whether the people, in any caſe, were intitled to judge and to puniſh their ſovereign; and moſt men, regarding chiefly the atrocious uſurpation of the pretended judges, and the merit of the virtuous, tho' perhaps not entirely innocent, prince who ſuffered, were inclined ſtrongly to condemn the republican principles, as highly ſeditious and extravagant: But there ſtill were a few, who, abſtracting from the particular circumſtances of this caſe, were able to conſider the queſtion in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradict, the prevailing ſentiment. Such might have been their reaſoning. If ever, on any occaſion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace; it muſt be confeſſed, that the doctrine of reſiſtance affords ſuch an example; and that all ſpeculative reaſoners ought to obſerve, with regard to this principle, the ſame cautious ſilence, which the laws, in every

ſpecies

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ſpecies of government, have ever preſcribed to themſelves. Government is inſtituted, in order to reſtrain the fury and injuſtice of the people; and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous, by theſe ſpeculations, to weaken the reverence, which the multitude owe to authority, and to inſtruct them before-hand, that the caſe can ever happen, when they may be free'd from their duty of allegiance. Or ſhould it be found impoſſible to reſtrain the licence of human diſquiſitions, it muſt be acknowleged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be inculcated, and that the exceptions, which are very rare, ought ſeldom or never to be mentioned in popular reaſonings and diſcourſes. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reſerve, ſhould univerſally degenerate into a ſtate of abject ſervitude. When the exception really occurs, even tho' it be not precedently expected and deſcanted on, it muſt, from its very nature, be ſo obvious and undiſputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the reſtraint, however great, impoſed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience. But betwixt reſiſting a prince and dethroning him, there is a very wide interval; and the abuſes of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are much greater and more enormous, than thoſe which will juſtify the former. Hiſtory, however, ſupplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the ſuppoſition, tho', for the future, it ought ever to be little looked for, muſt, by all candid inquirers, be acknowleged in the paſt. But betwixt dethroning a prince and puniſhing him, there is another very wide interval; and it were not ſtrange, if even men of the moſt enlarged thought ſhould queſtion, whether human nature could ever, in any monarch, reach that height of depravity, as to warrant, in revolted ſubjects, this laſt act of extraordinary juriſdiction. That illuſion, if it be an illuſion, which teaches us to pay a ſacred regard to the perſons of princes, is ſo ſalutary, that to diſſipate it by the formal trial and puniſhment of a ſovereign, will have more pernicious effects upon the people, than the example of juſtice can be ſuppoſed to have a beneficial influence upon princes, by checking their career of tyranny. 'Tis dangerous too, by theſe examples, to reduce princes to deſpair, or bring matters to ſuch extremities againſt perſons endowed with great power, as to leave them no reſource, but in the moſt violent and moſt ſanguinary councils. This general poſition being eſtabliſhed, it muſt, however, be obſerved, that no reader, almoſt of any party or principle, was ever ſhocked, when he red, in antient hiſtory, that the Roman ſenate voted Nero, their abſolute ſovereign, to be a public enemy, and, even without trial, condemned him to the ſevereſt and moſt ignominious puniſhment; ſuch a puniſhment, as the meaneſt Roman citizen was, by the laws, exempted from. The crimes of that bloody tyrant are ſo enormous, that they break thro' all rules; and extort a confeſſion, that ſuch a dethroned

prince

prince is no longer ſuperior to his people, and can no longer plead, in his own defence, laws, which were eſtabliſhed for conducting the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration. But when we paſs from the caſe of Nero to that of Charles, the great diſproportion, or rather total contrariety of characters, immediately ſtrikes us; and we ſtand aſtoniſhed, that, amongſt a civilized people, ſo much virtue could ever meet with ſo fatal a cataſtrophe. Hiſtory, the great miſtreſs of wiſdom, furniſhes examples of all kinds; and every prudential, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by thoſe events, which her enlarged mirror is able to preſent to us. From the memorable revolutions, which paſſed in England during this period, we may naturally deduce the ſame uſeful leſſon, which Charles himſelf, in his latter years, inferred; that it is very dangerous for princes to aſſume more authority, than the laws have allowed them. But, it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe events furniſh us with another inſtruction, no leſs natural and no leſs uſeful, concerning the madneſs of the people, the furies of fanaticiſm, and the danger of mercenary armies. Chap. X. 1649.

In order to cloſe this part of Britiſh hiſtory, it is alſo neceſſary to relate the diſſolution of the monarchy in England: That event followed ſoon after the death of the monarch. When the peers met upon the day, appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon buſineſs, and ſent down ſome votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the leaſt notice. In a few days, the lower houſe paſſed a vote, that they ſhould make no more addreſſes to the houſe of peers, nor receive any more from them; and that that houſe was uſeleſs and dangerous, and was therefore to be aboliſhed. A like vote paſſed with regard to the monarchy; and 'tis remarkable, that Martin, a furious republican, in the debate on this queſtion, confeſſed, that, if they deſired a king, the laſt was as proper as any gentleman in England *. The commons formed a new great ſeal, on which that aſſembly was repreſented with this legend, On the first year of freedom, by God's bleſſing, reſtored, 1648. The forms of all public buſineſs were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treaſon to proclaim or any otherways acknowlege Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales. 6th of Feb.

The Princeſs Elizabeth the commons intended to bind apprentice to a button-maker: The Duke of Gloceſter was to be taught ſome other mechanical employment. But the former ſoon died; of grief, as is ſuppoſed, for her father's tragical end: The latter was, by Cromwel, ſent beyond ſeas.

The

* Walker's hiſtory of independency, part 2.

Chap. X. 1649.

THE King's ſtatue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedeſtal theſe words were inſcribed: EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS; *The tyrant is gone, the laſt of the kings.*

DUKE HAMILTON was tried by a new high court of juſtice, as Earl of Cambridge in England; and condemned for high treaſon. This ſentence, which was certainly very hard, but which ought to ſave his memory from all imputations of treachery to his maſter, was executed on a ſcaffold, erected before Weſtminſter hall. Lord Capel underwent the ſame fate. Both theſe Noblemen had eſcaped from priſon, but were afterwards diſcovered and taken. To all the ſollicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders ſtill replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence they ſhould ſuffer; ſince it had permitted them to fall into their enemies hands, after they had once recovered their liberty.

THE Earl of Holland loſt his life by a like ſentence. Tho' of a polite and courtly behavior, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the King, and his frequent changing of ſides were regarded as great ſtains on his memory. The Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, being condemned by the ſame court, were pardoned by the commons.

THE King left ſix children; three males, Charles born in 1630, James Duke of Yorke, born in 1633, Henry Duke of Gloceſter, born in 1641; and three females, Mary Princeſs of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1635, and Henrietta, afterwards Ducheſs of Orleans, born at Exeter 1644.

THE Archbiſhops of Canterbury in this reign were Abbot and Laud. The Lord keepers, Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, Lord Coventry, Lord Finch, Lord Littleton, Sir Richard Lane; the Lord admirals, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Northumberland; the Lord high treaſurers, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, Juxon biſhop of London, Lord Cottington; the ſecretaries of ſtate, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton, Coke, Sir Harry Vane, Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, Sir Edward Nicholas.

IT may be expected that we ſhould here make mention of the *Icon Baſiliké*, a work publiſhed in the King's name a few days after his execution. It ſeems almoſt impoſſible, in the controverted parts of hiſtory, to ſay any thing which will ſatisfy the zealots of both parties: But with regard to this queſtion, it is difficult for an hiſtorian to fix any opinion, which will be intirely to his own ſatisfaction. The proofs brought to evince that this work is or is not the King's, are ſo convincing, that, if an impartial reader peruſes any one ſide apart *, he will

* See on the one hand Toland's Amyntor, and on the other Wagſtaffe's Vindication of the royal martyr, 3d edition along with Young's addition. We may remark, that Lord Clarendon's total ſilence

will think it impoſſible, that arguments could be produced, ſufficient to counterballance ſo ſtrong an evidence: And when he compares both ſides, he will be at a loſs to fix any determination. Should an abſolute ſuſpence of judgment be found difficult or diſagreeable in ſo intereſting a queſtion, I muſt confeſs, that I ſhould incline to give the preference to the arguments of the royaliſts. The teſtimonies, which prove that performance to be the King's, ſeem rather more numerous, certain, and direct, than thoſe on the other ſide. This is the caſe, even if we conſider the external evidence: But when we weigh the internal, derived from the ſtyle and compoſition, there is no manner of compariſon. Theſe meditations, in elegance, purity, neatneſs, and ſimplicity, reſemble exactly the genius of thoſe performances, which we know with certainty to have flowed from the royal pen: But are ſo unlike the bombaſt, perplexed, rhetorical, and corrupt ſtyle of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are aſcribed, that no human teſtimony ſeems ſufficient to convince us, that he was the author. Yet all the evidences, which would rob the King of that honor, tend to prove, that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing ſo fine a performance, and the infamy of impoſing it on the world for the King's. Chap. X. 1649.

It is not eaſy to conceive the general compaſſion excited towards the King, by the publiſhing, in ſo critical a juncture, a work ſo full of piety, meekneſs, and humanity. Many have not ſcrupled to aſcribe to that book the ſubſequent reſtoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to thoſe which were operated on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Caeſar. The *Icon* paſſed thro' fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great intereſt taken in it by the nation, as the ſuppoſed production of their murdered ſovereign, it muſt be acknowleged the beſt proſe compoſition, which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the Engliſh language.

ſilence with regard to this ſubject, in ſo full a hiſtory, compoſed in vindication of the King's meaſures and character, forms a very ſtrong preſumption on Toland's ſide, and a preſumption of which that author was ignorant; the works of the noble hiſtorian not being then publiſhed. Biſhop Burnet's teſtimony too muſt be allowed of weight againſt the *Icon*.

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